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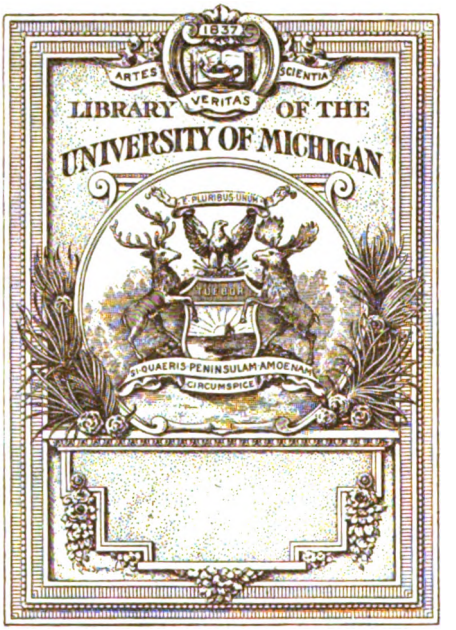

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The Journal
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OCTOBER, 1914

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A COLLECTION OF OLD LATIN BIBLE QUOTATIONS

SOMNIUM NERONIS.

In einer Klasse von Handschriften des Evangelium Nicodemi (Gesta Salvatoris, Acta Pilati) findet sich ein meines Wissens bisher ungedruckter und unbeachteter Anhang, welcher, seinem grössten Teile nach eine Sammlung von Zeugnissen über Israels Verwerfung, hierin einen sehr erwünschten Beitrag zu unserer Kenntnis der altlateinischen Bibel bietet. Ich habe in dieser Hinsicht bereits in meiner Anzeige von Corssen's Programm über die Weingartner und die Würzburger Prophetenhandschrift in der *Theol. Literaturzeitung* 1899 N. 24 Sp. 652–655 von diesem Traktate Gebrauch gemacht. Damals kannte ich nur 3 Handschriften; jetzt kann ich den Text auf Grund von 15 Codices, und was mehr sagen will, um mehr als das dreifache des Umfanges vermehrt, vorlegen. Statt der zwei sind es etwa 50 Zitate in vorhieronymianischem Texte, darunter ein grosses aus IV Esra, welche ich hier biete.

Ich benutze folgende Handschriften:

A = cod. monasterii S. Mariae de Eremitis (Einsiedeln) 169, ol. Fol. N. 9, eine Pergamenthandschrift des 10. Jahrhunderts in Quart (25 × 17,2 cm) von 144 Seiten (richtiger 69 Blättern) zu 27 Zeilen (21 × 12,5 cm) und etwa 30 Buchstaben. Der Codex besteht aus mehreren nicht zusammengehörenden Teilen. Voran stehen Isidor's zwei Bücher gegen die Juden (*M.S.L.* 83, 449–538). Von anderer Hand folgt pp. 66–102 das Evangelium Nicodemi, dem sich p. 102 ohne jede Überschrift oder besonderen Absatz unser Traktat anreiht bis p. 112. Hier bricht er bei 26_{13} **dixit** mit dem Ende der Lage ab. Der Rest ist verloren. Es folgen von anderer Hand Hucbald's 'Harmonielehre' (*M.S.L.* 132, 905–921 c) und von jüngerer Hand Bernald's von Constanz

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Apologie für Gregor VII. (*M.S.L.* 148, 1107–1122 c), auch diese beiden Stücke ohne Schluss. Vgl. Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum qui in bibliotheca monasterii Einsidlensis O.S.B. servantur. descripsit P. Gabriel Meier O. S. B. i, 1899, 135. Einzelne Satzanfänge sind durch grosse Buchstaben bezeichnet; wo sie mit dem Zeilenanfang zusammentreffen, wird auch ausgerückt. Eine besondere Teilung ist darin nicht zu erkennen.[1] Der stets abgekürzte Name Ihesus wird halb in Capitale geschrieben, IH̄s, IH̄u, IH̄m; Schluss-m wird meist durch ſ, seltener ¯ abgekürzt. Einzeln finden sich Correcturen von gleichzeitiger Hand. Auslassungen und gelegentlich Umstellungen sind die einzigen bemerkenswerten Fehler neben offenbaren Schreiberversehen wie 'adtutulistis'. Auch in der Orthographie war mir diese weitaus älteste Handschrift massgebend.

B = cod. bibliothecae Alessandrinae (Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Rom) 120 (olim + K 18, I e 3, A c 16), nach fol. 1 *Ex dono R. P. D. Petri Francisci de Rubeis*, eine Pergamenthandschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts, von 265 Blättern in Quart (26,8 × 17,5 cm) in 2 Spalten beschrieben. Etwa 14 verschiedene Hände waren daran tätig: (a) fol. 1–165 mit 30 Linien (19 × 5,5 cm Schriftfläche) enthält eine Vita des Thomas von Canterbury, eine anonyme Predigt *de Adam Mose*, etc., S. Methodius *de principio et fine seculorum*, Turpinus *de gestis Caroli M.* und Gilbert Foliot's *Briefe*. fol. 166 ist leer. (b) fol. 167–177 mit 49 Linien (19,8 × 5,5 cm) eine Homilie des Origenes über Maria Magdalena, fol. 167ª–169ª ohne Überschrift, inc. *Maria stabat ad monumentum*; Unterschrift: *Explicit omelia seō affm origeñ de magd.*, fol. 169–175 das Evangelium, dazu 175–177 unsern Traktat. (c) fol. 177ᵇ, 177′ ª ᵇ, nachträglich eingeschrieben, eine anonyme Predigt *de nuptiis filiarum diaboli*. (d) fol. 178–199 Alanus *de conquestione nature*. (e) fol. 200–221 Iulianus Pomerius *liber prognosticorum*. fol. 222 ist leer. (f) fol. 223–231′ª kanonistische Excerpte; daran anschliessend (g) fol. 231′ª–234ª ein Lexicon zu dem Decret. (h) ähnlich c füllt nachträglich fol. 234ᵇ, 234′ ª ᵇ aus mit Excerpten. (i) fol. 235–238 päpstliche Decretalen. (k) fol. 238′ *de contemptu mundano*. (l) fol. 239–246′ Offizien S. Richard's und S. Edmund's. (m) fol. 247–250′ Briefe; die letzten beiden Stücke mit Noten. fol. 251 ist leer. (n) fol. 252–259 Excerpte aus der römischen Geschichte. (o) fol. 260–264 Kanonistisches. Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum, praeter orientales qui in bibliotheca Alexandrina Romae asservantur. Confecit H. Narducci, Rom 1877, 91–93. — In dieser Handschrift ist

[1] Es sind folgende Stellen: i 12_2. Cumque; $_4$. Dix̄; $_5$. Et; $_7$. Hęc; 13_6. Iste; ii 1: 13_{10}. Et; 6: 14_{11}. Item. (8): $_{16}$. Uox (*sec.*); (iii 1): $16_{\_}$. Tribus. (iv 1): 17_9. Hirtm (*prim.*); 18_4. Pregnantibus; v 1: $_{15}$. Hęc. (vi): 19_{19}. Uinea; 20_3. De; $_8$. Manifestavit; (vii 6): 22_{10}. Maculastis; 23_3. Proiciam; $_3$. Immolationes. viii 2: 23_{11}. Sic̄; (x 1): 24_{15}. Non; xi 1: 25_{12}. Illa.

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der Traktat seiner grössten Länge nach erhalten, ob vollständig, steht dahin. Er beginnt im engsten Anschluss an das Evangelium Nicodemi ohne Überschrift oder Absatz. Aber nach cap. i ist die rote Unterschrift zu dem Evangelium Nicodemi gesetzt, ohne dass dem folgenden eine Überschrift gegeben wäre. Es werden durch rote Initialen einzelne Abschnitte bezeichnet.[1]

C = cod. Ambrosianus (Mailand) O 35, ein von mehreren Händen des 15. Jahrhunderts geschriebener Pergamentband in Octav (18,3 × 13,5 cm) von 145 Blättern mit 24 Linien auf einer Schreibfläche von 14,6 × 10 cm. Dem Evang. Nicodemi geht voran der Alexanderroman in Magister Bertolunus' Bearbeitung (fol. 1–65′). Der Text des Evang. Nicodemi selbst, von Tischendorf stellenweise, doch ungenügend in seinen Evangelia apocrypha (ed. alt. p. lxxiv) benutzt, ist durchweg von zweiter Hand nach einer anderen Recension korrigiert, mit zahlreichen Randnoten. Unser Traktat, der sich fol. 86–88 anschliesst, zeigt gleichfalls viel Correcturen, aber offenbar nicht nach einer andern Vorlage. Er bricht schon bei cap. v 2 (19_9) ab. Daran schliesst sich der von Tischendorf (Evang. apocr. ed. alt. p. lxxxiv) benutzte Text der Vindicta salvatoris (fol. 88–95).

D = cod. Parisinus bibl. nat. lat. 1652 (Colb. 4044, Reg. 4313), eine Papierhandschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts in Quart (24,4 × 18,3) von 51 Blättern mit 2 Spalten und 31 Zeilen (17,6 × 4,7) mit Custoden von erster Hand. Eine Hand des 16. Jahrhunderts hat am unteren Rande von fol. 49^b ////////ꝝ arcilij (?) eingetragen. Die roten Capitelüberschriften sind nachträglich in den hierzu freigelassenen Raum eingeschrieben. Die Handschrift enthält fol. 1–$9'^a$ Pseudo-Cyprian *de xii abusivis saeculi*, fol. 10–31^a den Libellus *de miraculis infancie dn̄i iħu xp̄i* in 48 Capitel eingeteilt (vgl. Tischendorf, Evang. apocr. ed. alt. p. xxvi), fol. 31^b–49^b das Evangelium Nicodemi mit der praefatio des Emaus hebreus, eingeteilt in 20 Capitel; die letzten drei fol. $48'^a$–49^b *med.* sind die ersten 3 unseres Traktates; dessen Rest fehlt. Erst hiernach folgt die Unterschrift zum Evangelium Nicodemi. fol. 50 *Exemplaria epistolarum Abagari regis ad dominum iħm et dn̄i iħu ad Abagarum* wörtlich aus Rufin. fol. 10 ist bemerkt *Liber Seleuci.* ⅄ *epist. De Nativitate S. Mariae quae inscribitur D. Hieronymo sed νοθεύεται. Pluraque huiusce lib · capta e D. Iacobi Protevangelio.*

E = cod. Parisinus bibl. nat. lat. 5556 (Colb. 5515, Reg. 4565 (3)), eine Pergamenthandschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts in Kleinquart (21,3 × 15,2 cm) von 24 Blättern mit 2 Spalten und 25 Linien (15 × 4,7);

[1] So (i): 12_5. Et; ii: 13_8. Postquam. (ii 7) 14_{16}. Uox (*prim.*); (iii 1): 15_{16}. Tribus David; (iii 2): 17_1. Alia. iv 2: 18_8. Sicut. (v 2): 19_4. Uos; (vi) 19_{19}. Uinea. (vii 3) 21_{15}. Uiuo. (vii 6) 23_2. Auertam. ix: 23_{22}. Propterea. x 1: 24_{13}. Et de; (x 2): 25_5. Necesse. Hiervon stimmen nur eins ganz und drei ungefähr mit *A* überein.

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enthält nur das Evangelium Nicodemi mit den ersten 3 Capiteln unseres Traktates (fol. 21^{a}–$22'^{a}$), durch rote und grüne Initialen in 49 Abschnitte zerlegt, deren letzte vier den drei ersten unseres Textes und dem aus Rufin H. E. ii 7 angefügten Stück entsprechen. fol. $22'^{b}$ und 23–24 sind leer. fol. 1 steht am oberen Rande fast weggeschnitten *Inciꝑ Epistola . . . pilati*, darunter rot *Incipit epta de pilato &ᵒ de Iudeis.*

F = cod. Parisinus bibl. nat. lat. 5558 (Colb. 6610, Reg. $^{4\frac{56}{55}5}$), eine Pergamenthandschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts in Octav (17,5 × 12,7 cm) von 82 Blättern mit 31–32 Linien (12,8 × 7,8). Am Anfang und Ende sind je 4 Blätter aus einer anderen grossen Handschrift durchgeschnitten und quer eingeheftet, nicht mitgezählt. fol. 1–14′ steht das Evangelium Nicodemi mit dem Traktat genau in derselben Ausdehnung wie in *E*, dann folgt zunächst ein Gedicht: *virgo parens*, weiter Sermone. fol. 1 steht *Xℏs* (?) *que non sunt scripta in libro hoc ·i· in evangelio Inveniuntur autem quedam tamen non omnia inveniuntur*, darunter rot *Incipit epta de pilato et de iudeis.*

G = cod. Montipessulanus (Montpellier) 503, eine Pergamenthandschrift des 14. Jahrhunderts in Duodez (15,5 × 11,5 cm) von 123 Blättern; enthält von fol. 40–52 das Evangelium Nicodemi, woran sich fol. 52–55′ unmittelbar die Cura Sanitatis Tiberii in der B-Recension (*Christusbilder* 157** ff.) anschliesst. Dem Amen S. 189^{**}_{10} folgt ohne jeden Absatz ein aus unserem Traktat herausgenommenes Stück, das mit cap. ii anhebend unter Überspringung der 7 Signa (13_{9}–15_{8}) gleich dessen Schluss und dann cap. iii vollständig bringt bis zu dem Punkte an dem auch *DEF* abbrechen. Hierauf folgt mit eigener Überschrift ein anderer Traktat: *De Antichristo.* Ich verdanke die Kenntnis dieses Textes der Güte von Professor Max Bonnet.

In addition to these seven manuscripts I found in 1902 in English libraries eight more, most of them being English by origin. For the description of these I may be allowed to refer to the printed catalogues by Sir George Warner, D.Litt., by the Provost of King's, and by Mr Madan. They are the following:

H = cod. Harleianus 3185, xiv cent., English hand, containing *evang. infanciae* and *evang. Nicodemi* and *de sancta cruce*, &c., ff. 40–43 our text, ending in iv p. 17_{8}.

I = cod. coll. S. Joh. Cantabr. B 20, xii cent., Italian? from Evesham or Worcester, containing sermons, and among them *evang. Nicod.* with our text complete; *subscr.*: *Istius operis liber explicit.* (The folios were not numerated when I collated the MS.)

K = cod. Bodleianus 428, early xiii cent., belonged to Card. Thomas Wolsey (?): ff. 29–36 *evang. Nicod.*, followed ff. 36–40 by our text in full.

L = cod. Selden. sup. 74, xiii/xiv cent., containing besides some French poetry *vita beatissimi Neminis*, *vita Adae*, *evang. Nicod.* ff. 18–25,

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then ff. 25vb–28va our text as in *IK*; the scribe uses *itl̃re* and *intt̃lr* = *intellegere*, *sigñs* = *significans*, &c.

M = cod. Hamilton 6 (Bodl. add. 24436), early xv cent. (1418?), German, containing Bonaventura *Dieta salutis*, Florentini *Evangelia dominicalia*, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, mag. Stör *Officium tocius misse*, &c.; ff. 118–130 *evang. Nicod.* with our text as far as vii 6, p. 22_{22}.

O = cod. regius 10 A viii Mus. Brit., early xiii cent., English, at the end of various tracts on Canon Law (among them the acts of the London Synod A.D. 1127): *evang. Nicod.*, ff. 149–150 our text as far as iv p. 17_{7} very difficult to read on account of injury and bad repairing.

P = cod. Cantabr. Univ. Ff vi 54 (ol. 448), early xv cent., English, once the property of Thomas Cavendish: *evang. infancie* and *evang. Nicod.*, ff. 61–111, followed by our text, ff. 111–114, and a late compilation about Pilate's death, ff. 114–118; the text, which ends at iv p. 17_{7} is divided into three chapters, counted as xviii–xx, as in cod. D.

Q = cod. Cantabr. Univ. Gg iv 25 by various hands: ff. 13–92 late xv cent., German (?), contains Ps.-Aristoteles *Secreta Secretorum*, Ps.-Methodius, *Mirabilia Rome*, *evang. Nicod.* ff. 72–82, followed by *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii* and our text, both in abbreviated forms, *de sancta cruce*, *vita Ade*, &c.

The classification of these fifteen manuscripts is fairly easy. We have five manuscripts *DEFOP* of the shorter form (= Δ): of these *EF* are sister-manuscripts, giving a text adapted to the vulgate and interpolated from Rufinus; *DP* (=*D′*) are another pair, having the same chapter-division, which apparently was not added till late; *O* joins this group (=*D″*), but has been influenced by an *A*-text.

Another class is formed by the four manuscripts *BIKL* (=*B″*). It is only in this class that the text is preserved in full.: this is its merit. Otherwise the *B″*-text is not a good one, spoiled as it is by omissions and bad corrections. For the last paragraphs, where only *B″* is extant, we cannot feel confidence in the text. This class evidently divides itself into the groups *IK* and *BL*, *B* being the youngest and worst representative. And yet it is in *B*, if I am right, that we can discover traces of an early ancestor, written in insular hand, *hec* being written three times instead of *autem*, which points to the well-known insular abbreviation ħ.

GQ (= *G′*) are of another class: they have a very abbreviated form of our text as appendix, not to the Gospel of Nicodemus, but to the *Cura Sanitatis Tiberii*, which is itself an appendix to that gospel.

A, *C*, *H*, *G′*, *M* represent different branches of textual developement: *M*, enlarging the apparatus by a number of arbitrary alterations, has,

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however, at its basis a very good text. So it is with *H* and *G'*. *C* is very akin to *A*, most of its readings being mere blunders, or bad corrections of blunders. The corrector C^c did the same thing: he improved the text (as he thought) not according to a better manuscript, but from his own conjecture, very seldom in this way by mere chance restoring the true reading.

By far the best text is given in *A*, about the oldest of our manuscripts and—as does not always happen—the best, but for its incompleteness. *A* is not written carefully: it has many omissions of single words and of whole sentences *per homoioteleuton*; it often has assimilation of endings: e. g. *quorus numerus*. It belongs still to the period of barbarism, when the scribes were not well enough instructed in Latin grammar: so *A* does not care for the rules of concord, e. g. *sitim mea*, *alia genere*. But even in this *A* represents a very old form of tradition, and perhaps the original form, the author himself writing Latin of a very late kind. It is the author himself, I suppose, who wrote v 2 p. 19_4 *de ista verba Moysi contestans*, taking this from his Bible-text, as he found in Jos. xxiii 14 *de omnia verba . . . unus sermo eius non praeterivit*, &c.

In questions of orthography I venture to follow *A* as a rule, printing only *ae* for *ę* and *e*, avoiding its *hedificare*, *hos* (= *os*), *aebreis*, *aparicionis*, *aceruas* (= *bas*), *circūiems*, *pleps*, *iesta*, &c. I do not think we have to adhere to those particulars. We cannot make out what is the author's, what the scribe's orthography, unless we have several manuscripts nearly contemporary with the author.[1]

The division into chapters and paragraphs is my own. I should mention here that *FIKL* sometimes (mostly towards the end) in well-known biblical quotations use abbreviated forms as e. g. *q. s. m. n. d. i. m. s. me. dn̄e ds̄ m. c. a. t. 7 s. me* = Ps. xxix 2–3 (p. 25_{20}).

The great difficulty in textual criticism is presented by quotations and borrowed passages; we have to control the text of our author by his source, and not to correct our author. E. g. the whole chap. ii of our text is borrowed from Rufinus; it is tempting to put in the text those readings which are in agreement with Rufinus's text, and we find those in Δ, particularly in *EF*; but as we see that *EF* have had access to Rufinus's text, adding a whole paragraph from it, we acknowledge at once that the readings of *EF* are without value in this matter.

A most puzzling example is to be found in v 1 p. 18_{19} ff., where the author collects four quotations from Deuteronomy, all four containing the verb *dispergere* or *disperdere*; to confound them was easy enough. The evidence of manuscripts is confusing. In the first and third instance all our manuscripts agree in *disperdere*, in the second and fourth they are

[1] I may add here what I did not mention in the apparatus, that *BOQ* usually write *uaspasianus*, *L uespesianus*, *C uespsianus*.

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divided; in the second *AIK* giving *dispergere*, *CBL disperdere*, in the fourth *CB″ dispergere*, *A disperdere*.[1] Now what we should expect would be just the reverse of what we find, *dispergere* being the equivalent for διασπείρειν which is found in the first and third quotation, whereas ἀπολέσαι in the second, and ἐξολεθρεῦσαι in the fourth are well translated by *disperdere*. It is a case, I venture to think, where we have to desert the manuscripts. The author is collecting evidence for the reason why the Lord destroyed Jerusalem and dispersed the Jews: so what he is looking for is evidence for *dispergere*. He evidently had no concordance to look at, but quoted from memory; he must have thought that *dispergere* was in all the four texts he quoted, or perhaps he read it actually in his copy of the Bible. So I have put it into my text. Whoever uses the text for the purpose of Old Latin Bible studies will know that it is not in the text, but in the apparatus, that he will have to look for the readings. There is a famous example of this in the Vienna edition of Cyprian.

The text, as printed below, seems at the first glance like a torso; it lacks beginning and end. It is found only as an addition to the Gospel of Nicodemus, and it could go on adding quotation to quotation without end. Taking the manuscripts in the order Δ, *G′*, *H*, *C*, *M*, *A*, *B″* we get the impression of an ever-growing text. But as *A* surely lost its ending in a mechanical way, so also *M*, *C*, *H* are mutilated forms. One might suggest that the collection of *Testimonia adversus Iudaeos* began at v, ch. i–iv being a later addition, or rather a transition from the Gospel of Nicodemus to this collection. But the quotations in ch. iv are of the same kind as the quotations in ch. v–xiii. Δ and *G′* can not claim leadership by the value of their text.

The contents are: at the beginning three historical chapters, without internal connexion: ch. i the vision of Nero; ch. ii the omens of the destruction of Jerusalem; ch. iii the catastrophe of the Jews; ch. iv is but a connecting link. Ch. v–xiii are divided into two parts: ch. v–vii dealing with the destruction of Jerusalem, and the rejection of the Jews; ch. viii–xiii, with the restoration by Christ. Ch. v–vii consist mostly of quotations; ch. vi has some comments; ch. viii–xiii bring in more reflexions.

Ch. i, the Vision of Nero, is found, so far as I know, only in this composition; it is used along with the Gospel of Nicodemus in a German poem of the thirteenth century, by Gundacher of Judenburg,

[1] We may put it in the following scheme:—

A	g^2	$d^{1\,2\,4}$	*B″*	g^4	$d^{1\,3}$
C	g^4	$d^{1\,2\,3}$	(*IK*	g^2: *BL*	d^2)
M		d^1 (missing $^{2\,3\,4}$)			

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entitled 'Christi Hort'. The motive seems to be derived from the *Actus Pauli* and the *Actus Petri*, where Nero is terrified by a vision of St Paul, and beaten by St Peter in a vision by night.[1] The conversation between the emperor Nero and St Peter is borrowed verbally from the Acts of Peter and Paul,[2] while the idea that Nero was to avenge Christ against His enemies has its parallel in the Graeco-Slavonic Legend of Pilate.[3] The palace tumbling down at the reading of the '*Gesta Salvatoris*' is but the adaptation of a widespread folklore motive, which we meet with frequently in the apocryphal acts.[4] The nearest parallel is found in a Greek legend called '*Paradosis Pilatū*'.[5] A legend similar to this, I suppose, must have been the source of our ch. i.

Ch. ii is derived from Josephus, *B. I.* vi 5, 3 (§§ 288–309) through the medium of Eusebius, *H. E.* iii 8, 1–9, and its Latin translation by Rufinus. There is a Latin translation of Josephus *B. I.*, made at the instance of Cassiodorus, and a free Latin rendering of it known as *Hegesippus, de excidio Hierusalem*, attributed to St. Ambrose. By comparing these we see that our text is an abstract taken from Rufinus, perhaps from a mutilated copy of Rufinus; our author abbreviates as do most of the mediaeval compilers, e. g. Ps. Haymo, *H. E.* iii (Mader 1671, p. 27), Walahfrid Strabo *de subversione Ierusalem*, *M.S.L.* cxiv 970. From Eusebius-Rufinus *H. E.* iii 5, 3, he took the last paragraph, too, adding on his own account the name of Agabus (Act. xi 28, xxi 10), which, however, he could derive from *H. E.* i 17, 3; ii 3, 4; 8, 1.

Ch. iii is based upon another report of Josephus, which was even more appreciated by Christian writers as a testimony to the *Vindicta Salvatoris*. Our author is not particularly fond of horrible stories: he dismisses the famous story of a Jewish lady called Mary, who at the siege of Jerusalem ate her own child. He is interested only in the number of Jews who were slain or captured. He takes it from Josephus *B. I.* vi 9, 2. 3 (§§ 417–425); v 12, 3 (§ 518)—or rather from Eusebius-Rufinus *H. E.* iii 5, 5; 6, 15; 7, 2, treating his copy as freely as in ch. ii: the numbers are wrong altogether, and most of them are exaggerated.

There is another piece of the same kind in ch. ix: *Herodes alienigena* giving testimony to the Jewish cult as coming to an end. This is a commonplace of Christian apologetics. Our author took it from

[1] R. A. Lipsius *Acta apostolorum apocrypha* I 42. 116; 22. 102 f.

[2] Lipsius, *l. c.* I 139, cp. von Dobschütz *Christusbilder* [*Texte und Untersuchungen* N.S. iii] 187**.

[3] Cp. Malalas and Suidas—*Christusbilder* 201**.

[4] e. g. *Acta Iohannis* 42 (II 171 Bonnet).

[5] *Evangelia apocrypha*, ed. Tischendorf, ed. alt. 451.

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Josephus *A. I.* xiv 7, 3 (§ 121); xv 11, 4 (§ 403); xviii 4, 3 (§ 92), xx 1, 1 (§ 6); 10 (§ 247, 249), through the medium of Eusebius-Rufinus *H.E.* i 6. The story of the burning of the high-priest's vestments originates in a confusion of Josephus's account of Herod's taking hold of the sacred coat with Africanus's report that he burned all the genealogical rolls—Eusebius-Rufinus *H.E.* i 7, 13. This is a very remarkable instance of the method of making tradition agree more closely with what it is expected to tell.

The interpretation of 4 Kings ii 24 in ch. viii 3 is borrowed in all probability from Eucherius's *Formulae spiritalis intelligentiae* (*C. S. E. L.* xxxi 17, 19–21). The combination of Is. v 3, 4 with Ps. lxviii 22 (Matt. xxvii 34) in ch. vi is not found in any later Latin commentator, because it rests upon the old Latin text of Is. v 4, the Vulgate giving *labruscas* instead of *spinas*. It is only Jerome who says: *LXX et Theodotion spinas, quibus Iudaei dominum coronaverunt* (*M. S. L.* xxiv 77). The interpretations in ch. x 1, xi 1, xiii 1 and 2 are of the same kind.

It is neither the historical part nor the interpretation which gives to our tractate its value: this rests rather upon the Old Latin Biblical text used in the quotations. There are thirty-two quotations, most of them consisting of four or more passages, joined together by a simple *et*.

The present order is :—

ch. iii 1 Zech. xii 11–13.
2 Ps. lxxviii (lxxix) 1, 3.
ch. iv 1 Lk. xiii 34; xix 42–44; xxi 23; xxiii 30; xiii 35.
2 Dt. xxxi 16–17.
ch. v 1 Dt. iv 26–27; xxviii 20, 64, 63.
2 Jos. xxiii 14–16.
ch. vi Is. v 3–6; Ps. lxviii (lxix) 22; Dt. xxxii 32.
ch. vii 1 Is. i 2, 3; Jer. ii 19, 13; Hos. i 9, iv 6.
2 Jer. xxv 4 (?); xxvi 5; vii 13 (?); xiv 12, 11; Is. lii 5; Jer. xlv 4.
3 Ezek. xvi 48, 59 (?), 27; v 11; vii 7.
4 Hos. ii 11.
5 Mal. i 13 (?).
6 4 Esdr. i 24–27; 7–9, 14; 32–34; 28–31.
7 [Johel] Hos. iii 4.
ch. viii 1 Amos viii 10.
2 Num. xxiv 17, 24,
3 4 Reg. ii 24.
ch. ix Gen. xlix 10.
ch. x 1 Gen. xxxv 1; xxviii 18, 21 f.
2 Ps. cxxvi 1; Is. xxviii 16.

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ch. xi 1 Amos ix 11–12; Ps. xxix 1-4.
2 2 Reg. vii 5, 12 f.
3 1 Reg. ii 35 f.
ch. xii 1 Zech. ii 13; vi 13 f.
2 Baruch iii 24 f., 36–iv 1.
ch. xiii 1 cf. Dan. xiv 32 ff.
2 1 Reg. ii 3–5;—Is. i 2; Hos. i 9; Jer. ii 19; Hos. iv 6.

It is impossible to establish the order of books in our author's Bible, the more impossible, as he does not keep order in his quotations from the single books; see Dt. xxviii 64. 63; Jer. ii 19. 13; xiv 12. 11; 4 Esdr. i 24–27, 32–34, 28–31; Hos. iv $6^{b,a}$. From this we are not to infer an unusual arrangement of his Biblical text. Once he is quoting wrongly, ch. vii 7: Hos. iii 4 as *Johel*, and twice combining under one name quotations from several prophets.

Some of the combined quotations are found elsewhere; e.g. 2 Reg. vii 5. 12–16 (without 14^{b}. 15) in Cyprian, Lactantius, Ambrose.

Sometimes it is very difficult to make out exactly what passage our author has in mind. I am not sure about Ezek. xvi 59 (p. 21_{16}), Mal. i 13 (p. 22_{4}), and especially about the quotations from Jeremiah in ch. vii 2. It looks very often as if he quotes from memory; so when he is using the same passage twice, but in various forms, as e.g. Hos. iii 4 in ch. vii 7 and ix, or Hos. iv 6 in ch. vii 1 and xiii 2. The freedom he uses in dealing with statements made by Rufinus (see above), makes it very probable that many peculiar readings of his text are but errors of memory. On the other hand there is so much quotation and so much genuine Old Latin Biblical Text, that the use of an Old Latin Bible cannot be denied. One might perhaps be tempted to suggest that the quotations are not taken from the Latin Bible, but translated from the Greek: there are similar collections in Christian literature, dealing with controversies against the Jews, both in Greek and in Latin. Of the Greek I mention besides Ariston of Pella's lost dialogue between Jason and Papiscus, the dialogue of Justin Martyr with Trypho, the dialogue of Athanasius with the Jew Zacchaeus (ed. Conybeare, 1878), the Didascalia of James the Neobaptist (ed. Bonwetsch, 1910), some sermons of Chrysostom and Theodoret's lost work against the Jews—a line that was continued down to the dialogue of Georgios Scholarios (ed. Jahn, 1893). In Latin we have Tertullian *adv. Iudaeos*, the *Testimonia* of Cyprian, Evagrius *Altercatio Simonis Iudaei et Timothei Christiani* (ed. Bratke, 1904). Similar *Altercationes* are embodied in the *Acta Silvestri*, and in the *Inventio s. Crucis*. But I have not seen any like our collection.

The text our author used is different in the various parts of the Bible.

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In the Octateuch the text comes very near to the Vulgate: we might take it sometimes for a Vulgate text with Old Latin readings, but we are nearer to the truth if we characterize it rather as Old Latin of a late non-African type, with a few Vulgate readings added to it, as e. g. Gen. xlix 10 *qui mittendus est.*

In Psalms and Canticles we have a peculiar text, polished and Christianized. I have no parallel for *saturatis prius panes defecerunt* in 1 Reg. ii 5; and *in pane et vino* 1 Reg. ii 36 is an obvious alteration of *in pane uno* (omitting at the same time the preceding *in obolo pecuniae*), made in order to bring in the Eucharist (cp. Gen. xiv 18 with the patristic comments).

In the Prophets the text is clearly Old Latin, and the contributions made by our text are of great importance, because they fill lacunae in our knowledge of the Old Latin Bible, as the evidence here is rather small; in many passages we have only St. Jerome's rendering in his commentaries to be compared with his Vulgate. In Ezek. xvi 48 we have the African rendering *plebs*, whereas *praevaricare testamentum* in xvi 59 is attested by the Weingarten Manuscript.

Of particular interest is the long quotation from 4 Esdr. i. Comparing the edition by Professor Bensly and Dr James (*Texts and Studies* iii 2, 1895) we find our text is more akin to the family *CM* (given in App. I, p. 83 f) than to the main text (codd. *AS*), but shortened a good deal.

There is but one cento of New Testament quotations, in ch. iv 1: Lk. xiii 34, 35 has the rendering *dimittetur* (instead of *relinquitur*), which is found in *d* and St. Augustine; Lk. xix 42–44 shews some singular readings (+ *Iherusalem*, *undique* pro *vallo*, *operient*; *ad malum deponent* is corrupted from *ad solum deponent* in *e*); Lk. xxi 23 has *lactantibus* with *a*, Lk. xxiii 29, 30 (shortened) the usual *operite* instead of *tegite* in *a c d*.

I leave it to others who have more acquaintance with the Old Latin to determine the exact place of these quotations in the history of the Latin Bible. It is enough for me to have rescued the tractate from oblivion.

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⟨Somnium Neronis⟩

I. Cumque haec Claudius suscepisset et Neroni imperatori legisset, convocans ad se Nero imperator Petrum apostolum dixit ad eum: 'Dic mihi haec omnia si per Ihesum gesta sunt.' Dixit sanctus Petrus: 'Ita; sic enim per ipsum facta sunt, bone imperator.' Et cum ita dicta et gesta salvatoris Ihesu perlecta sunt foris palatium, statim cecidit totum palatium Neronis. Haec videns Nero rex stupe-

A Einsiedlensis 169 m. x ff. 102–112.
B Alessandrinus 120 m. xiv ff. 175–177.
C Ambrosianus O 35 m. xv ff. 85–88.
D Paris. B. N. lat. 1652 m. xv ff. 48′ᵃ–49ᵇ.
E Paris. B. N. lat. 5556 m. xiv ff. 21ᵃ–22′ᵃ.
F Paris. B. N. lat. 5558 m. xiv f. 17′.
G Montipessul. 503 m. xiv ff. 55.
H Harl. 3185 m. xiv ff. 40–43.
I Cambr. St. John's B 20 m. xii.
K Bodl. 428 m. xiii ff. 36–40.
L Selden. sup. 74 m. xiii/xiv ff. 25–28.
M Hamilton 6 m. xv ff. 130.
O Mus. Br. Royal 10 A viii m. xiii ff. 149–150.
P Camb. Univ. Ff vi 54 m. xv ff. 111–114.
Q Cambr. Univ. Gg iv 25 m. xv ff. 83.

B″ = *BIKL* Δ = *DEFOP* *D′* = *DP* *D″* = *DPO* *G′* = *GQ*.

A—*Q*] *inscr.* < *AB″EFOG′HM*; legit epistolam claudius neroni *C* (*red*); de testimonio petri apostoli et quomodo ihesus apparuit neroni imperatori in visione ·xviii· *D′* (*red*).

I. 2. cum *O* hec < *B″ H*, hoc *O*, illā (illaˢ *C*ˢ) *C*; ~ cl. hec *F*, cl. has litteras *D′* cladius *K*, claudunus *M**, < *B* et neroni: neronique *HB″*, neroni imperatorique *M*, neroni imp. < *B*, tiberio imp. *C*ᵉ 3. advocans *P* ad se < *A*, a se *D** (+ d *s. l. D**); ~ nero ad se *O* ~ imp. nero *M*; < *C*, imp. < *D″* ~ apm petrum *M*, apm ihu xpi petrum *D′* ad eum: adū *C** (+ e *s. l. C*ᵉ), ei Δ 4. d//ic *H* mihi + petre *O* omnia < *C* si ~ *ante* haec omnia *AMO*, < *D′* pro ihu *C* iesta *A*, facta *B″HM*, ita gesta *D′* dicit *B″*; + ei *HB″* (: *B*) sanctus < *M* s. petr.: petrus apostolus *B* 5. ita + est *M* siº *B*, sicud *M* enim: ola *C*ᵉ iesta *A* sunt + per ihm *D* imperator: + et date illi laudem et confessionem et penitenciam agite et misereatur vestri, pax vobis ab ipso domino ihu xpo et salvatore *K** (*del.*) 5/6. et cum – palatium: cum autem legerentur gesta dni salvatoris *Q* 6. ita *AC**, ista *C*ᶜ*HMOB″* (: *B*), haec *BΔ* (: *O*); < *Q* dicta + essent (< et gesta . . . sunt) Δ dicta et < *Q* et < *C** iesta *AB*, facta *H* ~ ihu salvatoris *A*; salvatori ihu *C** (+ˢ *C*ᵉ) fuissent perlecta *M*, legerentur (~ *ante* gesta) *Q* foris pal. < *ΔK*ᶜ*Q*; foris (< pal.) ~ *ante* f. perlecta *M* extra vel foris *C* 7. statim – palatium < *C* statim < *FO* totum < *EFP* neronis: tiberii *C*ᵉ *s. ras.* hoc autem *D′* videns: audissᵉᵗ *C*ᵉ ~ rex nero *B″C***H*, nero (< rex) *DEF*, imperator nero *O*, rex tiberius *C*ᵉ

I. Cf. *Passio Petri et Pauli* 22 (*ed. Lipsius, Acta apostolorum apocrypha* i 139 4–6); *Cura San. Tib.* 17 (*Christusbilder* 187**. 4–7).

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factus et admirans somno gravatus est. Et dormiens, apparuit illi in visione vir cruentatus sanguine dicens: 'Ego sum Ihesus; de me enim scripsit tibi Pontius Pilatus testificans me regem. Vindictam passionis meae trade Vespasiano consuli.' Cumque haec audisset in visione Nero rex exsurgens de somno convocans Vespasianum dixit ei visionem et tradidit ei litteras Pontii Pilati et gesta passionis Ihesu dicens: 'Iste Ihesus per te faciet vindictam de inimicis suis Hebraeis.'

II. Postquam autem adpropinquavit tempus ulcionis, incepit dominus facere Iudaeis signa et prodigia.

(1) Et ecce stella praefulgens flammis ardere supra Iherusalem per totum visa est annum.

(2) Item cum pervenissent omnes Iudaei in diem festum paschae,

A—Q] 1. et ~ *post* adm. *C*; est *M* et dormiens *AC*^{c}, *Q*: et dormienti *B''HM* (-te *L*), et dormientiēs *C**, quo dormiente Δ (quē dormienti *O*) apparit *C** illi < *B''HMO*; ei *D'F* in visione < *C** (+ *C**^{m}) *EF* 2. dicens + ad eum *D'*, et dicit *L* ihu *A*; + quem iudei crucifixerunt *P* de me enim (enim < *M*): de quo *B* 3. scripsit < *A*; ~ tibi scr. *EF* tibi < *OQ*; ~ *post* pyl. pontius *M* testificans *A*: testificatus *C*, et (< Q) testificatus est *cett.* me *A** *s. l. CM*: + esse *cett.* regem + unū *M*; + Tu? *O* uintam *C** (+ dic *C*^{c} *i. mg.*) 4. meae: mei *Q* faciendam tr. *B''HM*; ~ tr. fac. *O*; facere tr. *QD'*, tr. vesp. facere *CEF*; trades Δ (: *O*; -as *P*); debet uespasianu^{s} facere *C*^{c} consul *C*^{c}, < Δ cum *EFMQ*, cum autem *CO*, cum ergo *D'* hoc *D* audisset *bis scr. F*, adisset *C** (+ u *C**), vidisset *B''* (: *B*) in visionem *H* 5. ~ nero rex in vis. *B''H* tiberius *C*^{c} rex < *AM* surrexit *Q* et convocans *B''HM*, vocavit ad se Δ (ad se < *O*) dixit: retulitque Δ (-que < *O*) ei: omnem (!) *O* 6. dedit *D* ei// *A* licteris *C** (a *super* i *C*^{c}) poncii < *Q* et – ihesu < *C* ihu + xpi *K*; eius *M*; < *O* 7. ihu *K* ~ vind. fac. *F* faciebat *A* hebreis < Δ

II. *inscr.*: Explicit euŋngeliū Nichodemi *B* (*red*); miracula in irĺm aparu| erunt *C*^{c} *i. mg.* (*red*); de signis que apparuerunt ante eversionem (in eversione *D*) iherusalem (+ capit. *O*) ·xix· *D'* (*red*) 8. autem *i. ras. D*, < *G'M* ~ temp. ulc. app. *D'* appropinquabit *C* dies *G'* untionis *C** (l *super* n *C*^{c}) incipiet *A*, cepit *B''H*, et cepit *M*, // // // p̄ *C**, dei et dn̄i *C*^{c}, quam (que *Q*) incipiebat *G'* dominus (cf. 1_{57}): xp̄s dn̄s *AQ*, dn̄s ih̄s *C***D'E*^{c}*O* (+ xp̄s ? *O*), xp̄s *IKL*, xp̄s ih̄s *E**, ih̄s *BHMC*^{c}*FG* 9. ~ iudeis fac. *D*, fac. in iudeis *EFP*; ~ signa iudeis *M*, signa et prod. iudeis *O*, facies vindictam (+ de *C*^{c}) iudeis (+ apar .... quādo de · beṇt fieri uldict. hec *C*^{c} *i. mg.*) *C* signa et prodigia < *G'*: *transilit ad* 1_{58} dedit prod. + multa *D'* 10. et < *M* ecce + erat *A*, apparuit *D'* stellas *C**; + erat *B''HC* fulgens Δ et flammis *K*^{c}, flammisque *H* ardere *B''HM cf. Ruf.*: ardorē *A*, < *C* Δ sup *ABCO* et per *C*, que per Δ 11. uisum *AB** (*vid*) *K** ~ annum visa est *CM* 12. Item cap*itulum M i. mg.* Item: Et *M* cum *K** (p *s. l. K*^{c}) pervenissent vel convenissent *P* venissent *C* iudei omnes *D* die *C*^{c} *EFHKL* festo *C*^{c}; ~ pasche festi *E*^{c}*F*; f. passionis *K*; + in templum *D'*

II. Cf. Iosephus *B. I.* vi 5. 3 (289–310) = Eusebius-Rufinus, *H. E.* iii 8. 1–9; Hegesippus *de exc. Hier.* v 44 (*M.S.L.* 15. 2295) = *anaceph.* 15 (*ib.* 2320).

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octava die mensis noctis tempore tanti luminis fulgur templum et aram circumdedit, ut putarent omnes clarum diem esse et permansit lumen et fulgur illius luminis dimidium horae.

(3) Item post haec in aliam festivitatem, cum producta fuisset vitula ad sacrificium, cum ita esset in manibus ministrorum, parturivit agnam.

(4) Item post haec in aliam festivitatem porta templi aerea, nimio pondere cum esset vectibus ferreis clausa, patefacta est in hora noctis.

(5) Item post haec prope visi sunt currus et quadrigae in omnem noctis occasum per Iudaeam in aere caeli et visi sunt armatores in nubibus.

(6) Item post haec in die festivitatis pentecosten in nocte ingressi sacerdotes in templum metus quosdam et strepitus et voces audierunt dicentium: 'Migremus, migremus, migremus hinc'.

(7) Item post haec cum essent congregati Iudaei in diem festum tabernaculorum quidam Ananiae filius Ihesus nomine incepit voce magna clamare quasi conpulsus et dicere: 'Vox ab oriente, vox ab

A–Q] 1. octavo *CEFH* noctes *K* tēpr/// *E* tanti (tante *HIM*, dante *B*) luminis fulgur: māgni luminis illuxit fulgur *C*, lux tanta (quedam maxima *D'*) ut fulgur Δ fulgor *HP*, fulgura ~ *post* circumdedit *M* 1/3. templum—fulgur illius luminis < *C*Δ; + visa est Δ (+ subito *P*, ~ *ante* visa *D*) et aram < *M* 2. ~ diem clarum *B''M* 3. et fulgur < *A* ~ luminis illius fulgor *H* ipsius *M* dimidium horę *AHIL*, dimidium spatium *B*, dimidium (< hor.) *M*, dimidii hore *K*, per dimidiam horam *C*, per dimidie hore spacium *D'*, dimidio hore spacio *EF*, spacio hore dimidie *O*? *Ruf.* 4–5. < Δ*L* 4. post haec < *C* in (et *H*) alia festivitate *CH* fuisent *C*, esset *B* 5. sacrificandum *IKM* cum ita: cum *A*, et *C* parturiit *K**, peperit *H*^{c} (?) agnum *M*, anna *C* 6. post haec < *C*, haec < *L* in (et *H*) alia festivitate *BCDEFHM* nimis pondere *A*, nimio pondera *L*, < Δ 7. ~ clausa vecti ferreo *C** (vectis ferreis *C*^{c}): vectis *etiam A, fort. recte, cf. M. Bonnet,* '*Le Latin de Grégoire de Tours*' 363–370; vectibus *cett.* est < *M* noctis + prima *C*^{c} *i. mg.*, sexta *Ruf.* 8–10. < *DIK* 8. prope < *AHMEF*: ~ *post* v. sunt *C*; previsi sunt *EF* cruces in quadrigis *C* omne *O*, ore *C* 9. occasu *C*: occasionem *EF*; + solis *P* in iudea *C*; < *A*Δ aera *C* caeli < *B* et < *AB*; ~ *ante* in aere *C*^{c} viri (< sunt) *P* armatores (*cf. Ruf.* armatorum cohortes): armati *HLP*, armati milites *C*, ~ mil. arm. *B* in nubibus < *C* 11–13. < *O* 11. post haec < *C* in diem festivitatis *B*, in die festo *C*, in festivitate *EFH* pentecostes *C*^{c}Δ, pentecoste *L*, pentecon *C** in < *C* ingr. sunt *EF* 12. in templo *CM*, templum (< in) *HK*; + et *E*^{c}*F*; + causa *M* metus < *C*; motus *DEF*, *cf. Ruf.* quiddam *C*^{c} et^{1} < *CMHL** (+ *L*^{c} *s. l.*) et^{2}: ac *D'* vocem *C*^{c}*D* 13. dicentem *D*; < *C* migremus *bis HM* (1° migramus), *semel* Δ *Ruf.* 14. post haec < *C* cū essent *E*^{c} *s. ras.* ~ iudei congr. *D'FM* in die festo *C* 15. tab.: iudeorum *B* quidam < *B''HM*; + et *K* annanie *B'*, an^{a}nie *C* ~ fil. anan. *O* ihs nomine *A* (*cf. Ruf.*): ~ nom. ihs *cett.* (ioh̄s *B*) incipit *A*, ihm cepit *B*, cepit *HIKL*Δ, *cf. Ruf.* vocē magna *A*; ~ magna voce *BH*Δ, *s. ras. E*, ~ *post* clam. *F* 16. et dicere quasi conp. *C*, et quasi c. dicere *D''*, quasi c. diceret *B''HMEF* vox^{1}: vos *C* vox ab occidente < *D*

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occidente, vox a quattuor ventis, vox super Iherusalem et super templum eius, vox super sponsos et super sponsas, vox super populum Iudaeorum.' Et indesinenter die noctuque per omnes plateas circumiens clamabat. Principes autem Iudaeorum tenentes eum plagis affligentes ille amplius clamabat dicens: 'Vae, vae Iudaeis omnibus et Iherosolimis.'

(8) Et postquam consummavit dominus signa ista, statim per Agabum prophetam dedit responsum ecclesiae suae, quae erat in Iherusalem, ut transmigrarent trans Iordanem in locum optimum.

III. 1. Et factum est post tertium regnum Claudii regnavit Vespasianus et misit filium suum Titum cum exercitibus et circumdedit civitatem Iherusalem, ut adimpleretur quod per Zachariam prophetam dixit dominus:

'*In die illa magnificabitur planctus in Iherusalem*
et plangent per tribus ac tribus unusquisque seorsum:
tribus David seorsum et uxores eorum seorsum;

A−*Q*] 1. occidente *AFO*: + et *cett.* ad *C* vox^{2} < *HL* et sup. templ. eius < *A* 2. vox^{1}: et *A* ~ sponsas . . . sponsos *K* super sponsos et < Δ super^{2} < *M* 3. et < *O*; + ita *D'* indesinanter *D* die noctuque < *A* noctu (< que) *F* super *B*, et per *L* ~ circulens plateas *M* plateas + civitatis *D'* circũiems *A*, circuiens *cett.*; < *O* 4. princeps *LMP* autem < *F* iudeorum < *O* tenens *L*, < *M* eum < *P* et plagis affligentes *A*; plagis afligẽtib; *C**, plagis affligebant *MC**, ~ affligebant plagis *B''H* (-bat *L*); penis affecerunt Δ, *cf. Ruf.* 5. ille autem *H*, ille vero *B''M*, sed ille Δ ~ clam. ampl. *H* dicens < *FK* ve *ter* Δ (: *E*) *K* iudeis: uidens *E** et < *L* hierĩm *A*, ierosolimis *O*, ierosolimitis *D'E*, ierosolimitanis *cett.* 7. Item capĩm *M i. mg.* et < *M* + omnia *ante* signa *O* agaᵖpum *A*, achab *M* 8. dedit *rursum inc. G'* (*cf.* 13$_{9}$) ecclesiae: xp̃ianitatis *M* suae < Δ quae (qui *IL*)−ut: ut omnes (< *Q*) christiani qui erant in ierusalem *G'* in < *O* 9. transmigraret *BCD*^{c} *EFO* trans < *L* iordanen *A*, iordanã *M*, I iordanem *C*^{c} *s. ras.* in loco optimo *CA G'*

A−*Q*] III. *inscr.*: de eversione iherusalem facta (< *D*) per vespasianum (+ et tytum *D*) .xx. *D'* (*red*) 10. factum est autem *O* posterciũ regnũ *A*, post tizum (?) regnũ *C** (tertiũ *C*^{c}), post tertium annum regni *G'*, post annum tercium cl. regni *M*, post quartum annum regni *HIKL*, post quatuor annos regni *B*, post regnum Δ cladii *B***K* ~ vasp. regnavit *O* 11. su^{a}m *C* tytum *LM*; < *EFO* cum excercitu mangno *G* circumdedit: credidit *K**, creuit *C**, tradit *C*^{c}; + eius *A* (*additamentum transferendum ad* exercitibus) 12. civit. < *O*; ~ iher. civ. *B* 12/14. ut−iherusalem < *A* 12. adimplerent *L*, inpleretur *M* quod *E s. ras.*; + dictum est *DM* proph. < *F* 12/13. ~ dom. dix. p. zach. proph. *G* 13. ~ dom. dix. *IK*, dicit dom. *L*, ð (= dicens *vel* dicentem, < dom.) *M* 14. in < *O* die illo *C** *vid* magnificabo *O*, singnificabitur *C* planctos *O* 15. et plangent < *K*, et plangetur *G* per tr. et tr. *B''H*, per tribũ ac tribũ *C*^{c}, per tribus *OP*, super tribus *D*, < *EF* uinisq *D* seorsum^{1} < *Q*; + et omnis tribus eorum seorsum et uxores eorum seorsum *C* (*cf.* 4 *in p.* 16) 16−4 (*p.* 16) < *G*; 16. 2 (*p.* 16). 4 < *A*; 16. 1. 3 < *C*; 16. 2. 3 < *Q*, 16 < *D*, 1 (*p.* 16) < *EF*; ~2. 1 *IO*; 2. 3. 1 *D*; 4 < (*A*) *IK*Δ 16. *B''HM*Δ (: *D*) ~ [a] seorsum eorum [b] *P*

14. Zech. xii 11–13.

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tribus Dan seorsum et uxores eorum seorsum;
tribus domus Levi seorsum et uxores eorum seorsum;
tribus Symeon seorsum et uxores eorum seorsum;
et omnis tribus seorsum et uxores eorum seorsum;
in die illa erit omnis luctus apertus et erit Iherusalem transmigrata.'

2. Dominus autem antea congregavit de diversis regionibus in Iherusalem in diem festum paschae trecesies centena milia Iudaeorum extra qui conmanentes erant in Iherusalem. Et circumdati ab exercitibus Vespasiani regis fame exterminati sunt et alii gladio interfecti sunt. Vndecies centena milia qui per muros Iherusalem praecipitati sunt, qui non permittebantur foris civitatem exire vel sepelire mortuos, sicut praedixit David: '*Deus, introierunt gentes in hereditatem tuam, effuderunt sanguinem eorum velut aquam in circuitu Iherusalem, sed non erat qui sepeliret.*' Reliqui autem qui super decem et octo annos ad opera metalli

A–*Q*] 1. *ABKLHMQD'*, ~ *post* 2 *IO*, *post* 3 *D* dan *A*: domus dan *DO*, domus dñi *P*, domus datan *Q*, domus David *M*, adam *B''H*, domus adam *K* 2. *C B''HM*Δ levi (< dom.) *E*, domus ḍ levi *F* (ḍ *del.*), domus david levi *M*, domus eorum (+levi *i. mg.*) *C*, ṣymṣṇ domus levi (sym. *del.*) *D* 3. *AB''HM*Δ domus sym. *M* simeon *IKO*; +semeon *K*; simei *EF* (*vulg.*) 4. *CB*(*L*)*HMQ* omnes *Q* tribus+eorum *CQ* seorsum[1]–seorsum[2] < *L*. 5. in < *C* ~ illa die *CD'* omnibus *C*, < Δ apparens *D*; < *M* erit in ierus. *LQ*; ~ iher. erit *D'* transmigratio *A*, < *L* 6. autem *bis scr. C* ante ea *BKHG'*, añ *E*, anna *FO*, < *D'* ~ congr. antea *M*, congregaverat Δ (-ve- *eras. E*) universis *BH* partibus *F* in iher. < *M* 7. die *A*[c]*CHI* festo *C*[o]*I* tredecies *HM*, treicies *IK*, tercies *L*, tricesies *D*, tricies *EFP*, *cf. Ruf.*, trecies *G'*, deecies *B*, ?*C**, xxx[cies] *O*, triginta *C*[o] 8. extra: preter *O*; < *C*; +eos *G'*, illos Δ (~ extra illos *post* manentes *F*) qui < *AH*; qui qui *F* conmanentibus *A*, commanantes *P**, cū manentes *C*, manentes *BFO* erant < *A*, ~ *ante* manentes *F*, *post* in iherus. *H* et: ergo *D* circumdati ~ *post* regis Δ exercitatibus *B*, exercitibus *C*[o] *s. ras.* 9. ~ regis vesp. *D*; *regis* < *L* alii fame *D'*, et fame *C*[c]; fame < *H* et < *CD'M*; alii autem *O* gladiis *M* interfecti: penti (=perempti) *C*, interempti Δ sunt < *D*; +qui non permictebantur *C* (*male*) 10. septies (·vii· *suprascr.*) decies *BC** (*vid*), ūdecies *C*[o]; +vero *D'* centena *C*[c] *s. ras.* qui < Δ*HG*, q̄ *Q* precipitati *C*[o] *s. ras.*; precipati *M* qm̄ non *C*, q//// *E** 11. foras *IKL*; foris civitatem ~ *post* exire *EF*, < *D* vel: et Δ; < *HG'* mortuos suos *B*Δ (: *O*) *G'* sicut: < *B*; +hec *CB''HQ* 12. ~ d̄d predixit *F* O deu[s] *C** *vid*, Dñe *C*[o] introierunt: venerunt *B''HMD'G'* (*c. vulg.*) gentes < *F*, gens *K*?*Q* in hered. tuam (< t. *M*) < *H*; +& cet. *G* et effud. Δ, efunderunt *C* 13. sanguine *H* eorum–sepeliret: & cet. *GH* ipsorum *B*, tuorum *Q*; < *M*; +etc. (velut–sepel. <) *H* velut aquam < *M* venit? *O*, tanq*uam L*; < *C**; velud+*C*[o] *i. mg.* aqua *AO* ~ ierĺm circuitu *C** sed: et *CLMQ*Δ 14/17[1]. reliqui–cons. sunt < *G* reliquos *A* autem+iudeorum *HL* qui super < Δ qui < *B* supra *A*, super[2] *C*, sunt *L*; +remanserunt *C*[o] *i. mg.* ·x· & viii· *A*, ·xviii· *EF*, x 7 iiii *IKL*, xiiii *H*, decem quatuor *B*, decem 7 sectē *C*, ·xvii·[os] *D*, xvii *MO*, decem et septem *P*, septem decim *Q* añ. *A*, annis *CD''G'L*, <*B E*[c]*F* (*E** *eras.*) opera metallis *A*, ~ metalli opera *D*; met. dep. opera *P*

12. Ps. lxxviii (lxxix) 1. 3.

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dampnati consumpti sunt. Alia autem multitudo innumerabilis diversis afflictionibus interempti sunt. Alios vero bestiis tradiderunt; et quos invenerunt infra decem et septem annos per diversas regiones dispersos in servitutem tradiderunt, quorum numerus sexaginta quatuor milia fuit.

IV. 1. Haec omnia facta sunt in populo Iudaeorum, sicut Iosephus describit, qui tunc ibidem erat et praesentiam Christi domini vidit et exterminationem Hebraeorum, sicut in sua praesentia Christus dominus manifestans Iudaeis quae facturus eis esset increpans civitatem ipsam dixit: '*Iherusalem, Iherusalem, quae occidis prophetas et lapidas eos, qui ad te mittuntur: quotiens volui congregare filios tuos, sicut gallina congregat pullos suos sub alis suis, et noluisti.*' Et '*Si cognovisses*, inquid, *tu*

A–Q] 1. deputati *D'*, apti *IK*, signati *M*; < *C*; + sunt *BHL*, erant *IKM* (+ signo *M*); + et *BO* consumpti *ABO*: consumati *C*, consummati *cett.* sunt < *M* vero *P* diversis: dutti st I *C*ᶜ *s. ras.*, < *EF* 2. interempta est *M*, uite 7 ꝯsūti sunt *C*ᶜ alia *K** 3. invenirent *DEF* intra *B''* ·x· & ·vii· *AIKL*, ·xqvii· *E*, xvii *FHM*, xvii^cem *D*, decem et (*s. ras.*) sectē *C*ᶜ, xviii^cim *G*, decem et quatuor *B* aū. *A*, annis *G'*; + et *G'IKL* per diversis regionibus *AC**?*G'* dispersas *HL* 4. servitute *A G'*, servitutes *C* quorus *A* numerus: us *s. ras. C*ᶜ, *vid.* inum̄is = innumeris *scriptum esse G* quorum numerus < *M* sexaginta quactuor *C*, ·lxiiii· *EFOP*, . lxi . *Q*, . xl . *HMIKL*, quadraginta *B*, ·c·x· *A*, < *G* mil̄ *A*, milias *C**, < *EF* fuerunt *A*, *G'M*; ~ fuit *post* numerus *O* + et sicuti (s//cut *F*) vendiderunt dominum Ihesum Christum pro triginta denariis, et illi venditi fuerunt triginta Iudei pro uno denario *EF* (*cf. Vind. Salv.* 17. 31, Tischendorf *Evang. apocr.*² 478, 484)

IV. 5. in *eras. C*ᶜ popłoꝝ iudeoꝝ *K* ierosolimorum *Q* ioseppus *A*, ioseph *D* 6. descripsit *CDL*, scribit *HM*, narrat *EF* tunc < *K* ibi *H*, inde? *O* et¹: in *M* p̄sentia *AHM* Christi < *B''H*; ~ domini xp̄i *C*; dn̄i nr̄i ih̄u xp̄i *P* dom. < *FG'MO* 6/7. vidit – dominus < *M* vidit + et passionem *O* et² *eras. A*ᶜ, < *C* 7. iudeorum Δ *expl.* Δ*G'*; *subscr.* Expliciunt Gesta salvatoris edita a Nichodemo qui venit ad Ihesum nocte *D*; *add.* Igitur Iudeos pro commisso scelere ultio (ulcio *F*) divina dampnabat. sed et ipse (< *Ruf.*) Pilatus qui in salvatorem iniqui iudicis functus est officio (~ off. f. e. *E*) idem (isdem *Ruf.*) temporibus Gaii (gagii *EF*) tantis ac talibus malorum cladibus cruentatus (cruciatus *Ruf.*) est, ut propria se manu (~ m. se *F*) transverberasse et nefariam vitam (~ vit. nef. *F*) (+ vi *Ruf.*) abiecisse referatur. nec enim poterat tanti piaculi minister inpunitus evadere, sicut in historiis (+ Graecorum *Ruf.*) reperimus, eorum dumtaxat, qui olimpiadas scribunt et annales rerum gestarum libros ad posteritatis memoriam condunt *EF e Rufini hist. eccl.* ii 7.

A(H)MCB''] 7. in < *C* suam presentiam *C* 8. manifestans – esset: cum indicaret eis quid eveniret eis *M* facturis *C** ~ esset eis *H* (*explicit*); (eis <) erat *C* ipsam < *CM*; ~ ipsam civitatem *IKL* 9. dixit < *M* quē *C*, qui *M* occidit *C* profefetas *C* lapides *K* 10. missi sunt *BC* quoties *AK* volui *s. ras. C*ᶜ (uuᵃ *C**?) sicut: quemadmodum *M* ~ congr. gall. *CM*; gallinas *C** (s *eras. C*ᶜ) 11. alas *CM* suis < *BCLM* et noluisti < *M* et: etenim *M* cognovisset *B** inquit *BCI*, < *M* et tu *BM*

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9. Mt. xxiii 37; Lc. xiii 34. 11. Lc. xix 42–44.

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Iherusalem, in hac die tua, quae ad pacem tibi erunt! nunc autem absconsum est ab oculis tuis; quia venient dies in te et circumdabunt te inimici tui undique et circumdabunt et operient te undique et ad malum deponent te et filios tuos qui in te sunt'. Et *'Vae praegnantibus et lactantibus in diebus illis'*, *'quia venient dies quando dicent montibus "cadite super nos" et collibus "operite nos"'*. Et *'Ecce dimittetur vobis domus vestra deserta'*.

2. Sicut haec factis adimplere in Iudaeis Christus dominus praedixit ad Moysen: *'Ecce populum istum in terram introducturus sum; ibi me derelinquent et fornicabunt post deos alienos et irritum facient pactum meum, quod pepigi cum eis; et irascetur furor meus super eos et derelinquam eos et avertam faciem meam ab eis et erunt in dispersionem et devorationem.'*

V. 1. Oportet Christianos reddere rationem Iudaeis, pro qua causa destruxit eos de Iherusalem et dispersit de terra promissionis. Haec Iudaeis significans beatus Moyses dixit: *'Testes invoco caelum et terram, si obliti fueritis pactum domini, quod pepigit ad vos, cito vos perituros de terra, quam possessuri estis, et non habitetis in ea longo tempore, sed disperget vos dominus in omnibus gentibus'*. Et *'Conteret vos et disperget velociter propter adinventiones vestras pessimas'*.

AMCB''] 1. iherusalem—erunt: etc *M* in a hc̃ *C* tuam quę *IK* (q;) erant C^{c} 2. abscondita sunt *A* tuis < *M* 2/4 quia—in te sunt: et rl; quę secuntur in euañ *A* quia < *M* veniunt *BIK* in: super *M* 3. te < *B* inimici—circumdabunt < *B''* 3/4. undique—in te sunt < *CM* opien'te *K* 4. et² < *C*, sed sicud in evangelio *M* pagantibus *IK*, generantibus *C* 4/5. ~ lact. in hiis diebus et pr. *M* 5. nutrientibus *B''* ~ illis diebus *AL* dies < *K* quando < *M* dicebunt *B* 6. cad&e *A* et ecce--deserta < *A* dimictitur *C*, relinquetur *M* vobis < *CM* 8. sicut: quia *M* haec—iudaeis: hec a factis iudeis *B*, hec facta (+sunt *L*) a iudeis *IKL*, in pharaone in iudeis *M*; < *C* ~ pred. xp̃s dn̄s *C*; x̄ sic do' premisit *L*; +sic adimplevit iudeis propterea (ꝑoterea) dixit dn̄s *C* 9. populus iste, introducturus sum eos in terram quam promisi// eis *C*, populum meum introducturus sum in terrā *M* 10. ~ derel. me *B* derelinqūt *I*, derelinquet *L* ~ p. d. al. forn. *B''* deos: dies *M* 11. super: contra *A* derelinquo *A* 12. illos *C* dispersione *B''CM* 13. devoratione *B''*, devotatione *M*

V. 14/15. oportet—promissionis < *A* xp̄ianos *M*: xp̄ianis *B''C* ~ rat. christ. redd. *M* iudeis *IKLM*: iudeos *BC* 15. eos+dn̄s *B* haec—dixit: et dixit eis moises *C* 16. significans: signa *M* celū *bis scr. K**; et celum C^{c} 17. fuerīt *C* pacti *B''* (ꝑacti *K*) pepigi *L* cito: scitote *CLM* vos < *IK* 18. ꝑituri *L* qua *A* ut *B''* (: *I*) habetis eā *C* 19. disperget *coni.* (διασπερεῖ): disperdet *AMCB''* dominus < *L* 19/19₁. in omnibus—dominus < *M* gentibus < *K* 20. vos + dominus *IKL* + in omnibus gentibus *K* disperget *AIK*: disperdet (ἀπολέσῃ) *BL*, *C* (-dat)

4. Mt. xxiv 19; Mc. xiii 17; Lc. xxi 23. 5. Hos. x 8; cf. Lc xxiii 29. 30. 6. Mt. xxiii 38; Lc. xiii 35. 9. Dt. xxxi 16-17. 16. Dt. iv. 26-27. 19. Dt. xxviii 20.

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Et '*Disperget vos dominus per omnia regna terrae a summitate terrae usque ad summos terminos orbis terrae*'. Et '*Sicut laetatus est dominus bene vobis faciens, sic laetabitur dispergens atque subvertens*'.

2. Sic et de ista verba Moysi contestans IHESU NAUE dixit: '*Vos cognoscitis de omnia verba domini quae se praestiturum vobis est pollicitus, unus sermo eius non praeterivit in vanum; sed implevit opere quod promisit, et prospera cuncta facta sunt; taliter quae malorum comminatus est, venient super vos, si praeteritis pactum eius quod pepigit vobiscum. Consurget furor eius super vos et auferemini de terra, quam tradidit vobis in possessionem.*'

VI. De quorum exterminatione et dispersione per adventum suum Christus dominus contestans per ora prophetarum dixit per ESAIAM: '*Viri Iudaei, qui habitatis Iherusalem, iudicate inter me et vineam meam. Quid faciam vineae meae? quoniam quaesivi ut faceret uvas, fecit autem spinas.*' Hoc est: non fecerunt uvas bonas et vinum bonum, unde dominum suum potarent, sed fecerunt uvas amaras et acerbas, unde felle et aceto dominum suum potaverunt, sicut ipse dixit: '*Dederunt in escam meam fel et in siti mea potaverunt me aceto.*' Sicut de ista vinea praedixit dominus ad Moysen: '*Vinea enim Sodomorum vites eorum et*

AMCB''] 1. disperget *coni.* (διασπερεῖ): disperdet *ACB''* dominus < *C* omnia < *C* regna terrae < *L* terre + et *C* a summ. t. < *A*, assumitate t. *C* 2. summū terminos *A* summos < *CK* terminos < *BM* orbis < *K* terrarum *C* ~ dn̄s let. est *M* 3. ~ benefaciens vobis *B''* nobis *L*, < *C* sic: sicut *L* dispergens *CB''M*: disperdens (ἐξολεθρεῦσαι) *A* subvertens + vos *A* 4. de isto verbo *B''M*, de istis verbis *C* constans *I*, testans *M* nave (vane L^c) dixit < *M* vos: ut *C* 5. cognoscītis *A*, cognovistis *I*, cognoscat *C* de om̄a verba *A*, de < *B''MC* quem̨ *K*, qui *M* praestiturum: p statutum *C* ~ erat uobis *M* 6. unus: verus *M* eius < *A* preteribit *AB''M* implebit *BM* 7. facta sunt < *B* taliterq; *sic ABCLM*, qualiterq; *IK* malorum: nn̄oꝝ *L*, malis *M* comunicatus *K* 8. quę venient *A* vos si *s. ras.* C^c preterietis *K*, preterieritis *I*(*M*?), preteriti eritis *B*, pretermititis C^c *s. ras.*; + mandatum meum et per *M* eius < *A* pepit uł pepigit C^* (pepit uł *del.*) 9. consurget: Cō *s. ras. B* eius < *C* super vos < *A* afferemini *C* terra *expl. C*; *sequitur* VINDICTA SALVATORIS 10. possōm *L*, passionem *I*

AMB''] VI. 11. quorum: cuius *M* + et *ante* per adv. *M* 12. xp̄s < *M* dominus < *B''M* per hore proph. *A*, (per <) ore prophetico *M* dixit < *M* ad ysaiam I^*, et per ys. *L*, m̨ysy̨ay̨a in ysaya *M* 13. et qui habit. *I* in ierlm *L* in me *M* vinea mea *A* 14. qm̄ *A*, quam *BM* aū *A*, hcc *B* (*insular* hꝫ, *cp. p.* 20 *l.* 5 (*non* 3), *p.* 23, *l.* 1 15. hoc est + autem *K*; sic *M* bonas < *A* et: ut *A* unde: ex quibus *M* 16. suum < *M* potaverunt *M* set *K* fecerunt < *B* ~ ac. et am. *M* aceruas *A* 17. suum < *M* potarent *A* sicut ipse dixit: *nil nisi* P *M* ipse < *B''* et dederunt *L* 18. esca mea *A* et in – aceto < *M* sitim mea *A* me < *K* ~ vinea ista *B* 19. (dominus ad <) moyses *A*, ~ ad moysen dn̄s dicens *M* enim < *L* vitis *A* et < *M*

1. Dt. xxviii 64. 2. Dt. xxviii 63. 4. Ios. xxiii 14-16. 13. Is. v 3-4. 17. Cf. Mt. xxvii 34. Ps. lxviii (lxix) 22. 19. Dt. xxxii 32.

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sarmenta eorum ex Gomorra ; uva eorum uva fellis, botrus amaritudinis.' De quibus per Esaiam superius dixit: '*Quaesivi ut faceret uvas, fecit autem spinas.*' Hoc est: spinas fecerunt, unde coronam super caput domini posuerunt. Sicut praedixit ipse dominus: '*Quaesivi ut faceret uvas, fecit autem spinas. Propter hoc adnuntiabo vobis, quid facturus sum vineae meae: auferam sepem eius et erit in direptionem, et tollam parietem eius et erit in conculcationem.*' Tollere sepem eius significat tollere ab eis terminos terrae possessionis eorum, et auferre parietem manifestavit auferre ab eis Iherusalem cum templo, ut iam nec Iherusalem habeant ubi conveniant festorum sollempnia celebrare, nec templum habeant ubi laetitiam agant. Sicut dixit Esaias: '*Auferam sepem eius et erit in direptionem, et tollam parietem eius et erit in conculcationem, et derelinquam vineam meam, et non potabitur neque fodietur, et ascendent in ea spinae sicut in agrum incultum.*'

VII. 1. De quorum repulsione dixit item per ipsum ESAIAM: '*Filios genui et exaltavi, ipsi autem me spreverunt et reprobaverunt.*' '*Israel me non cognovit et populus meus me non intellexit.*' Et '*Malum et amarum illis erit, eo quod dereliquerunt me*', '*fontem aquae viventis*'. Et '*Quia ipse non est populus meus nec ego deus eorum*'. Et '*Quia ipsi obliti sunt*

AMB''] 1. eorum[1] < *AM* ex : de *B*, et *LM* gomorre *L* et botrus *B* amarissimus *M* 2. de quibus—dixit : P ysaiã *M* (per <) ysaias *K**; + prophetam *L* aũ *A*, autem *etiam B*, *cf. l.* 14 (*p.* 19) *et* 5 *inf.* 3/5. hoc est—spinas < *M* 3. ~ fecerunt spinas *B*, spina fec. *L* 4. uvã *I* 5. aũ *A*, hec *B*, *cp. l.* 14 (*p.* 19) hec *B* facturus sum : faciam *L* 6. aufferem *M* sepe *A* directione *I*, -em *K* 7. conculcatione *L*, concultationem *B*, colcucationem *A* tollere[1] : tollam *M* eius < *IK* significavit *IL*, < *M* tollere[2] : et tollam *M* 8. terrae < *A* ; + et irtm sequitur aliud 7c̃ 7c̃ *M* possõnes *L* Possessiones eorum auferam et *M* 8/9. manifestabo et auferam *M* 9. et irtm *M* cum templum *A* iam < *M* 10. convenient *K* celebuntur *M* templum : tantum *B* 11. ubi : ũ *I*, ut *K* leticiam agant *M*, l&iciã habeant *A*, leti agant *B''* sicut dixit < *M* 11/12. auferam—et[3] < *M* 12. direptione *BIK* conculcatione *AIKL* relinquam *M* 13. meam < *M* non < *M* putabitur *BM* accedant *A*, accendentur *IKL*, attendentur *B*, effodent *M* 14. in < *B* agro inculto *M* incul *K** (+ t[o] *K*[c])

VII. 15. rupulsione *A* dixit < *AM* idem *B*, iterum *L*, < *K*, dominus *M* pipsum *A*[c]*I*, p ipm *K*, per semetipsum *B*, p *A*L*, ad *M* 16. genui : enutrivi *L* ~ reprob. me *BM* sprev. et < *B''M* ierusalem *M* 17. non[1] < *M* congnovit *K* ; + et popls m̃s me ñ cognov̄ *I* meus < *AI* me < *M* ~ non me *L* 18. ~ erit illis *M* vive *B''* 19/1 (*p.* 21). et quia—obl. eos < *IK*

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2. Is. v 4. 4. Is. v 4–5. 11. Is. v 5–6. 15. Is. i 2 ; cf. below, cap. xiii (p. 27, 23). 16. Is. i 3. 17. Ier. ii 19 ; cf. l.c. p. 27, 24. 18. Ier. ii 13. Hos. i 9; cf. l.c. p. 27, 24. 19. Hos. iv 6 ; cf. l.c. p. 27, 25.

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legem meam, et ego obliviscar eos, et quia ipsi agnitionem meam repulerunt, et ego repellam eos, ne sacerdotium mihi agant, ut non sacrificent mihi'.

2. Sicut de repulsione et exterminatione eorum significans ad IEREMIAM dominus dicit: '*Locutus sum ad eos per os prophetarum meorum dicens: "Avertite vos a viis vestris malis et ab adinventionibus vestris pessimis"*'. Et '*Testati sunt eis prophetae mei per tempora eorum et non obaudierunt eis.*' Et '*Vocabam eos et non respexerunt me*'. Et '*Ut quid mihi sacrificia et holocausta offerunt? ut quid mihi thus et cynamomum adtollunt, quae non habeo libenter*'. Et '*Si adtulerint mihi holocausta et sacrificia, non benignabor in ipsis*'. Et '*Tu Hieremias noli orare pro populo hoc;* quoniam *propter eos nomen meum blasphematur in gentibus*'. Et '*Vivo ego, dicit dominus, quia quos aedificavi destruam et quos plantavi evellam*'.

3. De quorum repulsione ac destructione significans dominus per EZECHIELEM dixit: '*Vivo ego, dicit dominus, filii Sodomae et Gomorrae non sic fecerunt sicut tu plebs fecisti.*' Et '*Sprevisti legem meam et praevaricasti testamentum meum et ego faciam tibi similiter*'. Et '*Extendens manum meam auferam legitima tua*', '*eo quod sancta mea contaminaveris*'. Et '*Repellam te et non miserebor tui*'. Et '*Ecce finis veniet ad te et tempus adpropinquabit diei et in proximo est*'.

4. De quorum exterminatione significans dominus dixit Iudaeis per

AMB'' 1. meam < *M* 2. repellaui *B* ne : nec *BIKM*, ut *L* sacrificium m. ag. *IK*, fungantur sacerdotio *M*, sacerdotii michi officium agant *B* ut non : nec *M* 3. sicut < *B''* sicut – dicit : item de repulsione dicit ier*emias* *M* 4. ~ dic. dom. *B''* (: *L*) 4/5. locutus – dicens < *M* 5. viis : viciis *L*, < *M* inventionibus *BM* 6. malis pessimis *B* ab eis *K** 7. ab eis audierunt *B* eos < *B''* me < *K* et[3] < *M* ut quicqd *K** (quic *del.*), ad quid *M* 8. sacrif. et < *L* offerrent *IK*, offerent *BL* ~ thus mihi *M* cynamomum *AM*: cinnamomū *IKL*, cinnamonium *B* 9. attollant *B''M* habeos (= ab eis ?) *A*, habe *K* libenter + offeruntur *A* et si < *M* adtullerint *A*, attollerent *B''*, attollent *M* ~ sacrif. et holoc. *I*, et sacrif. < *L* 10. tu < *B* ieremia *B''M* 11. pro < *B*M* (+ *B*[c] *i. mg.*) 12. dicit dom. < *B''* quia < *B''M* quos aed. destr. et < *A* 14. quorum : eadem *M* (*item l.* 21 ; *p.* 22, *ll.* 3, 6) ~ destr. ac rep. *A* 14/15. ac destruct. – dixit : dicit ezechiel *M* 15. fili *A* 16. sic : sicut *L* 17. meum : tuum (*post* testam̄) *K* tibi : te *K** et[2] ~ *ante* auferam *A* 18. legitima/// tua *B*, legitīam meam *L* contempminaveris *K* 19. et[1] < *L* a te *B''* venit *A* ad me *L* 20. adpropinquauit *A** diei et : et dies *B''M* in proxima *M* 21. exterm. + et desercione *M* significans – proph. : dn̄s aperte per prophetam Oseam dixit *M* signif. + item *B''* ~ dix. dom. *B''* dixit de iudeis *A* per os osee prophete *IK*

4. Ier. xxv 4, xxxv 15; 4 Reg. xvii 13. 6. Ier. xxvi 5. 7. Ier. vii 13. 25–27, xxxv 17, vi 20. 9. Ier. xiv 12. 10. Ier. xiv 11, vii 16, xi 14. 11. Is. lii 5 (cf. Ezech. xxxvi 20); Ro. ii 24. 12. Ier. xlv 4 (li 34). 15. Ezech. xvi 48. 16. Ezech. xvi 59 (?). 17. Ezech. xvi 27. 18. Ezech. v 11. 19. Ezech. vii 4 (7), 12.

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OSEE prophetam: '*Repellam a vobis dies festos vestros, neomenia et sabbata vestra et omnes conversationes vestras exterminabo.*

5. De quorum destructione significans et per MALACHIAM dixit Iudaeis dominus: '*Ut quid attulistis holocausta et sacrificia in conspectu meo? ego autem exsufflavi ea de manibus vestris.*'

6. De quorum destructione manifestans per ESDRAM prophetam dominus dixit: '*Quid tibi faciam Iacob, qui me noluisti obaudire? Iuda, vos me dereliquistis, et ego vos derelinquam; si petieritis a me misericordiam, ego non miserebor vestri, et erit quando invocaveritis me, non exaudiam vos. Maculastis animas vestras et manus vestras sanguine plenas habetis. Pedes vestri non fuerunt pigri ad effundendum sanguinem. Non quasi me dereliquistis, sed vosmet ipsos.*' '*Irritastis me et consilia mea sprevistis et non oboedistis legi meae. Populus indisciplinatus, quousque vos sustineo? Quare obliti estis me et beneficia mea?*' '*Ego misi ad vos pueros meos prophetas et occidistis eos qui contestabantur vobis, ut reverteretis ad me, et non obaudistis me et legem meam, sed fecistis blasphemias magnas et acceptos prophetas meos interfecistis et laniastis corpora eorum, quorum sanguinem et animas ego requiram*' et '*proiciam vos sicut stipulam, quoniam mandatum meum neglexistis et quod malum est coram me fecistis*'. '*Nonne ego vos rogavi ut pater filium, ut mater filiam suam, ut nutrix parvulum suum, ut essetis mihi populus et ego vobis deus, ut essetis mihi in filios et ego vobis in patrem? Ita collegi vos*

AMB″] 1. a vobis < *A* ~ vestros festos *A*, vestros < *K* 3. de quorum—dominus: de eadem malach *M* de qua *B″* et < *B″* iudeis < *A*, ~ post dominus *L* 4. adtutulistis *A*, attulistis *B*, attulisti *IKM* 4/5. ego—vestris < *M*, ego insufflavi (infl. *B*) ea (< *L*) in manibus meis *B″* 6/7. de—dixit: de eadem esdras *M* 6. prophetam < *A* 7. dicit dominus *B″* ~ faciam tibi *L* iacobo *IK* me: michi *M* obedire *M*, audire *L* 8. dereliquisti *A* ~ derelinquam vos *M* si < *B″M* p&ieritis *A*, preterieris *L*, preteriens *B* misericordiam: mīam *I*, mēam *K* 9. ego: et *B″M* me et non *B″M* 10 macta *L* ~ manus . . . animas *M* 11. habetis < *M* fuerunt < *L* 12. quasi: quia si *K*, quia *B*, < *L* me < *L* derelinquistis *A* vosmet ipsi *B* vosmet ipsos irritastis. me *IKL*, vosmet ipsos irritastis et dereliquistis. Me *M* 13. obaudistis *B″M* populi indisciplinati *B″M* 14. mei et *M* et ego *B* misi: mittam (~ *post* prophetas) *M* 15. pueros meos et proph. *IK*, ~ proph. pueros meos *L* contestaverunt *I*, testabantur *M*; + me *B″* 16. reverter&is *A*, reverteremini *IKM*, revertimini *B*, non vertimini *L* me et^{2} < *B″M* sed: et *M*, si *K* 17. multas *K* acceptos: accepistis *A* 17/20. et laniastis—fecistis < *B″M* 20. ego < *B* ~ rogavi vos *IK* ut^{1}: et *L* ut^{2}: et *LM* 21. nutrix + que nutrit *B″* 21/22. ut essetis—deus < *AK** (+ popłs et ego uobis dš. ut essetis m̄ *K*^{c} *i.* *mg.*) 21. ~ populus mihi *M* ~ vobis ego deus *M* 22. vobis^{2} + essem *A* in patrem. Amen *M explicit* ita: illa *A*

1. Hos. ii 11. 4. ?, cf. Mal. i 13. 7. 4 Esr. i 24–27. 12. 4 Esr. i 7–9, 14. 14. 4 Esr. i 32–34. 20. 4 Esr. i 28–31.

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ut gallina filios suos sub alas suas. Modo autem quid faciam vobis? proiciam vos a facie mea, avertam a vobis oculos meos. Immolationes mihi offerentes et dies festos vestros non sustinebo.'

7. De quorum destructione et ⟨. . .⟩ de terra possessionis eorum per IOHEL prophetam dominus dixit Iudaeis: '*Ecce dies veniunt et erunt filii Israel non habentes regnum nec magisterium, non habentes principem nec sacerdotes, non habentes sacraria nec sacrificia nec prophetas.*'

VIII. 1. Sicut manifestans per prophetam AMOS de luctu futuro eorum dixit dominus: '*Sollemnia vestra convertam in luctum et omnia cantica vestra in planctum.*'

2. Sicut de perditione Iudaeorum per reges Romanorum facta a tempore apparitionis stellae in nativitate Christi significans per BALAAM prophetam dixit: '*Orietur stella ex Iacob et homo exurget ex Israel*'. Et rursum ait: '*Exurgent*, inquid, *de Italia et superabunt Assyrios et devastabunt Hebraeos et ad extremum ipsi peribunt.*'

3. Sicut hoc praesignificatum est in temporibus Helisaei prophetae: '*Exierunt duo ursi et devoraverunt quadraginta duos pueros Hebraeorum clamantibus ⟨eis⟩: Ascende calve*': hoc est intellegere: similiter Hebraeis clamantibus Christum dominum ut ascendat in Calvariae locum ad crucifigendum post quadraginta duos annos exierunt duo ursi, reges Romanorum Vespasianus et Titus, et exterminaverunt Hebraeos.

IX. Propterea ex alienigenarum genere transmissus est in Iherusalem Herodes rex Iudaeae gentis, ut iam non haberent reges nec duces et principes sacerdotum de tribu Iuda. et omnem Iudaeorum vestem

AB″] 1. filios: pullos *KL* (*cf. vulg.* Mt. xxiii 37) sub alis suis *B″* autem: hec (~ *post* quid) *B*, *cf. p.* 19 *l.* 14, *p.* 20, *l.* 5 (*non* 3); < *L* 2. inmolationem *B″* 3. offerentes: facientes *BL*, facientibus *IK* et < *B″* festos < *I* sustineo *B* 4. et *A*, < *B″*; *add.* ⟨expulsione⟩ *vel* ⟨exterminatione⟩? promissionis *B″* 5. iohelem *L*, ioel *K* ~ dixit dom. *B″*, dicit dom. *L* de iudeis *A* venient *B″* 6. non habentes—mag. < *A* non habentes < *B**, + non *B*ᶜ *s. l.* magistrum *IL*, magist*er*ium vel magistrum *K* non²: nec *L* 7. non: nec *KL* nec² (*ante* sacrificia): et *BI*, < *K* prophetę *A*

VIII. 8. (per <) propheta Amos *L* futuro ~ *post* eorum *L*, futurorum *B*, < *A* 9. ~ dom. dixit *IK*, dicit dom. *L* ~ conv. soll. v. *B″* luctu *AB* omnia cant. vestra < *L* 10. planctu *A*, plantū *K*, luctum *B* 11. iudeorum < *B* factas *B*, < *A* 12. xp̄i < *B″* 13. dicens *B″* ęx̣ stella ex *K* de israel *B″* 14. rurṣụ́ʃ *A* exurgens *B* inquid < *B″* italia: araba *B* de asyrios *A* 15. etiam ipsi *BIK* 16. hęc *A* prefiguratum *B″* 17/18. exierunt—intellegere < *B″* 18. clamantibus *A*; *add.* eis, *sed fort. leg.* clamantes hebrei siſr clamantes *L* 19. dn̄m: iħm *B* ḷọc̣ụ̄locum *K* 20. duos < *L*

IX. 22. exalienigenaveīt *K*, exalienaꝝ *L*, ex alia *A* est + populus *B″* 23. ~ non habeant iam *B″* nec < *B″* 24. de: ex *B* et: ut *B″* vestemque *BL*, vestiamque *K*, vistiamque *I*

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5. Hos. iii 4. 9. Amos viii 10. 13. Num. xxiv 17. 14. Num. xxiv 24. 17. 4 Reg. ii 24. 22. Cf. Eusebius-Rufinus *H. E.* i 6. 1 24. Cf. ibid. i 6. 10; i 7. 13 Iosephus *Ant.* xviii 4. 3 (92); cf. xx 1. 1 (6); xv 11. 4 (404); Schürer i⁴ 483.

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sacerdotalem, quam invenit in templo rex Herodes repositam, igne consumpsit, ut amplius non habeant duces nec principes sacerdotum nec sacerdocia, quia coelestium et terrestrium 'dux ducum et princeps principum' et singularis patris sacerdos descendit, qui principali potentia super firmissimam petram fidei suae aedificaret ecclesiam, principes procuraret, pontifices destinaret, regalem sacerdotium sibi eligeret, sacrae observationis ministros constitueret, sacri convivii celebraret mysterium, coelestem ⟨. . .⟩ per orbem terrarum praeciperet, unam esse domum dei in totum mundum perficeret; in cuius adventum duces et principes tribus Iuda cessare significans Iudaeis dixit IACOB: '*Non deficiet princeps ex Iuda neque dux de femoribus eius, donec veniat, qui mittendus est, cui repositum est, et ipse est spes gentium.*'

X. 1. Et de altari sanctae ecclesiae Christi, quod esset aedificaturus, manifestans paterna vox dixit ad Iacob: '*Vade fac altare deo, qui apparuit tibi.*' Non dixit: 'fac mihi, qui loquor tibi', sed dixit: 'fac altare deo, qui apparuit tibi', hoc est intellegere: deus pater deo filio suo altare fieri iubet, quia filius eius erat altare caeleste, qui apparuit Iacob; ipse est domus dei, cuius sacrum mysterium significans Iacob '*tulit lapidem quem supposuerat capiti suo et erexit in titulum desuper fundens oleum*', quod intellegitur: lapis unctus Christus, qui venturus esset de semine Iacob et tribu Iuda, ut iam unctus Christus Christianos faceret filios Iacob, tribus Iuda Iudaeos. Ideoque ipsum lapidem, quem unxit Iacob et erexit in titulum, ipsum esse venturum domum dei manifestans IACOB dixit: '*Erit mihi dominus in deum et lapis iste, quem erexi in titulum, vocabitur domus dei.*'

AB''] 1. reposita *A* 3. nec sacerd. < *L* dux < *B* et < *B* 4. patris *coni.*, patri *A*, pater et *B''* ~ desc. sacerdos *L* decendit *B* 5. ~ eccl. edificaret *K* 6. regale *I* sacerdotū *L*, sacerdiciu$ *A* elegeret *A* 7. ministros < *K** (+ *K*^{c} *i. mg.*) 8. celeste (*c. myst. coniungit*) *B''*; *fort.* legem *vel* praedicationem *excidit* ~ precip. terr. *B*, terrarum in cuius adventum preceperet *K* pciperet *A* una ēē *A* (ēē *s. ras.*), unā eum *K*, unā cum *I* 9. (in <) totoque mundo perficeret *B''* (pref. *B*) adventu *L* 10. tribu *L* cessare + faē *A* (*e ll.* 14, 15) significans + quod *A* (*cf. l.* 18) ~ dix. iud. *B* 11. nec princeps *L* nec dux *B''* femore *B* 12. et < *B''*

X. 13. altario *A*, altari & *I* esset < *B''* 14. paterna *AK**: pater *BIK*^{c}*L* vade: vide *L* domino *B* 15/16. non—app. tibi < *L* 17. iubet: dꝫ (= debet, dicit ?) *L* eius < *L* celestis *A* 18. ad iacob *B''* ịadomus *K* sacrum misterium sacrum *B* significans + quod *A* 19. obtulit *B* lapidem < *B* quem *IK*: quod *ABL* supposuerat *A*, supposuerit *L*, suposerat *K* et < *A* in titulo *A* super *B* 20. xp̄o *K* 21/22. ut iam—iuda < *B''* 21. ut iam *coni.*, Iv̊m *A* 22. iudeos: deos *I*, eos (~ *post* ideoque) *K* 23. et erexit < *A* in titulo *BIK* venturum < *B''* 24. iacob < *B*

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2. Cf. Hos. iii 4. 3. Cf. Rev. xvii 14, xix 16. 10. Gen. xlix 10. 14. Gen. xxxv 1. 19. Gen. xxviii 18. 24. Gen. xxviii 21 f.

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2. Multi enim fuerunt missi, Moyses et prophetae, lapides in aedificatione Syon, sed nemo in fundamento missus est, ubi angularis lapis ponatur, ut aedificatio domus dei perficiatur, dicente DAVID: '*Nisi dominus aedificaverit domum, in vanum laborant, qui aedificant eam.*' Necesse fuit ut deus pater mitteret unigenitum lapidem preciosum electum angularem Christum suum in fundamentum Syon, sicut paterna vox dixit per ESAIAM prophetam: '*Ecce ego mitto in fundamentum Syon lapidem angularem electum preciosum, et qui crediderit in eum, non confundetur.*' Cognoscant et intelligant Iudaei; confundantur omnes qui non credunt lapidem preciosum missum ex patre in fundamentum aedificationis Syon, Christum filium dei.

XI. 1. Illa prima fabrica cecidit per iniustitiam, quod transmutato nomine domum David nuncupavit: 'domus quae ceciderat'. Necesse fuit ex semine David domum domini aedificare, sicut vox patris per prophetam AMOS promisit dicens: '*Post haec aedificabo tabernaculum David quod cecidit et destructa eius restaurabo et erigam, ita ut requirant ceteri homines deum et omnes gentes, in quibus invocabitur nomen meum in ipsis.*' Et hoc est ratio, quod in titulum psalmi dictum est: '*Psalmus cantici dedicationis domus David*', de qua dicit ipse DAVID in titulum XXVIIII: '*Exaltabo te domine, quoniam suscepisti me nec delectasti inimicos meos super me; domine clamavi ad te et sanasti me; domine eduxisti ab inferis animam meam.*' Tunc ab inferis eduxit animam suam Christus dominus, quando suscepta est a divinitate humanitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab aeternitate mortalitas. Tunc facta est dedicatio domus David, quando de semine David venit Christus dominus aedificaturus, qui est domus dei patris.

AB'] 1. in edificationes (< syon) *B''*, in edificacōne (< syon) *L* 2. sed—fundam. < *L* ~ lapis ang. *L* ~ pon. lapis *B* 3. ut: et *B''* edificatio *B''*: in hedificio *A* dicens *L* 4. laboraverunt *B''* ea *A* 5. pater < *B* 6. in < *A* paterna: p*ri*ma *L* 7. in fundamenta *IK* 9. cognoscant—confundantur < *K** (+ *K*^{c} *i. mg.*) confundentur *I* 11. xp̄m: ipsum *B*

XI. 12. in illa *B* 13. domus david (< domus [2]) *B''* domus q̣ (= quae?) *A*, quē *B''* 14. domini: dei *L* per < *A* prophetę *A* 16. destructam *A*, dirupta *B''* eius: est *L* et [2] < *B''* erigaui *B* 17. deo *L* in ipsis < *A* 18/19. et—david [2] < *A* 18. & hoc *I*: ex hoc *B*, et hec *KL* est < *L* titulo *B* 19. de quo *L* de hoc titulo ipse đđ dix̄ (in tit. XXVIIII <) *A* xx°· VIIII *B*, xxix° ps° *L*, xx$^{m\bar{u}}$ viii$^{u\bar{u}}$ *I*, xxviii *K* 20. me < *IL* 20/21. nec—eduxisti: usque *A* 21. dn̄e + ds̄ meus (< *L*) *IKL* te < *I*? sanasti me: s. i. m. *K* 22. suam < *B''*, meam *K* xp̄s (< *B*) dn̄s ~ *ante* animam *B''* 23/24. humanitas—aeternitate < *A* 24. quando: q*uoniam* *L* 25. venit < *L* xp̄s ds̄ *IK* qui est *B''*: quē *A*

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3. Ps. cxxvi (cxxvii) 1. 7. Is. xxviii 16. 9. Cf. Ps. xcvi 7; *Christusbilder* 216**. 10. 15. Amos ix 11–12. 18. Ps. xxix (xxx) 1. 19. Ps. xxix (xxx) 2–4.

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2. Sicut paterna vox per NATHAN prophetam dixit: '*Dic David servo meo: "Non tu aedificabis mihi domum ad habitandum; sed postquam morieris cum patribus tuis, suscitabo semen tuum post te, quod erit de utero tuo, et dabo regnum eius usque in saecula, et ipse aedificabit mihi domum fidelem nomini meo, et erigam thronum eius in saecula in conspectu meo".*'

3. Sicut enim post haec item manifestans paterna vox ad HELI sacerdotem dixit: '*Suscitabo vobis sacerdotem fidelem, qui omnia, quaecumque sunt in corde meo, faciet et ipse aedificabit domum fidelem et transiet in conspectu Christorum suorum omnibus diebus; et qui permanserit in domo eius, veniet adorare in pane et vino.*'

XII. 1. Sicut iterum significans paterna vox per ZACHARIAM prophetam dixit: '*Moriatur omnis caro a facie domini, qui exurgit de nubibus sanctis suis*'. Et '*Ipse aedificabit domum fidelem et accipiet honorem et sedebit super thronum suum et principabitur et erit sacerdos et consilium pacificum erit in medio nationum. Corona autem ipse timenti se et utilis ei.*'

2. Pro quorum adventu esse domum dei per orbem terrarum magnam et excelsam et inmensam voluit, sicut increpans Hebraeis spiritus sanctus per IEREMIAM dixit: '*O Israel, quam magna est domus dei et prolongatus locus possessionis eius; magna est et non habet finem, excelsa et inmensa.*' '*Hic est deus noster et non est alius praeter eum; qui invenit viam veritatis et dedit eam Iacob puero suo et Israel electo suo, qui post haec visus est in terris et cum hominibus conversatus est. Hic est liber testimoniorum dei et lex quae est in aeternum; qui tenent eam, in vita erunt, qui autem dereliquerunt eam, morientur.*'

AB″] 1. vos *K** (*K*^{c} *eras., non corr.*) 2. ~ servo meo david *B″* habit. : edificandam *B* 3. morieris : dormieris *B″*, dormiēs *L** 4. seculum *A* ipse < *B″* (h)edificauit *AL* 5. fideli *B* erigaui *B*, erigens *L* in^{1} : usque in *B*^{c} *IKL* 7. Sicut enim *coni.* : sic enim *A*, sic erit *B″* hec. Item *B″* ; item < *A* ~ vox paterna *K*, pater vocem *B* 8. dixit—sacerdotem^{2} < *A* dixit *coni.*, dicens *B″* 9. sunt < *BI*, *post* meo *K* et^{1} < *B″* hedificauit *A* fidelium *A* 10. christi (< suorum) *B″*, + mei *L* diebus < *K**

(*A*)*B″*] XII. 12. iterum : in te *IK*, tunc *L* significans < *B* prophetam < *I* 13. predixit *I* ; dixit *expl. A* caro < *K** 14. nubibus < *L* edificavit *L* fidelem *K**, *cf. ll.*, 59 : fidelium *BIK*^{c}*L* 14/15. et acc. hon. et sed. < *K* 15. principatur *L*, -um *B* 16. pontificum *K* et erit *B* ~ timenti se erit ipse *K* 17. ei : eius *B*, est *L* 18. dei < *L* 19. et^{1} < *BL* sic *K* 20. ieremiam + prophetam *B* est < *L* 21. eius < *L* 22. excelsa + est *BL* 23. (viam <) veritatem *B* 24. ~ in (< *B*) terris visus est *BL* est^{1} < *K* 26. autem < *BL* ~ eam derel. *BL* derelinquunt *I**, derelinquerunt *BI*^{c}, -int *K*

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1. 2 Reg. vii 5, 12 f. 8. 1 Reg. ii 35 f. 13. Sach. ii 13. 14. Sach. vi 13 f. 20. Baruch iii 24 f. 22. Baruch iii 36–iv 1.

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XIII. 1. In istam domum dei, qui est Christus filius dei, sacrae dispensationis sacrificium novum ⟨translatum⟩ esse per prophetam ABACUC significatum est, quando per manum angeli translatus est in aëre, cum prandium messoribus a Iudaea portaret in terram alienam Chaldaeorum gentilium et daret panem esurientium Danieli in lacu leonum. Die sexto panis iste a Iudaeis auferri videtur et gentibus tradi sexto millesimo anno. Et tunc angelus Abacuc prophetae dixit; post haec per angelum Gabrielem 'et per prophetam Christum sicut de vetusta tradidit Hebraeis sacrificia cessarent.' 2. . . . propheta ANNA Hebraeis dicens: '*Recedant vetera de ore vestro, quia deus scientiarum dominus est et ipsi praeparantur cogitationes. Arcus fortium superatus est et infirmi praecincti robore. Saturatis prius panes defecerunt et famelici saturati sunt.*' Haec dicens Anna manifestavit recedere a Iudaeis carnales observationes et vetustas, id est taurorum et vitulorum, hircorum et agnorum inmolationes, et arcum fortitudinis, regnum Iudaeorum, superatum esse, ut infirmi praecincti essent robore, populus gentium praecincti fidei fortitudine. Si autem de pane propositionis, quem edebant Hebraei, diceret: '*et famelici saturati sunt*' . . . Et quia synagoga Iudaeorum, quae multos filios habebat, infirmata esse haberetur, et sterilis ecclesia ex gentibus plurimos filios haberet, significans ANNA prophetavit dicens: '*Sterilis peperit plurimos et quae multos habebat filios infirmata est.*' Significans dominus per ESAIAM prophetam dixit: '*Filios genui et exaltavi, ipsi autem contempnentes me spreverunt*'. Et '*Ipsi non populus meus et ego nec deus eorum*'. Et '*Malum illis erit et amarum, eo quod dereliquerunt me*'. Et '*Ipsi agnitionem meam reprobaverunt et ego repellam eos de sacerdotio meo, ut non sacrificium mihi agant in sempiternum*'.

E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ.

B'' XIII. 1. in istam < *K* 2. translatum *addidi*: < *B''* per < *IK* 3. per angelum (< manum) *K* tranlatus *I*, translatum *L* 4. messorile *B* deportaret *L*, -rent *I* 5. caldeorum *BL* esurienti *K* lacū *L* 6. sexta *B* 6/7. auferri . . . tradi *coni.*: auferre . . . traditus *B''* 7. ~ dixit ad abacuc prophetam *L* 8/9. et—cessarent *corrupta esse videntur* per[2] < *IKL* 9. tradit *L* cessaret *L* per propheta anna *B* 10. vetera + inquit *IK* q*uoniam IKL* 11. deus *B* 12. accincti sunt *L* saturati *L*, saturitates *K*, staturis *I* panis *I* 15. et[1] < *K* regnorum *K*, regum *B* 16/17. essent—praecincti < *IK* 17. de pane < *L* quem: quid *L*, quod *B* 18. dicetur *B* *lacunam indicavi* 19. quae: quia *L* ~ hab. filios *K* infirma *IK* 20. ecclesia: et dira *B* plurimus *K** ~ habebat filios *K* amma *K* 22. infirma *K* deus *B* dicens *B* 23. me spreverunt me *B* 24. ego non *K*, nec ego *B* malū/// *IK* erat *B* 26. et < *IKL* sacrificent mihi nec agant *IK* *subscr.* Istius operis liber explicit *I*

3. Cf. Dan. xiv 32 ff. 10. 1 Reg. ii 3–5. 21. 1 Reg. ii 5. 23. Is. i 2; cf. cap. vii 1, p. 20 l. 15. 24. Hos. i 9; cf. *ib.* p. 20 l. 18. Ier. ii 19; cf. *ib.* p. 20 l. 17 25. Hos. iv 6; cf. *ib.* p. 20 l. 19.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE QUEEN OF SWEDEN'S 'GELASIAN SACRAMENTARY'.

IV

The Roman Masses for the Thursday before Easter. The first and second of the three Masses which Reginensis gives to the Thursday before Easter (Mur. i 548–559) are numbered 'xxxviii' and 'xl' respectively; while the third has no numeral, and the item for the following day is numbered 'xli'. Here, therefore, there is a manifest error. I propose to correct it by transferring 'xl' to the *missa ad uesperum*, and giving 'xxxix' to the *missa chrismatis*.

By the hypothesis Redactions *s* and S_1 contained nothing that was not strictly sacramentarial, and thus nothing that was proper to a Canon Poenitentialis or a Rituale Pontificale. With a view to their reconstruction I therefore neglect all that in § xxxviii concerns the reconciliation of penitents and the whole of the *missa chrismatis*: except that the Communicantes and Hanc igitur which now figure in the latter item must be taken thence and reinstated in their original home, the *missa ad uesperum*. This we are, I think, required to do by the rubric '*Infra canonem ut supra*' (*ib.* 559).

I. There are two textual errors in § xxxviii. 1. In the second prayer, 'Concede credentibus' &c., the simplest remedy of an unquestionably perplexing corrupt reading is that indirectly suggested by Gerbert, 'Concede ... saluum de xp̄i passione remedium ut humana fragilitas a praeteritae culpae laqueis aeterno suffragio absoluatur . per'. 2. In the Secreta, 'Virtutum' &c., the phrase 'in eorum traditione solemniter honorum' must be altered, in accordance with Cardinal Tommasi's suggestion, to 'in eorum traditione solemniter honoranda'.

II. The subject of the evolution of the extant capitulum of § xxxviii must be reserved to a later page. Meanwhile, suffice it to remember (i) that in neither *s* nor S_1, each of which was, by the hypothesis, Roman, can there have been any need for the interpretative '*id est non dicit* Dn̄s uobiscum' after the memorandum '*Eodem die*' &c.; (ii) that, by the hypothesis, the words '*et reconciliatio poenitentis*' were not part of the title in either *s* or S_1, and (iii) that, if § xxxvii may guide us, the original heading was not '*Oīones in quinta feria*', but '*Feria v. hebdom. sexta*' (17 letters).

Whether or not we are to regard as intrinsic to *s* and S_1 the clause 'Qui in hac die ... eleuatis' which in Reginensis precedes the Post-

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communion of § xxxviii (Mur. i 554), we must be circumspect in dealing with the parenthetical '*ubi dicimus . . . dicimus*' there prefixed to it, a phrase the colloquial diction of which would seem to stamp it as a memorandum which had in the first instance been set in a margin.

III. In close connexion with this subject two difficulties now present themselves :—

1. The Hanc igitur of § xxxviii is thus phrased: 'Hanc igitur oblationem dñe cunctae familiae tuae quam tibi offerunt ob diem ieiunii coenae dñicae in qua dñs ñ. ihc xp̄c tradidit discipulis suis . . . offerre diesque nr̄os in tua pace d'; where the words 'ieiunii coenae dñicae' raise a prejudice against the claim of the whole of the paragraph as now found in Reginensis to be deemed part of the original scheme of the item: because (i) those words are not in the corresponding constituent of the next Mass (Mur. i 555); because (ii) they yield a tautological construction, and because, (iii) although at a comparatively late period in the sixth century it was deemed advisable to remind the churches of Spain, and perhaps also those of the south-western littoral of Gaul, that the Thursday before Easter must be observed as a fast, and not, after the manner of the Priscillianists, as a feast,[1] no such emergency can be averred of the Roman Church either then or at any other time.

Another prejudice against the claim of the whole of the extant text of this Hanc igitur to be deemed part of the original scheme of § xxxviii is raised by its 'diesque nr̄os' &c.; for this is part of a clause which had no permanent place in the Roman text of the Canon until Gregory the Great put it there.

But when, by elimination of 'ieiunii coenae dñicae' and 'diesque nr̄os' &c., this Hanc igitur shall have been reduced to what would seem to be an earlier text, we may well doubt whether, even in such earlier text, it can have been a constituent of § xxxviii as originally devised; for none of the ordinary prayers of the Mass—Collecta, Oratio, Secreta, Postcommunion, Ad populum—says anything about the institution of the Eucharist.

2. The same very grave objection must be made in respect of the Communicantes. This has for its subject matter the betrayal by Judas. The ordinary prayers of the Mass say nothing whatever about it.

IV. The Preface of the *missa ad uesperum* (Mur. i 558) exhibits a peculiarity which must not be overlooked. Apart from its extraordinary conclusion, 'Per ipsum' &c., a conclusion which seems to have

[1] The sixteenth canon of the First Council of Braga (held according to Baronius in the year 563) ordains, 'Si quis quinta feria paschali, quae est *coena Domini*, hora legitima post nonam ieiunus in ecclesia missas non tenet, sed secundum sectam Priscilliani festiuitatem ipsius diei ab hora tertia, per missas defunctorum, soluto ieiunio colit, anathema sit'.

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replaced (in 59 letters) the customary 'per quem' (in 7 letters), it falls into two clearly distinguishable halves[1]: 'UD . . . quem in hac nocte . . . pro saeculi redemptione suppleret (in 542 letters)' and 'Pascit igitur mitis dŝ barbarum . . . relaxauit' (in 354). The style of the first is devoid of startling extravagance; not so that of the second: witness its 'pascit igitur mitis dŝ barbarum iudam' and its 'adhuc cibum eius iudas in ore ferebat et ad lanianda membra eius iudaeos carnifices aduocabat'. The first half contrasts the Redeemer's *innocentia* and His betrayer's guilt; the second contrasts the Redeemer's *patientia* and His betrayer's bloodthirstiness. Divergencies like these would seem to justify us in suspecting that, whoever may have been the author of the first half, the second cannot have been composed within the precincts of the Lateran; for, although the African nationality of Gelasius I, who on an occasion like this comes unbidden into our thoughts, might reasonably be held accountable for the fervour of the 'Quem in hac nocte . . . suppleret', the turgidity and unchastened daring of the 'Pascit igitur . . . relaxauit' seems to betoken a date later than his or a pen not trimmed in Rome. As against the extant value, 955 letters, of the Preface of § xl we therefore seem to have *prima facie* ground for suspecting a first value of (542 + 7 =) 549 for 'UD et iustum est . per xp̄m dn̄m nr̄m . quem in hac nocte . . . suppleret . per quem', a value reducible to 538 if we neglect the unusual 'et iustum est'. But these I propose to raise to 570 and 559, respectively; for whereas in the sentence 'Coenauit igitur' &c. Reginensis reads 'quem nec sub praemia pietas [an evident error for 'quem nec suprema pietas'] a scelere reuocaret' while Pamelius and Ménard find 'quem nec sacrati cibi collatio reuocaret', I am persuaded that both readings are authentic and that the classic text is that of the Canterbury Missal (MS c.c.c.c.

[1] With light but sure touch, a reviser, whom I believe to have been Gregory the Great himself, has, in the Canterbury Missal (fol. 35 *v.*), reconciled the first and second halves, and reduced the asperities of the second, thus:—

Regin.	*Cant.*
1. Quem in hac nocte . . . ut exemplum *innocentiae* mundo relinqueret.	1. Quem in hac nocte . . . ut exemplum *patientiae* mundo relinqueret.
2. Pascit igitur mitis dŝ *barbarum* iudam et sustinet *in mensam* crudelem conuiuam *donec se suo laqueo perderet qui* . . . O dn̄m per omnia *patientem* . . . Adhuc cibum eius iudas in ore ferebat *et ad lanianda membra eius iudaeos carnifices* aduocabat.	2. Pascit igitur mitis dŝ *immitem* iudam et sustinet *pius* crudelem conuiuam *qui merito laqueo suo periturus erat quia* . . . O dn̄m per omnia *patientem* . . . Cibum eius iudas in ore ferebat *et quibus eum traderet persecutores* aduocabat.

Compare St Gregory's 'quatenus suae nobis *patientiae* praeberet exemplum' (Hom. 16 § 3) and 'in semetipso nobis Dominus *patientiae* praebuit exemplum' (Hom. 18 § 2). Migne *S.L.* lxxvi 1136 C, 1151 B.

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270, fol. 35 *v*), 'quem nec sacrati cibi collatio nec suprema pietas a scelere reuocaret'.

The following table of values for S_1 is drawn up in accordance with the considerations suggested by the difficulties to which I have called attention. It assumes, that is to say, that at the second general Roman redaction § xxxviii had neither Communicantes nor Hanc igitur, and that the Preface of § xl ended at 'suppleret', comprising 570 letters. It also assumes that the Hanc igitur of § xl, now in § xxxix, ended at 'offerre'.

			S_1
	Brought forward		45
§ xxxviii.	*Feria v. hebdom. sexta*	17	1
	Eodem die non psallitur nec saluta . . .	30	1
	Om̄p. sem̄p. dn̄s da quaesumus &c. . . .	195	7
	Concede credentibus mīre dn̄s &c. . . .	131 (126)	5
	Om̄p. sem̄p. dn̄s qui uitam &c.	130	5
	Virtutum caelestium dn̄s de cuius &c. . .	168 (170)	6
	Concede quaesumus dn̄e ut &c.	79	3
	Gregem tuum pastor bone &c	107	4
§ xl.	*Item in feria v. missa ad uesperum* . . .	27	1
	Suscipe quaesumus dn̄s munus &c. . .	105	4
	UD . . . quem in hac . . . suppleret. et ideo	549 (570)	21
	Infra canonem	12	1
	Communicantes et diem &c.	79	3
	Item infra	9	1
	Hanc igitur oblationem famulorum &c. .	278 (267)	10
	Concede quaesumus dn̄e ut &c.	79	3
	Praesta quaesumus dn̄e ut &c.	103	4 = 125 (P. 55 ends)

The Roman Evolution of §§ xxxviii, xl. I. In a study of the Leonian Sacramentary contributed to the JOURNAL a few years ago (vol. ix p. 524) I invited attention to the following facts: That in the year 455 the Wednesday and Saturday of the summer ember-fast fell on the eighth and eleventh of June, and that those days were the Wednesday and Saturday of what by Roman computation was Whitsun-week; but that in that year Leo the Great—albeit with extreme reluctance, and as a concession to the Patriarch of Alexandria—kept the Christian Pentecost not on the fifth, but on the twelfth, of June: the consequence being that he committed the inconsistency of observing the summer ember-season before he kept the Feast of Whitsunday. In view of these facts I suggested that the very curious phrase 'noua disciplina' in the first prayer of the penultimate Mass of Leonianum X (Mur. i 319) 'Da nobis . . . nouam . . . obseruantiae disciplinam' &c. is an allusive reference *per aequivocationem* to the exceptional innovation thus brought to pass in the year 455; and I justified the suggestion by the fact that the probably right reading of the last prayer in the same item, 'Om̄p. sem̄p. dn̄s . . . da quaesumus ut *unitatem* mereantur *et pacem*', calls

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to mind the phrase '*unitas et pax*' which Prosper of Aquitaine, the literary assessor of Leo the Great, employed on this very occasion, 'Exstant eiusdem papae epistolae ad . . . Marcianum datae quibus ecclesia catholica instrui potest quod haec persuasio studio *unitatis et pacis* tolerata sit potius quam probata'.[1]

Now, I suspect that in the obscure 'de praeteritis ad noua transimus in the Ad Populum, 'Praesta quaesumus' &c., of the *missa ad uesperum* in § xl (Mur. i 559) there is a similarly devised allusion *per aequiuocationem* to another innovation, that of an evening Mass on the Thursday before Easter. That such Mass was at one time customary in the Roman Church cannot reasonably be denied, for the Breuiarium Ecclesiastici Ordinis (*ib.* ii 401) which I have more than once quoted says, 'In ipsa nocte in uigilia Parasceuen non canuntur *Gloria in excelsis* nec *Kyrie eleison*'; so that, until or unless the contrary can be proved, we must surmise as best we can when the use began and when it was discontinued. As found at xiii iii of the Leonianum (*ib.* i 325) the 'Praesta quaesumus' &c. presents no difficulty, for it is there worded, 'Praesta . . . ut sicut de praeteritis ad noua sacramenta transimus ita' &c.; but in § xl of our document there is no 'sacramenta'; and I cannot help thinking that the word has been purposely omitted, so as, while not precluding a sacramental interpretation, to make permissible the sense of 'we are passing from an old liturgical use to a new'; i.e. 'we are now doing a new thing in the history of this the Roman Church by commemorating at night—'in hac nocte', as the Preface has it—the institution of the Holy Eucharist'. This assumed as a legitimate account of the 'de praeteritis ad noua transimus' in the Ad Populum of § xl, the question now arises, At what period in the history of our document was the *missa ad uesperum* instituted?

II. Again: The Breuiarium says 'Quinta uero feria ante Pascha ad missas antiphonae ad introitum non canuntur, apostolum [*lege* 'apostolus'] et euangelium non legitur, nec responsorium canitur'.[2] This information suffices to account for the absence from § xl of an Oratio and, since the item is not a Mass of station, of a Collecta, but raises a difficulty as to two of the prayers (Mur. i 548, 549) which in § xxxviii precede the Secreta. It bids us expect to find but one, and yet here are three. The first indeed is a Collecta such as might be used to introduce a Mass of station; and its explicit mention of baptism accords with the ancient theory that the Thursday before Easter was the last day of the praepaschal *obseruantia* preparatory to the Church's solemn administration of that sacrament at Easter: but not so the second and third. Not only have they another subject-matter, the Passion and Death of the Redeemer; their very presence is out of accord with what the

[1] *Chronicon* s.f. (Migne *S.L.* li 606 A). [2] Mur. ii 401.

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Breuiarium says. Are they, then, *ex post facto* to the original scheme of the item, and, if so, when, severally, were they introduced?

III. Yet again: The Breuiarium continues 'Nec salutat presbyter, id est non dicit *Dominus uobiscum*', and a memorandum at the beginning of § xxxviii says the like, '*Eodem die non psallitur nec salutat* [? '*salutas*']'. But why such memorandum? Rubrics like this are not usual in such items of our document as, by the hypothesis, are Roman; so that, assuming this to be a Roman rubric, the only satisfactory explanation I can offer of it is that it enjoins an innovation on old use. If this be the true account of it, the question arises, At what period in the history of our document was the innovation made?

IV. Another question now suggests itself. Since the three ferial Masses of § xxxvii are rubricated '*Feria ii. hebdom. sexta*' &c., we may fairly infer that the original capitulum of the Sunday item had been a normal '*Dn̄ica sexta*', and that the extant '*De passione dn̄i*' was subjoined to it at a date subsequent to the issue of Redaction *s*, the ceremonial conduct of the Mass having meanwhile been so developed as—by means, it may be, of a new Introit, Gradual, Tract and Communion; or, it may be, by the solemn singing of St Matthew's Passio—to set in prominent relief the subject of the Redeemer's sufferings. If so, when was the innovation made?

These questions concerning the sub-title of the first item in § xxxvii, concerning the rubric '*Eodem die*' &c., concerning the supernumerary prayers in § xxxviii, and concerning the whole of § xl, call to mind the question which at the beginning of our enquiry[1] suggested itself as to the motive for amplifying the original scheme of Christmas items. For if, as would seem to be implied by the dogmatic colouring of the Collecta and Oratio of § ix and of its Secreta, Preface and Postcommunion, the Octave of the Nativity was instituted at a time when, in view of danger from eutychianism, it was deemed advisable to insist upon the fact that our Lord's birth of the Virgin was a true human birth,[2] the reason for so developing the ritual accessories of the first Mass in § xxxvii as to make it pre-eminently a Mass *de passione Domini*, for inserting into § xxxviii supernumerary prayers having reference, not to the baptism of neophytes, but to the 'de Christi passione remedium' and the 'Filius tuus moriens', and for giving § xl a long Preface con-

[1] See *J.T.S.* vol. xv p. 210. My analysis gives two amplifications. At the first of these the Mass for the Octave was introduced with a short Preface, 'Cuius hodie . . . infans et dn̄s est'; at the second the phrase 'Merito ergo caeli . . . pastores laetati' was added to this and the whole of § v introduced into the work (*ib.* pp. 200–202).

[2] In a journal meant primarily for theologians it would ill become me to labour this assertion. On examining the first three items of § ix and the 'Cuius hodie . . . infans et dn̄s est' of its Preface, the reader will see at a glance what I mean.

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cerning our Lord's betrayal by Judas may have been that the time was opportune for insisting on it that His sufferings were truly human sufferings, and His death a true human death; and to establish as *lex supplicandi* what Leo the Great had in sermon after sermon delivered on successive Sundays before Easter set forth as *lex credendi*.[1]

Before testing the hypothesis suggested by these considerations let me note a peculiarity in the Secreta of § xxxviii (Mur. i 553). I attach some importance to it, because, as we shall see presently, that prayer was said immediately before what we shall find reason to believe to have been an important moment in the solemnities of the day. The prayer has already occurred on the Wednesday of the third week *in quadragesima* (*ib.* 524); but with the difference that it there runs 'Dṡ de cuius' &c. thus numbering 151 letters (5 β lines), whereas here it numbers 169 letters (6 β lines), for it is amplified at the beginning by the words 'Virtutum caelestium'. I believe the shorter form to give us the *textus classicus*.

Thus much premised, I give again the values for *s* and S_1 for the first four days of the week before Easter; but with provision made for Subredaction s^1, that stage in the developement of our document which was just now suggested as the stage at which the subject of the Passion received new prominence. (See *J. T. S.* vol. xv pp. 567, 568.)

	§ xxxvii. 6th Sunday.				Monday.			Tuesday.			Wednesday.		
		s	s^1	S_1		*s*	s^1 S_1		*s*	s^1 S_1		*s*	s^1 S_1
Brought forward . . .				156									
Capitulum	10	*	*	1	18	1	1	19	1	1	18	1	1
Sub-title (*De passione dni*)	13		1	1									
Collecta	194		6	7	139	5	5	79	3	3	122	4	5
Oratio	162		5	6	111	4	4	70	2	3	138	5	5
Secreta	90		3	3	130	4	5	114	4	4	106	4	4
Postcommunion . . .	118		4	4	65	2	3	117	4	4	108	4	4
Ad Populum		*nil*	*nil*	*nil*	115	4	4	171	6	6	138	5	5
(At *s* P. 35 begins) .		18				20			20			23	=81
(At s^1 P. 43 begins) .			19			20			20			23	=82
				178		22 = 200			21			24 = 45	

[1] These most noble efforts of Leo's genius are not, like many modern sermons preached at Passiontide, devotional exercises on the sufferings of Christ *qua* sufferings, but carefully wrought discourses elucidatory of the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation. See *inter alia* the exordium of the first *sermo de passione Domini* (Migne *S.L.* liv 314 A–C), that of the third (*ib.* 319 B) and that of the fifth (*ib.* 326 B). See also the passage 'Hac fidei regula' &c. in the eleventh (*ib.* 350 B), the 'Gloria dilectissimi' &c. in the twelfth (*ib.* 353 A), and the 'Sermonem dilectissimi' &c. in the fourteenth (*ib.* 361 C).

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I now proceed synthetically.

Let us assume that, at the sub-redaction (s^1) at which I conceive the papal copy of the sacramentary to have been taken to pieces and the sequence of items made to begin not, as previously, with the Vigil of the Theophany but with Christmas Eve,[1] the volume also underwent a mechanical rehandling at the part which contained §§ xxxvii and xxxviii, § xxxvii being then written out anew, but with '*De passione dn̄i*' subjoined on a line by itself next under the capitulum '*Dn̄ica sexta*'. On this hypothesis the four items of § xxxvii would now occupy 82 lines, not, as at *s*, 81.

Let us further assume (i) that at Redaction *s*, as is indicated in the next table of values, § xxxviii had lacked the memorandum '*Eodem die*' &c.; (ii) that it had then contained but one prayer preliminary to the Secreta, the Collecta 'Om̄p. sem̄p. dṡ da quaesumus' &c., and (iii) that the Secreta had then kept its classic value of 151 letters. This threefold assumption gives us the result notified in column '*s*' of the next table. The fifth of a series of items the first of which began on a fresh β page on the Sunday before Easter (see *J. T. S.* vol. xv p. 567) ends on the hundredth line of four such pages; and this it does on the last of the *quadraginta ieiunia* of the quinquagesimal observance, the last of the *quadraginta dies* of the quadragesimal.

Hence the inference that, since the *missa ad uesperum* is greatly in defect of an integral number of pages of β value (for it is the equivalent of 43 β lines), the custom of evening celebration on the Thursday before Easter had not as yet been established in Rome at the time of Redaction *s*.

But let us next assume that, while § xxxvii received a rubric indicative of honour to the Passion at the manipulation which I conceive to have been practised at sub-redaction s^1, § xxxviii was amplified (i) by the very suggestive memorandum '*Eodem die*' &c., (ii) by the supernumerary 'Concede credentibus' &c., this too in honour of the Passion, (iii) by the longer text of the Secreta, about which I have something to say presently; and, further, (iv) that the *missa ad uesperum* was now introduced into the series, this in its turn giving special honour to the Passion by the 'passionis mysterium' of its Secreta and by every word of its plaintive Preface, 'Quem in hac nocte . . . passionem suam pro saeculi redemptione suppleret'. On this hypothesis ended item would once again, with a connecting rubric, coincide with ended page; pp. 43–48 of the new numeration now replacing, on three leaves, pp. 35–38 of the old, on two leaves.

Thus are we enabled to account for one of the two prayers which

[1] See *J. T. S.* vol. xv pp. 198–200.

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Thursday before Easter.

				s (β lines)	s^1 (β lines)	S_1 (θ lines)
	Brought forward			81	82	45
§ xxxviii.	*Feria v hebdom. sexta*	17		1	1	1
	Eodem die non psallitur nec salutas . . .	30		*nil*	1	1
	Om̄p. sem̄p. dn̄s da quaesumus &c.	195		6	6	7
	Concede credentibus mire dn̄s &c. . . .	131	(126)	*nil*	4	5
	Om̄p. sem̄p. dn̄s qui uitam &c.	130		*nil*	*nil*	5
	Dn̄s de cuius gr̄ae rore &c.	151		5		
	Virtutum caelestium dn̄s de cuius &c. . .	169			6 = 100 (P. 46 ends)	6
	Concede quaesumus dn̄e ut &c.	79		3	3	3
	Gregem tuum pastor bone &c.	107^1, 115^2		4^1 = 100 (P. 38 ends)	4^1 (= 7)	4^1 (= 77)
§ xl.	*Item vi. feria v. missa ad uesperum* . .	27			1	1
	Suscipe quaesumus dn̄e &c.	105			4	4
	UD . . . quem in hac nocte &c.	559^1, 570^2			18^1	21^2
	Infra canonem	12			1	1
	Communicantes et diem &c.	79			3	3
	Item infra	9			1	1
	Hanc igitur oblationem famulorum &c. .	267			9	10
	Concede quaesumus dn̄e &c.	79			3	3
	Praesta quaesumus dn̄e ut &c.	103			3 = 50 (P. 48 ends)	4 = 125 (P. 55 ends)

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the Breuiarium had bidden us not expect to find: thus are we justified in inferring that at sub-redaction s^1 the Roman custom of evening celebration recorded in the Breuiarium was already in existence.

Now, then, let us turn our attention to the Secreta of § xxxviii, a prayer which I believe to have been augmented by the value of a line at Sub-redaction s^1.

If it be true that at both *s* and s^1 three integral pages were given to Quinquagesima week (see *J. T. S.* vol. xv p. 222), five to Quadragesima week (*ib.* p. 223), and five to the week thence ensuing (*ib.* p. 351); then three to the items which bring us to the dividing-point of the Leonian quarantine of fasts (*ib.* p. 355), and one to that which brings us to the dividing-point of the seven-weeks' *obseruantia* of Telephorus (*ib.* p. 358); then, again, seven pages to the next nine Masses (*ib.* pp. 539–541), and four to the five that followed (*ib.* p. 544), I cannot believe it to have been without design that at Sub-redaction s^1 the next quatrain of pages instead of ending, as at Redaction *s*, with the last prayer of § xxxviii, ended with the Secreta. Assuredly the object of this change of method was to emphasize the fact that at that specific point in the Mass said on the morning of the day now known as Maundy Thursday the continuity of the function was interrupted and its intention restricted: the continuity interrupted by a pause[1] during which all such might retire as, having offered their gifts with the intention of returning in the evening then to communicate, were now at liberty to leave the sacred building and break their fast; the intention restricted to those who remained behind. I venture to say that this coincidence of ended Secreta with ended page, suggestive as it is of evening communion on the anniversary of the institution of the Eucharist, sheds a ray of light as clear as it is unexpected on Roman practice in that respect during the pontificate in which s^1 was issued.

The External History of §§ xxxvii, xxxviii, and xl. (*Roman Period.*) Such then is the result of an analysis as free from prejudice as it has been rigorous of §§ xxxvii, xxxviii, and xl. I therefore venture to assert that when the first general redaction of the sacramentary was compiled only one Mass was as yet by Roman custom appointed to be said on the Thursday before Easter, and that the time for saying it was the time customary on station-days, the *hora nona* of the Roman reckoning; but that at Sub-redaction s^1 the time for saying it was shifted from afternoon to morning, the new *missa ad uesperum* being appointed to be said at or soon after nightfall. Assuming these changes to have been made

[1] The reader may perhaps remember the analogous instances which I claim to have discovered in the 'Missale Francorum', and in what would seem to have been the second γ scheme of the forms of ordination in § xx, § xxii, and § xcix of the present document. See *J. T. S.* vol. xii pp. 230, 232; and vol. xv pp. 335, 338–340.

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simultaneously, or nearly so, with the composition of § ix, it will, I think, follow that, should scholars ever learn when, or under what pope, the Roman Church first observed the Octave of the Nativity, or first used the *missa ad uesperum* of § xl, a clue will have been obtained to the external history of our document. Meanwhile let us remember that theological acumen and terminological accuracy were oriental characteristics, and that these are conspicuously discernible in the first three prayers and the nucleus of the Preface of § ix; that the African Church as far back as the time of St Augustine had celebrated an evening Mass on the anniversary of the institution of the Eucharist; that Gelasius I was probably of oriental lineage and certainly of African nationality, and that he was the first man of African nationality who was raised to the government of the Roman Church. As at present informed, therefore, we can but say that Gelasius I is the most probable claimant, perhaps the only probable claimant, of the editorship of s^1.

Reverting for a moment to my synopsis for s, s^1, and S_1, I would observe that the third column of linear values shews us why and when it was that the second of the prayers which the Breuiarium had not led us to expect to find was introduced. But for it § xl would not at S_1 have reached the end of a θ page.

Sections xxxviii, xl at Redaction S_2. Conceded that I have thus far truly appraised the work done at Redactions S_1 and S_2, it is evident that, if the deviser of the latter edition had been so disposed, he might, like his Roman predecessor, have made the Mass for the Wednesday before Easter end at the distance of five lines from the foot of a page; for this he could have done by leaving Sunday's Collecta and Secreta as he found them (see *J. T. S.* vol. xv pp. 567, 568). He must have done what he did in order to make the first Mass for 'Maundy' Thursday begin on a fresh page. That anniversary had not received so appropriate a distinction at either of the Roman issues.

But this innovation imposed on him the task of amplifying either § xxxviii or § xl, or both of them, with material having the value of twenty θ lines if, as was fitting, they were to occupy a multiple of five-and-twenty such lines and thus bring the series to an end at the foot of a θ page.

It may be that scholars, after carefully examining the constituents which—whether composed or merely adopted by him—he inserted into §§ iii, iv, vi, vii, viii, xii, xiv, and the Ad Populum prayers which he gave to the Sundays in Lent, will be able to make a shrewd guess as to who he was: it may be that they will some day have that happiness when they shall have studied the 'Communicantes et diem' &c. of § xxxviii and more especially the latter half, 'Pascit igitur... relaxauit',

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of the Preface of § xl; for to him I attribute them. These two passages are not, it is true, the only additions to the scheme which he found in his copy of S_1: but I think that they must be his, because they are homogeneous the one with the other; and I hope presently to find that their aggregate value is the nett equivalent of twenty lines. But I do not think that the other three *complementa* can be his: I take them in their order. (i) The rubric '*Post haec offert plebs*' &c. must not be given to him, because there was no need for it before the form for reconciling penitents was inserted into § xxxviii; and by the hypothesis this was not done until Redaction V. (ii) I do not assign to him the 'Hanc igitur oblationem' &c., because its subject matter is not the same as the subject matter of the 'Communicantes' &c., because by reason of its phrasing—'ob diem *ieiunii* coenae dn̄icae'—it seems to have been designed as a protest against the priscillianism[1] condemned by the fathers of the First Council of Braga (A. D. 563), and therefore to be of comparatively late date, and because I cannot find that he anywhere inserted new material, as Gelasius I might have done, of polemical character. (iii) Nor do I think that the '*Item infra canonem ubi dicimus . . . dicimus*' &c. is his, because since, by the hypothesis, he was not a bishop, though probably an abbot, I cannot believe he would have presumed to innovate on the text of the Canon. But, even if I could, the colloquial '*dicimus*' '*dicimus*' makes me think that the memorandum, by whomsoever composed, was a marginal note, and therefore that it cannot have been part of the augmentary material having the value of twenty lines of text for which I am in search. These surmises are justified by the next three tables.

			S_1	S_2	
	Brought forward		45		
§ xxxviii.	Capitulum	17	1		
	Eodem die non psallitur &c.	30	1		
	Om̄p. sem̄p. ds̄ da quaesumus &c.	195	7		
	Concede credentibus mīre ds̄ &c.	126	5		
	Om̄p. sem̄p. ds̄ qui uitam &c.	130	5		
	Post haec offert plebs et &c.	43			
	Virtutum caelestium ds̄ de cuius &c.	170	6	6 = 25 (P. 60 ends)	
	Infra actionem	13		1	
	Communicantes et diem . . . quo traditus &c.	79		3	
	Item infra	9			
	Hanc igitur . . . familiae tuae &c. . .	165, 279			
	Item infra canonem ubi dicimus &c. . .	77			
	Qui hac die antequam traderetur &c. .	63			
	Concede quaesumus dn̄e &c.	79	3		
	Gregem tuum pastor aeterne &c.	107	4 = 77	4 = 11	

[1] See above, p. 29, n. 1.

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			S_1 S_2
	Brought forward		77 11
§ xl.	Capitulum	27	
	Suscipe quaesumus dñe &c.	105	1
			4
	UD et iustum. . . . Quem in hac nocte &c.	570^1, 976^2	21^1 36^2
	Infra canonem	12	1
	Communicantes et diem . . . quo traditus &c.	79	3
	Item infra	9	1
	Hanc igitur . . . famulorum famularumque &c.	267^1, 278	10^1
	Concede quaesumus dñe &c.	79	3
	Praesta quaesumus dñe &c.	103	4 = 125 4
	Of the following		1 = 75 (P. 63 ends)

This serves to shew that the editor of S_2, like Gelasius I, or whoever it may have been that introduced into the Roman Church the custom of evening communion on the Thursday before Easter, made the Secreta for the first Mass of that day end on the last line of a page; and, although it by no means proves that he too observed that custom, it suffices to suggest that he may have observed it. It serves to shew us why it was that the Preface of the *missa ad uesperum* was so strangely lengthened, and thus to prove that the editor of S_2, like the editor of s, the editor of s^1, the editor of S_1, regarded the Thursday before Easter as the last day of a sacred series.

Section xxxviii at Redaction V. And what of the second cismontane editor? I have not yet traced his work as far as the end of § xl, but I feel sure that he in his turn made the *missa ad uesperum* end on the last line of a page.

Meanwhile let us see how he dealt with § xxxviii.

By my hypothesis the disciplinary prayers now found in this section (Mur. i. 542–553) had not formed part of the document at Redaction S_2, because S_2 was compiled for a dignitary, probably an abbot, who though of high rank, was not a bishop; and because, if the rubric in § xvi may instruct us, the bishop in whose diocese his domain lay had reserved to himself the public reconciliation of penitents.[1] But, since it is hard to see why, at the cost of minute and infinite pains, the editor of V should have adapted sacramentarial material previously written on θ pages to pages of κ lineation and capacity if not to make them bibliographically homogeneous with several pontifical libelli already executed on κ pages—the 'Pont.', the 'Ord.', the 'Bapt.' of my analysis—we must believe it to have been he that engrafted into the first Mass for the Thursday before Easter the disciplinary material now found in it. The next table shews how true he was to his own artistic self, how scrupulously careful that his work should be done 'decently and in order'.

[1] See *J. T. S.* vol. xv pp. 327–330.

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			V	V′	
§ xxxviii.	*Oīones et preces in quinta feria* *	27	1	*	
	Eodem die non psallitur nec salutas	30	1	*	
	Id est non dicis Dūs uobiscum	24		*	
				1	
	Et reconciliatio poenitentis	26			
	Three prayers : 7. 5, 5 † . . . . . =		17		
	Ordo agentibus publicam poenitentiam	35	1		
	Egreditur poenitens . . . corpore in terra	100	4 = 24	4	(P. 91 ends at V)
	Et postulat in his uerbis diaconus	29	1	1 = 24	(P. 96 ends at V′)
	Postulation and rubric : 56, 5 . . . . . =		61		
	Three prayers : 8, 5, 28 . . . . . =		41		
See *J. T. S.* vol. xv p. 329	*Item ad reconciliationem* : 1, 5, 6, 9, 16 . . . =		37		
	Reconciliatio . . . ad mortem : 1, 18, 7, 12, 24 ‖ =		62		
	Oīo post reconciliationem &c. : 2, 10 . . . . =		12		
	Post haec offert plebs &c.	43	2 = 216	2	(P. 100 ends at V)
	Virtutum caelestium &c.	169	6		
	Infra actionem	12	1		
	Communicantes et diem &c.	79	3		
	Item infra	9	1		
	Hanc igitur oblationem &c.	165^1, 279^2	6^1	10^2	
	Item infra . . . dicimus . . . dicimus . . .	77		3	
	Qui hac die antequam &c.	63		2	
	Concede quaesumus dne &c.	79	3		
	Gregem tuum pastor bone &c.	107^1, 115^2	$4^1 = 24$	$4^2 = 248$	(P. 101 ends at V)

* The values for § xxxvii at V and V′ will be found in *J. T. S.* vol. xv pp. 567, 568.

† In terms of letters (see p. 39 *supra*) the values of these three prayers are 195, 126, 130.

‖ I assume the last prayer of the *Reconciliatio . . . ad mortem* to have ended 'esse saluum. per.' See Faustus of Riez *De Gratia* &c. I, § 12, 'Quotiescunque in sacris paginis legeris "In quacunque die conuersus ingemueris tunc saluus eris"'. (Migne *S. L.* lviii 803 A.)

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He alters nothing that lies before him in the Canon Poenitentialis, but (i) by means of a new directive rubric, '*Egreditur poenitens . . . prostrato toto corpore in terra*', he makes the ceremony begin on the first line of a fresh page. Again he alters nothing, but (ii) by means of another directive rubric, '*Post haec offert plebs et conficiuntur sacramenta*', he gives the resumed Mass the same distinction.[1] Yet again he alters nothing, but (iii) by means of an inserted Hanc igitur he gives what remains of the Mass the value of one integral page.

Now then we are able to conjure the difficulties of that very puzzling constituent, the Hanc igitur (Mur. i 553), to which I have more than once referred.[2] As written by the editor of V it ran simply thus—'Hanc igitur oblationem dn̄e cunctae familiae tuae quam tibi offerunt ob diem in qua dn̄s n̄. ih̄c xp̄c tradidit discipulis suis corporis et sanguinis sui mysteria celebranda quaesumus dn̄e placatus intende', in the 165 letters of six κ lines. It was another editor than he who, as a lance at the Priscillianists who feasted on a fast-day, introduced the tautological 'ieiunii coenae dn̄icae'; another editor than he who, after 'placatus intende', inserted words not proper to the Canon, 'ut per multa . . . mereatur offerre', where 'mereantur offerre' would have been preferable; another editor than he who began to add St Gregory's 'diesque n̄ros . . . iubeas grege numerari', but stopped short on reaching the first necessary verb of the clause on finding that, whereas St Gregory had written 'disponas', his own manipulation required 'dispone'.[3] These lapses in style may have a just claim on our consideration if I am well advised in believing V′ to have been edited at the beginning of the seventh century, a hundred years after V, and in a place remote from centres of learning.

The Missa Chrismatis. We have seen reason to believe that the forms of ordination in §§ xx–xxiv of Reginensis were derived into V′ from V (see *J. T. S.* vol. xv p. 348); that the editor of V had found them in a book of κ pagination which I style 'Ord.' (*ib.* pp. 334–338); that one of the sources of Ord. was a libellus of γ pagination, $ord._2$; and that this was a highly developed representative of an ultimate, but very small, book, $ord._1$. Let us now assume that the Missa Chrismatis in § xxxix—wrongly numbered 'xl' in Reginensis—had a like history: let us, that is to say, assume an ultimate nucleus, $pont._1$, and a developement of this, $pont._2$, both of them γ libelli; and, after them, a κ developement, Pont. And let us further assume that, just as $ord._2$ differed from $ord._1$ by the presence of long passages dealing with the ritual of the Old Law as adumbrative

[1] On the last line of p. 100 of his volume; perhaps the last of a gathering.

[2] It is the only thing in the whole course of my enquiry that has given me any serious trouble.

[3] Because the preceding verb was 'intende', not 'intendas' or 'accipias'.

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of the ritual of the New, so the long passage in the formula for the blessing of chrism—'Qui' in principio . . . propheta cecinisset'—was introduced by the editor of *pont.*$_2$ but had not been in *pont.*$_1$.

Again, we have seen reason to believe the essential differences of Ord. from *ord.*$_2$ to have been that it contained forms of ordination—the *Consummatio presbyteri* and the *Ad consummandum diaconatus officium*—not recognized by the earlier book; and, further, that it had all the necessary equipment of a proper Mass, i.e. the Oratio 'Exaudi nos dṡ salutaris ñ.' &c. (Mur. i 513) and the six constituents now found in § xxiv (*ib.* 517). In § xxxix, indeed, the forms for the blessing of the *oleum infirmorum*, the *oleum catechumenorum* and the chrism are not 'shadowed' by another triad; but there certainly are all the constituents of a proper Mass, as also directive rubrics which imply and refer to the Canon Missae. These I therefore assume to have been inserted by the editor of Pont.

But before I act on these assumptions let me note a peculiarity in the formula for blessing the *oleum catechumenorum*, 'Dṡ incrementorum' &c. (Mur. i 555). This constituent, like the formula for the *oleum infirmorum*, 'Emitte' &c. (*ib. ib.*), and like that for chrism (*ib.* 556), is a prayer; but in Reginensis it is made to conclude as if it were an exorcism, 'per . . . uenturus est' &c. (in 635 letters). I neither say nor think that this can be due to clerical error; but I do believe that it represents a theory which was not held at the time and in the place in which either *pont.*$_1$, *pont.*$_2$ or Pont. was set forth, and that the author of it wrote 'Dṡ incrementorum . . . adepturi per . in unitate eiusdem' (in 585 letters). The subject will recur on an early page. Meanwhile we have the theoretical reconstruction notified in our next table.

Here then we have for *pont.*$_1$ as in our examination of § xx and § xxii we had for *ord.*$_1$, a title, a form of blessing (with such adornment of its initial letter as became a bishop's altar-book) and a connecting rubric, on one γ page; and, again as in *ord.*$_1$, on another γ page, a second form of blessing. For Pont., again, as in Ord., we have, in addition to forms of blessing, constituents and rubrics proper to them when incorporated into a Mass: but here in Pont. as these in Ord. all have been arranged with careful foresight; for, if there the consecratory 'De quaesumus om̃p. pater in hos' &c., for priests and the consecratory 'Emitte in eos quaesumus dn̄e' &c., for deacons began, each of them, on a fresh κ page, so here does the consecratory 'Emitte quaesumus dn̄e spm̄ sc̄m' &c., for the *oleum infirmorum*, while its junction with the 'per quem haec omnia' &c., of the Canon is so abbreviated by means of an '*et caetera*' as that when the bishop, having left the altar and taken his place at the throne (Mur. i 555), is ready to begin the second function, the blessing of the oil of catechumens, yet another κ page

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		γ schemes		κ scheme
		pont.$_1$	*pont.*$_2$	Pont. (V)
Benedictio olei infirmorum	24		1	
Ornamentation			1½	1½
Missa xpismatis	14			½
Dñe dš qui in regenerandis &c.	180			6
Da nobis oñp. dš remedia &c.	91			3
Huius sacrificii potentia dñe &c.	112			4
UD clementiam tuam suppliciter &c.	382			13
Infra actionem	13			1
Communicantes et diem . . . quo traditus est &c.	79			3
Item infra	9			1
Hanc igitur oblationem famulorum . . . offerre	267			9
Benedictio olei ad populum in his uerbis	34			2
Ad populum in his uerbis	20		¾	
Istud oleum ad ungendos infirmos	26		1	1
Ut autem ueneris . . . per xp̄m dn̄m nr̄m . *et intras*	82			3 = 48
Emitte quaesumus . . . creas sc̄ificas . . . nobis per ipsum	485		16	
Emitte quaesumus . . . creas *et caetera*	445			15
Expleto enim canone dicis	22			1
Oremus. Praeceptis salutaribus moniti	32			1
Sequitur oō dn̄ica	16			1
Et iterum subsequitur alia oō	26			1
Libera nos quaesumus dñe	20			1
Ipsa expleta confrangis . . . dicis	115 (113)			4 = 24
Dn̄s uobiscum. *Resp.* Et cum spū tuo. *Dicis*	30			1
Oremus. *Et intras*	13			1
Benedictio olei catechumenorum	28		1 = 21	1
Dš incrementorum et profectuum . . . adepturi . per . . . in unitate eiusdem	625 (601)		21 = 21	21 = 24

MEMORANDUM.—These items occupied pp. 102–105 at V; and at V the *Benedictio chrismatis* and *Olei exorcisati confectio* (see below, p. 48) occupied pp. 106–109.

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awaits him. The twenty-four lines of this page contain nothing that is not proper to the subject.

Let us now continue our examination of § xxxix.

The formula for the blessing of chrism falls into three parts: the illative 'UD et iustum . . . aeterne dꝰ' (in 83 letters); the long expository 'Qui in principio . . . cecinisset' (in 989 letters), where the Old Law is explained as adumbrative of the New; and the strictly consecratory 'Te igitur . . . consortes' (in 368 letters). This last should, however, have for conclusion either 'per eundem . in unitate eiusdem' or 'per eundem dn̄m nr̄m ih̄m xp̄m filium tuum qui tecum uiuit et regnat in unitate eiusdem sp̄s sc̄i dꝰ'; and should therefore be computed as containing either 393 or 444 letters. The lower value is of course probable for at least *pont.*$_1$ and *pont.*$_2$.

Guided by *ord.*$_1$ and *ord.*$_2$ I give all of these factors to *pont.*$_2$; but only the first and third to *pont.*$_1$. At this redaction, however, we must assume that the words 'dn̄e sc̄e pater om̄p. aeterne dꝰ' (23 letters) were not in the 'Te igitur' &c., for they had just occurred in what was then the contextual 'UD et iustum est' &c. For *pont.*$_1$, therefore, the value of the formula must be lowered from (83 + 393 =) 476 letters to (83 + 370 =) 453.

Instructed by § xx and § xxii in *ord.*$_2$ I cannot but believe that in *pont.*$_2$ the expository 'Qui in principio . . . cecinisset' ended on one page, that the consecratory 'Te igitur' &c. began on another, that between them stood the rubric '*Sequitur benedictio*', and that so much of the item as preceded either the '*Sequitur benedictio*' or the 'Te igitur' &c. filled two γ pages. The subjoined table justifies this my belief.

		γ schemes	
		pont.$_1$	*pont.*$_2$
Benedictio xpismatis	19		1
Dn̄s uobiscum. *Resp.* Et cum sp̄u tuo	25		1
Sursum corda. *Resp.* Habemus ad dn̄m	26		1
Gr̄as agamus dn̄o dō nr̄o. *Resp.* Dignum et iustum est	38		2
UD et iustum &c. (83). Te igitur deprecamur per ih̄m &c. (370)	453	16 = 21	
UD et iustum &c. (83). Qui in principio &c. (989) . . .	1072		37 = 42
Sequitur benedictio	18		1
Te igitur deprecamur dn̄e sc̄e &c.	399 (392)		13
Item olei exorcizati confectio	27	1	1
Exorcizo te creatura olei &c.	575 (539)	19	19
UD om̄p. aeterne dꝰ qui mysteriorum &c.	237 (193)		7
Explicit, or other rubric		1 = 21	1 = 42

Passing on to the *Olei exorcizati confectio*, (1) I neglect the rubric '*Hoc loco*' &c. (Mur. i 557), not because it is of doubtful authority, but because, by the hypothesis, *pont.*$_2$, like *ord.*$_2$, eschewed directive rubrics; (2) that the formula of exorcism, 'Exorcizo te' &c., did not necessarily

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extend beyond the word 'iudicare', thus comprising 539, or perhaps rather more, letters; and (3) that the last constituent of all had the conclusion proper to it, 'per . in unitate eiusdem', not, as now in Reginensis, the conclusion proper to an exorcism, and that its value was therefore 193, not 237.

These results are of exceedingly great interest and value, for :—

In the first place: If it was at *ord.*$_2$ that a long passage, 'Dñe sc̃e . . . indigemus' (Mur. i. 513), on the Mosaic ritual was introduced into the *Ad ordinandos presbyteros* (see *J.T.S.* vol. xv pp. 335–339), that a similar though shorter passage, 'Adesto quaesumus . . . possiderent' (*ib.* 515), was introduced into the *Ad ordinandos diaconos*, and that a long and analogous passage, 'Dṡ qui moysen . . . clarescat' (*ib.* 625), was inserted into the *De episcopis ordinandis* (see *J.T.S.* vol. xv p. 340); it was at *pont.*$_2$ that the precisely analogous 'Qui in principio . . . cecinisset' here in § xxxix found its way into the formula for the blessing of chrism. Hence we may fairly infer not only that *ord.*$_2$ and *pont.*$_2$ had one and the same editor, but that both of them may have stood in one and the same libellus, that one and the same libellus may previously have held *ord.*$_1$ and *pont.*$_1$, and that at a later date one and the same book may have held both Ord. and Pont.

Secondly: Although the foregoing list of values gives us no technical certitude on the subject, it shews it to be possible that *pont.*$_1$ contained the formula for the exorcism of the *oleum simplex*[1] when as yet the constituent 'UD om̃p aeterne dṡ qui mysteriorum tuorum' &c. had not been subjoined to it. It certainly does shew that this last constituent, whatever be the truth as to the exorcism itself, cannot have appeared before redaction *pont.*$_2$.

If, therefore, scholars should ever learn where, when or by whom the four exegetical passages on the Old Law as adumbrative of the New were written; where, when or by whom the *oleum exorcizatum* first received liturgical recognition in Western Christendom; where, when or by whom the idiomatically curious 'UD . . . qui mysteriorum tuorum' &c. was written, very useful clues will have been obtained to the external history of our document.

Let us now resume our examination of Pont. for so much of the present section as relates to chrism and the *oleum exorcizatum*.

Between the rubric '*Iterum dicis*' and the dividing-point of the

[1] I may have to recur to this subject on a later page. Meanwhile, let me say that at one time the *oleum simplex*, as ritualists call it, bore to the oils known as sacramental some such relation as mere holy water bears to the water of the baptismal font. I think I am right in saying that the blessing of this oil is not nowadays practised in dioceses where the observance of the Roman rite is rigorously enforced.

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formula for the blessing of chrism Reginensis has not material sufficient to fill an integral number of κ pages. It is on occasions like this that we realize the value of an ascertained unit of paginal measurement. But for such a criterion, I could not have felt sure, as I now do, that, by whosesoever fault, Reginensis is here defective. What then are the facts in our cognizance?

In Reginensis the form for the blessing of chrism begins with the rubric '*Iterum dicis*': then follow the salutation 'Dñs uobiscum' and the response proper to it. But what does '*Iterum*' imply? I do not think that it refers to the 'Dñs uobiscum' (Mur. i. 555) which precedes the form for the blessing of the *oleum catechumenorum*: because that was a function distinct from the present; because the '*Iterum iterum dicit*' in § xx (*ib.* 512) excludes the idea of separation in point of time between one announcement of the 'Auxiliante dño' &c. and another, and because the directive '*Et iterum subsequitur alia oīo* Libera nos dñe' in the present section (*ib.* 555) gives '*iterum*' the meaning, not of 'again', but of 'immediately' or 'without interruptive interval'. Turning therefore for help to the Roman pontifical now in use, I there find that the salutation 'Dominus uobiscum' precedes, not only the consecration itself of the chrism, but also the preliminary ceremony of infusing balsam into the urn which contains the waiting oil; and, thus informed, proceed as follows:—

If I have rightly reconstructed Pont., that edition was characterized by directive rubrics: witness, in the preceding forms, the '*Ut autem ueneris* &c., the '*et reliqua usque ad*' &c., the '*Expleto enim canone*' &c., and several others, all of which are in Reginensis. We therefore should assuredly expect to find in Reginensis, what it does not give us, a rubric about the balsam, the admixture of which with oil constitutes the material difference between chrism and the other *olea sancta*. Mr. Wilson's note 25 (P. 74 of his *Gelasian Sacramentary*) gives us what we want. He tells us that the St Gallen book here has '*Post hoc misces balsamum cum alio oleo et benedicis crisma in his verbis*'.

From these data I infer that, whether from carelessness or from other cause, and at whatsoever stage in the history of Reginensis, the following details have been omitted:—

Dicis
Dñs uobiscum. *Resp.* Et cum spū tuo.
Post hoc misces balsamum cum alio oleo ad benedicendum xpisma.

and that then came

Iterum dicis
Dñs uobiscum. *Resp.* Et cum spū tuo
&c., &c.

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We thus have for the three editions :—

		pont.$_1$	*pont.*$_2$	Pont. (V)
Benedictio xpismatis	19		1	1
Dicis	5			1
Dn̄s uobiscum. *Resp.* Et cum spū tuo	25			1
Post hoc misces balsamum &c.	48			2
Iterum dicis	11			1
Dn̄s uobiscum. *Resp.* Et cum spū tuo	25		1	1
Sursum corda. *Resp.* Habemus ad dn̄m	26		1	1
Gias agamus dn̄ð do nr̄o. *Resp.* Dignum et iustum est	38		2	2
UD et iustum &c. Te igitur deprecamur per xp̄m &c.	453	16 = 21		
UD et iustum &c. Qui in principio &c.	1072		37 = 42	37
Sequitur benedictio	18		1	1 = 48
Te igitur deprecamur dn̄e sc̄e &c.	392		13	13
Item olei exorcizati confectio	27	1	1	1
*Sequitur exorcismus**	18			1
Exorcizo te creatura olei &c.	539	19	19	19
UD om̄p. aeterne dn̄ qui mysteriorum &c.	193		7	7
Hoc autem expleto ueniens ante altare &c.	157			6
Explicit or other rubric		1 = 21	1 = 42	1 = 48

* MEMORANDUM.—The '*Hoc loco misces balsamum*' &c., which here stands in Reginensis, looks like a conflation of words in the '*Post hoc misces balsamum* (or *Hoc loco misces balsamum*) *cum alio oleo*' in the rubric on the fourth line and the '*Sequitur exorcismus*' which would be permissible at this place.

If I have rightly traced the evolution of Ord. and Pont. from *ord.*$_2$ and *pont*$_2$, and of this from *ord.*$_1$ and *pont.*$_1$, the collation of the three successive editions would be as follows :—

For *ord.*$_1$ and *pont.*$_1$ we should have, on two membranes

Page 1 Blank.
" 2 Consecration of Bishop (see *J. T. S.* vol. xv p. 340).
" 3 Ordering of Presbyters (" " " 338).
" 4 Ordering of Deacons (" " " 338).
" 5 Blessing of *oleum infirmorum.*
" 6 " " *oleum catechumenorum.*
" 7 " " Chrism.
" 8 Blank, or filled *ex post facto* with exorcism of *oleum simplex.*

This collation tells against, rather than for, the inclusion of the *Olei exorcizati confectio*—an item, not improbably, of oriental origin, and for this reason worthy of most careful notice—in the nuclear scheme; for its inclusion would not have left a blank page at the end of the libellus.[1] On the other hand, the scheme which I just now gave for *pont.*$_1$ (see above,

[1] I suspect that the libellus was not bound, but that when in use its two membranes were enfolded within the wings of a diptych. The editor of such a libellus would naturally leave the last page blank as well as the first.

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p. 45) does not leave room for an explicit after the *Benedictio chrismatis*. This objection might, however, be met by assuming that the original formula was not only devoid of the words 'dñe sce pater omp. aeterne ds', which by the hypothesis (see above, p. 45) would have been tautological, but that it also lacked the succeeding 'per ihm xpm filium tuum dnm nrm' (25 letters). I am inclined to think that it did; for, as the reader will perceive on consulting the extant text (Mur. i. 557), these words are by no means necessary, since they are almost immediately, and in the very same sentence, followed by 'per potentiam xpi tui'. Their exclusion would give the original formula (453 − 25 =) 428 letters, the equivalent of 15, not 16, lines, and would thus leave room for an explicit on the last line of the penultimate page. On the whole, the most probable opinion must, I think, be (1) that the *Olei exorcizati confectio* was not in the original libellus, but (2) that, which as yet consisting of nothing but title and exorcism, it had a first and temporary lodging on the last page of that little document, and (3) that when it eventually received an assured home in the second libellus the constituent 'UD omp. aeterne ds qui mysteriorum tuorum' &c., whoever may have been the author of this, was subjoined to the exorcism, so as, with an explicit, to fill the whole of the penultimate page of a fasciculus of four membranes: the collation of this being:—

Page 1	Blank.
Pages 2–4	Consecration of Bishops.
,, 5–9	Ordering of Presbyters, *Consummatio*, Ordering of Deacons, *Ad consummandum* &c.
Page 10	Blessing of *oleum infirmorum*.
,, 11	,, ,, *oleum catechumenorum*.
Pages 12–15	,, ,, Chrism and exorcism of *oleum simplex*.
Page 16	Blank.

Thus was a fasciculus of two membranes superseded by a fasciculus of four. This in its turn was replaced by a fasciculus of six, the collation being:—

Page 1	Blank.
,, 2	Frontispiece.
Pages 3–6	Consecration of Bishops.
,, 7–10	Ordering of Presbyters and *Consummatio*.
,, 11–15	,, ,, Deacons, *Ad consummandum* and § xxiv.
,, 16–18	Mass and Blessing of *oleum infirmorum*.
Page 19	Blessing of *oleum catechumenorum*.
Pages 20–23	,, ,, Chrism and *Olei exorcizati confectio*.
Page 24	Blank.

Hence the prominent facts in the external history of this contributory pontifical would seem to be, that the first and the second issues of it

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were written in a scriptorium, or in scriptoria, whose sacred books were books of γ pagination; that the second, if not the first, issue was designed for use in a diocese which employed not only the three sacramental oils but also the *oleum simplex*; but that the third was written in a scriptorium whose sacred books were books of κ pagination, in a scriptorium which boasted artists as well as scribes, a scriptorium therefore of some pretension; that, as many of its directive rubrics intimate, it was written in or after the pontificate of Gregory the Great, and that, as its final rubric, '*Hoc autem expleto*' &c., intimates, it was written in a diocese obedient to the decree of the First Council of Braga (A.D. 563) which forbade after-supper communion on the Thursday before Easter.

Section xxxix at Redactions V and V'. I cannot find that when the editor of V was dealing with sacramental items he was ever untrue to his exemplar, a copy of S_2, except when stichometrical necessity prompted him to resort to expedients of retrenchment or enhancement: but since no such necessity beset him when dealing with § xxxix, for the pages of his exemplar, a copy of Pont., were, like his own, pages of κ value, I assume that he followed that exemplar line by line except at the beginning of the item. There his predecessor had sacrificed a line to ornamentation; and, as he himself eschewed ornament, the disparity thus presented would be most easily met by concluding the first constituent, not with the conventional 'per', but with 'per dn̄m nr̄m ih̄m xp̄m'. Thenceforward his course was clear until he reached the end of his own eighth page (p. 109 of his volume). I need not tabulate his values. Save for the slight exceptions just mentioned, they will be found in columns 'Pont.' of the preceding tables (see above, pp. 44, 48).

The editor of V' worked otherwise. He had carried § xxxviii into the first eight lines of a page (p. 107 of his volume): and it may have been to rectify this disadvantage that he gave one line instead of four to the Communicantes (Mur. i 555), that he deprived the Hanc igitur of its rubric, and that he suppressed the rubric '*Dicis*', the salutation 'Dn̄s uobiscum' and its response, the headings proper to the successive forms of blessing, and the '*Sequitur benedictio*' at the dividing-point of the formula for chrism. But, on the other hand, and for whatever reason, he made the 'Ds̄ incrementorum' &c. occupy twenty-two lines, instead of twenty-one, by giving it a conclusion proper to exorcisms (*ib.* 556); he made the formula for chrism occupy fifty-one lines instead of fifty (*ib.* 557); he inserted an unintelligible rubric before his exorcism of the *oleum simplex*; that exorcism he so prolonged as to make it require twenty-one lines instead of nineteen; and, by giving the last constituent the conclusion proper to exorcisms he made this require

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eight lines instead of seven. In the subjoined table I make careful note of these peculiarities. It shews that on reaching the limit of the item he reached the end of a page.

			V′	
	Brought forward. (See p. 41 *supra*)		248	
§ xxxix.	*Item in quinta feria missa xpismatis*	31	1	
	Four details as in Pont. (See p. 44 *supra*) 6, 3, 4, 13 =		26	
	Infra canonem Communicantes *ut supra*	33	1	
	Hanc igitur oblationem famulorum . . . offerre*	267	9	
	Benedictio olei ad populum in his uerbis	34	2	
	Istud oleum ad ungendos infirmos	26	1	= 288 (P. 108 ends)
	Ut autem ueneris Nobis . . . dūm nr̄m *et intras*	82	3	
	Six details as in Pont. (See p. 44 *supra*) 15, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1 =		20	
	Ipsa expleta confrangis . . . dicis	113	4	
	Dn̄s uobiscum. *Resp.* Et cum spū tuo. *Dicis*	30	1	
	Oremus. *Et intras*	13	1	
	Dā incrementorum . . . iudicare saeculum per ignem . . .	625	22	
	Iterum dicis	11	1	
	Three details as in Pont. (See p. 46 *supra*) 1, 1, 2 =		4	
	UD et iustum . . . per eundem . . . xp̄m filium tuum . . .	1471	51	
	Item olei exorcisati confectio	27	1	
	Hoc loco misces . . . et sequitur hic exorcismus	51	2	
	Exorcizo te . . . per eundem . . . per ignem per dūm . . .	575	20	
	UD om̄p. aeterne dā qui . . . per dūm . . . saeculum per ignem	237	8	
	Hoc autem expleto ueniens ante altare &c.	157	6	= 144 (P. 114 ends)

*Memorandum.—I doubt whether even the editor of V′ can have added the words 'diesque nr̄os' which in Reginensis follow 'offerre'. To assume that he did might gravely prejudge the question of his date: to assume that he did not would involve no such risk. This, therefore, is our safer alternative. St Gallen not only knows nothing of them but subjoins 'per xp̄m' to 'offerre'.

Section xl. *The Missa ad uesperum.* On a previous page (see above, p. 30) I give my reasons for thinking that the latter half, 'Pascit igitur' &c. (Mur. i 558), of the extant preface of the *Missa ad uesperum* is not the work of a Roman pen; and I shewed at some length how admirably the result implied by this hypothesis consorts with the paginal distribution which the ceremonial observances proper to a first 'Maundy Thursday' Mass would require of a careful Roman editor. I also gave my reasons for thinking that the original text of the first part, 'Per xp̄m dūm nr̄m quam in hac nocte . . . suppleret', contained words not in Reginensis, the words 'nec sacrati cibi collatio' and that it thus comprised, with a concluding 'per quem', 570 letters (or, possibly, 559), the equivalent of eighteen β lines and of twenty-one θ lines.

There is no reason to believe that the first of the cismontane editors

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made any addition to what he transcribed from his copy of Redaction S_1 further than the Communicantes of § xxxviii and the latter part, 'Pascit igitur . . . relaxauit', of the Preface of § xl.[1] On the other hand: so soon as the second cismontane editor had adopted into his volume the *Missa chrismatis* the Communicantes, and the Hanc igitur of which had in S_1 formed part of the *Missa ad uesperum*, there was no need that he should rewrite these at length in his transcript of the latter item. We may therefore assume that it was he who, instead of doing this, wrote the '*Infra canonem ut supra*' (Mur. i. 559) which now separates the Postcommunion from the Preface.

On this hypothesis the author of the very curious and suggestive 'magi mutati, reges turbati . . . dignatus est adimplere' in the extant Preface for the Octave of the Nativity[2] (Mur. i 500) and the author of this 'Pascit igitur . . . relaxauit' can scarcely have been one and the same man[3]: and I therefore venture to hope that the salient characteristics of the two passages may yet help scholars to form a probable theory as to when, where and by whom, Redaction S_2 and Redaction V, respectively, were compiled.

And, if I was just now well advised in believing that the editor of V took the rubric '*Hoc autem expleto*' &c. from a pontifical (Pont.) which lay ready to his hand, it would seem to follow that the bishop for whom he worked was bishop of a diocese in which after-supper communion on the Thursday before Easter was not customary.

[1] We have seen that, like the edition of the Roman sub-redaction S^1, and presumably for the same important reason as had inspired that of his predecessor, the editor of the cismontane S_2 so economized his material as to make the Secreta of § xxxviii end simultaneously with a page (see above, pp. 39, 40). The consequence was that enhancement having the value of twenty θ lines would be needed if the *missa ad uesperum*, the last Mass of the *quadraginta ieiunia* of the quinquagesimal observance, was to end in like manner. Such enhancement was supplied by the '*Infra actionem*' and 'Communicantes' &c. of § xxxviii; by the 'Pascit igitur' &c. of the Preface of § xl, and by the capitulum of § xli.

[2] See *J.T.S.* vol. xv p. 200.

[3] Because, whereas the editor of S_2 may have subjoined his 'Pascit igitur . . . relaxauit' to the original Preface of § xl as early as the year 495, or thereabout, the editor of Redaction V, at which, by the hypothesis, the marvellous 'magi mutati, reges turbati . . . dignatus est adimplere' (see *J. T. S.* vol. xv p. 200) was added to the original Preface of § ix, may not have worked before the year 563, when the First Council of Braga forbade after-supper communion on the Thursday before Easter (see above, p. 50); and also because the two passages differ conspicuously from each other in respect of style.

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The successive totals for § xl are—

		s^1	S_1	S_2	V_1	V'
Brought forward. (See above, p. 36, p. 39, and pp. 48, 51)		7	77	11		
§ xl. *Item in feria quinta missa ad uesperum*	27	1	1		1	
Suscipe quaesumus dñe &c.	105	4	4		4	
UD et iustum est per xp̄m . . . supplerent per quem . .	570	18	21			
UD et iustum est per xp̄m . . . relaxauit per ipsum &c.	976			36	34	
Infra actionem	13	1	1			
Communicantes et diem &c.	79	3	3			
Item infra	9	1	1			
Hanc igitur oblationem famulorum &c.	267	9	10			
Infra canonem ut supra	19				1	
Concede quaesumus dñe &c	79	3	3		3	
Praesta quaesumus dñe ut &c.	103	3	4		4	
Of the following				1	1	1

Total (β) for s^1	50 P. 48 ends)
,, (θ) ,, S_1	125 (P. 55 ends)
,, (θ) ,, S_2	75 (P. 63 ends)
,, (κ) ,, V	48 (P. 111 ends)
,, (κ) ,, V'	48 (P. 116 ends)

MARTIN RULE.

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NOTES ON THE *APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS*.

I. THE COMPILER AN ARIAN.

IN a paper contributed a year ago to the JOURNAL (October 1913: xv 53–65) under the title 'A primitive edition of the Apostolic Constitutions and Canons', I had occasion to cite, as evidence of the superiority of one Greek MS, Vat. gr. 1506, its peculiar forms of doxology. Since the theological affinities of the compiler have been a matter of dispute, it seems worth while to collect together a larger number of readings of this MS with a view of shewing at once its general excellence and its definite theology. If I am right in accepting this MS as the best witness to the original text of the *Constitutions*, it would certainly, I think, follow that the fathers of the Quinisextine council in Trullo in their second canon were amply justified in rejecting the book of *Apostolic Constitutions* on the ground of its unorthodox contents.[1]

No doubt the Trullan fathers did not go so far as to say that the *Constitutions* were forged by heretics; they only asserted that they had been interpolated by heretics, and it might seem a tenable view that the clear doctrinal indication of the passages I shall proceed to quote is the result of an Arianizing edition of an originally orthodox or at least colourless work. But it is not very likely that after about the year A. D. 400 there would have been on Greek ground any movement for Arianizing Catholic or non-Arian literature; the movement would have been the other way at that date, just as at the time when the *Constitutions* were compiled, somewhere about A.D. 360–380, there is a real probability that an Antiochene writer would have been some sort of an Arian. If we were to push back the date of the *Constitutions* another twenty years, the presumption would be stronger still: if, with Funk, we bring down the date of the compilation to the beginning of the fifth century, the presumption of Arianism would disappear, and this may explain why Funk, the only editor of the *Constitutions* who has supplied us with adequate materials for reconstructing the original, has refused, in spite of his material, to de-catholicize the traditional text of the book.

[1] *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τούτοις τοῖς κανόσιν* [sc. the Apostolic Canons] *ἐντέταλται δέχεσθαι ἡμᾶς τὰς τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος Διατάξεις, αἵστισι πάλαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἑτεροδόξων ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῆς ἐκκλησίας νόθα τινὰ καὶ ξένα τῆς εὐσεβείας παρενετέθησαν, τὸ εὐπρεπὲς κάλλος τῶν θείων δογμάτων ἡμῖν ἀμαυρώσαντα, τὴν τῶν τοιούτων Διατάξεων προσφόρως ἀποβολὴν πεποιήμεθα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου ποιμνίου οἰκοδομὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν.*

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But Funk's date is unsatisfactory on other grounds (Brightman *Liturgies Eastern and Western* i pp. xxviii, xxix); and the data that are here offered as to the Vatican codex gr. 1506 go to shew not only that Arian readings are found in it but also I think that its readings approve themselves in non-dogmatic passages. It is not contended that the MS is everywhere a safe guide: it contains perhaps more than its share of blunders, and there are also traces of a definitely catholicizing recension of passages which even the ordinary texts have left untouched.[1] But the MS appears to represent (in common up to a certain point with its sister MS, Vat. gr. 2089, which I have quoted where 1506 is defective) an independent tradition, and to have preserved sufficient elements of the original text, bowdlerized in the other MSS, to enable us to pronounce clearly upon the doctrinal tendencies of the compiler.

1. vii 47 § 3

Lagarde 229. 15–21	Funk 456. 4–8	cod. Vat. gr. 2089 (*deficit* 1506)
Κύριε υἱὲ μονογενῆ Ἰησοῦ χριστέ, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀμνὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρός, ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς· ὁ αἴρων τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ κόσμου,	Κύριε ὁ θεός, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ ὃς αἴρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, πρόσδεξαι τὴν	Κύριε, ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ἀμώμου ἀμνοῦ ὃς αἴρει τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, πρόσδεξαι τὴν

[1] The following passages may be cited in proof of this (the readings of Funk are on the left, those of Vat. gr. 1506 on the right):—

vi 14 § 2 (Funk 335. 19)

αὐτὸν . . . προσκυνεῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ παναγίῳ πνεύματι.	αὐτὸν . . . προσκυνεῖν καὶ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα.

vi 30 § 1 (Funk 385. 10)

δι' οὗ τὸ σέβας τῷ παντοκράτορι θεῷ.	αὐτῷ τὸ σέβας . . . σὺν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ συναϊδίῳ πνεύματι.

vii 38 § 8 (Funk 440. 5)

σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ σέβας διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.	σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ σέβας μετὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου.

viii 7 § 8 (Funk 482. 27)

σοὶ . . . σέβας καὶ διὰ σοῦ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.	σοὶ . . . σέβας καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

viii 9 § 10 (Funk 488. 3)

δι' οὗ σοὶ δόξα καὶ προσκύνησις ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.	δι' οὗ σοὶ δόξα, καὶ προσκύνησις τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

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Lagarde 229. 15–21	Funk 456. 4–8	cod. Vat. gr. 2089 (*deficit* 1506)
πρόσδεξαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν· ὁ καθήμενος ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. ὅτι σὺ εἶ μόνος ἅγιος, σὺ εἶ μόνος κύριος **Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς** *εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρός· ἀμήν.*	*δέησιν ἡμῶν, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ· ὅτι σὺ μόνος ἅγιος, σὺ μόνος κύριος* **Ἰησοῦς, Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης γενητῆς φύσεως** *τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ σοὶ δόξα τιμὴ καὶ σέβας.*	*δέησιν ἡμῶν, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ· ὅτι σὺ μόνος ἅγιος, σὺ μόνος κύριος,* **ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ πάσης γενητῆς φύσεως** *τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ σοὶ δόξα τιμὴ καὶ σέβας.*

The early MSS are all but unanimous against Lagarde's text, which is in effect identical with our own form of the *Gloria in excelsis*. Funk has the support of good MSS, and in substance he is right: but in the last clause we stumble both against an abrupt change of address and against a really impossible phrase 'Christ of the God of all created nature'. Unfortunately 1506 is defective; but we may presume that its reading is represented by the sister MS, in which the prayer is consistently addressed throughout to the Father, while it is Christ, as we should expect, who is 'God of all created nature and our King': compare the passage numbered 11 below, *βασιλέα καὶ κύριον πάσης νοητῆς καὶ αἰσθητῆς φύσεως*.

2. viii 5 § 1

Funk 474. 4, 5	cod. Vat. gr. 1506
ὁ ὢν μόνος ὕψιστος, ὁ τῇ φύσει ἀόρατος, **οὗ ἡ γνῶσις ἄναρχος,** *ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀσύγκριτος.*	*ὁ ὢν μόνος ὕψιστος, ὁ τῇ φύσει ἀόρατος,* **οὗ τὸ εἶναι γνῶσις ἄναρχος,** *ὁ μόνος ἀγαθὸς καὶ ἀσύγκριτος.*

Here the text of the editors speaks of God 'Whose knowledge is without beginning' as in vii 36 § 9 (432. 15), while the Vatican MS speaks of God 'Whose being is knowledge without beginning': and though there may be some doubt whether *ὁ τὸ εἶναι* (or *ὁ τῷ εἶναι*) should be read for *οὗ τὸ εἶναι*, there is good reason to suppose that the compiler meant to say 'God is knowledge' rather than 'God has knowledge', in view of the parallel viii 12 § 7 (Funk 496. 22, Brightman 14. 32) *σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ ἄναρχος γνῶσις ἡ ἀΐδιος ὅρασις . . . ὁ πρῶτος τῇ φύσει καὶ μόνος τῷ εἶναι*. So simple a reading as that of the majority of the MSS would hardly have lent itself to a change.

3, 4. viii 6 § 11 (Brightman 5. 17), viii 37 (36) § 2

Lagarde 240. 26–28	Funk 480. 11–13 with codd. Vat. gr. 839 and 1506
Ὁ μόνος ἀληθινὸς θεός, ὁ θεὸς καὶ	*Ὁ μόνος ἀληθινὸς θεός, ὁ θεὸς καὶ*

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Lagarde 240. 26–28.

πατὴρ τοῦ χριστοῦ σου τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ σου, ὁ **τοῦ παρακλήτου προβολεύς**.

Funk 480. 11–13 with codd. Vat. gr. 839 and 1506

πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ σου, ὁ **θεὸς τοῦ παρακλήτου**.

id. 272. 5–7

Ὁ τῶν ὅλων ποιητὴς διὰ χριστοῦ καὶ κηδεμὼν αὐτοῦ δὲ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, **ὁ τοῦ πνεύματος προβολεὺς** καὶ τῶν νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν βασιλεύς.

id. 544. 18–20

Ὁ τῶν ὅλων ποιητὴς διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ κηδεμὼν πρὸ δὲ πάντων αὐτοῦ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, **ὁ τοῦ πνεύματος κύριος** καὶ τῶν νοητῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν βασιλεύς.

I have included these two passages, although Vat. gr. 1506 is not alone in its reading and although Funk on both occasions follows it, because the phraseology is important in relation to the compiler's doctrine of the Holy Spirit. προβολεύς is apparently not a word that belongs to the compiler's vocabulary: and in his case that argument alone is almost enough to establish the true reading. In vi 11 § 2 (325. 15) I do not doubt that, though Funk's text is correct, his punctuation is not: read ἑνὸς παρακλήτου διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ταγμάτων ποιητήν.

5, 6. viii 6 § 11; viii 5 § 3

Funk 480. 13 (Brightman 5. 18)

Ὁ διὰ **Χριστοῦ διδασκάλους τοὺς μαθητὰς** ἐπιστήσας πρὸς μάθησιν τῆς εὐσεβείας.

cod. Vat. gr. 1506

Ὁ διὰ Χριστοῦ διδασκάλους **τοῖς μαθηταῖς** ἐπιστήσας πρὸς μάθησιν τῆς εὐσεβείας.

The reading of 1506 gives, what the other reading does not, an object to the ἐπι-: it makes μαθηταῖς and μάθησιν correspond to one another, whereas in the other reading the μαθηταί are those who teach, not those who learn: and it is suggested by the natural contrast between 'teacher' and 'disciple', as in viii 12 § 3 (496. 2), where the presbyters stand round the bishop on either side, ὡς ἂν μαθηταὶ παρεστῶτες διδασκάλῳ.

In yet another passage 1506 alone has preserved what appears to be the true reading by retaining the word διδασκάλων, which all other authorities have lost: viii 5 § 3 (474. 11–14) σὺ ὁ δοὺς ὅρους ἐκκλησίας διὰ τῆς ἐνσάρκου παρουσίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ὑπὸ μάρτυρι τῷ παρακλήτῳ διὰ τῶν σῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν χάριτι σῇ παρεστώτων ἐπισκόπων. This reading is easy and specious at first sight: but the bishops who are speaking—or rather the consecrating bishop speaking in the name of the rest—have really nothing to do with the ἔνσαρκος παρουσία: they are (according to the fiction of the compiler) disciples of the apostles, but not of Christ. If then with 1506 we read instead διὰ τῶν σῶν

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ἀποστόλων καὶ ἡμῶν διδασκάλων, τῶν . . . ἐπισκόπων, we get exactly the necessary point: 'God who by means of the Incarnation gave laws to the Church through Thy apostles our teachers'—'teachers of us the bishops who by Thy grace are present here.' The article τῶν covers both σῶν ἀποστόλων and ἡμῶν διδασκάλων, 'those who were apostles of Thine and teachers of ours', a trick of style very much, I think, in the manner of our compiler.

7. viii 6 § 12

Funk 480. 17 (Brightman 5. 22)	codd. Vat. gr. 839, 1506
πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι σε καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου.	πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου.

8. viii 9 § 5

Funk 486. 13 (Brightman 8. 26)	cod. Vat. gr. 1506
κοινωνοὶ γενέσθαι τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ ἱερῶν καὶ μέτοχοι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων . . . ἄξιοι . . . τῆς υἱοθεσίας.	κοινωνοὶ γενέσθαι τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ δωρεῶν καὶ μέτοχοι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων . . . ἄξιοι . . . τῆς υἱοθεσίας.

I cannot find the neuter plural ἱερά used as a noun by our author: while conversely the parallel prayer for catechumens (484. 12 = B. 7. 20) uses the three nouns δωρέα, υἱοθεσία, μυστήρια just as in our passage.

9. viii 9 § 8

Funk 486. 19 (Brightman 9. 3)	cod. Vat. gr. 1506
Παντοκράτορ θεὲ αἰώνιε, δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων, κτίστα καὶ πρύτανι τῶν πάντων.	Παντοκράτορ θεὲ αἰώνιε, δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων, κτίστα καὶ πρύτανι τῶν ὄντων.

Funk's otherwise excellent index has omitted to collect the uses of the participle ὁ ὤν, τὰ ὄντα, and I have no light to throw on this variation, but the text of 1506 is the more striking.

10. viii 10 § 4

Funk 488. 13 (Brightman 10. 5)	cod. Vat. gr. 1506
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων.	ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς.

The phrase περὶ τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας is found once elsewhere vii 30 § 2 (418. 15): the phrase 'the church of God' is common in Book II.

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11, 12. viii 12 § 7, § 27

Funk 498. 4, 504. 26 (Br. 15. 6, 18. 25)	cod. Vat. gr. 1506
ἀρχιερέα σόν, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ κύριον πάσης νοητῆς καὶ αἰσθητῆς φύσεως.	*ἀρχιερέα σὸν* καὶ προσκυνητὴν ἀξιοχρέων, *βασιλέα δὲ καὶ κύριον πάσης νοητῆς καὶ αἰσθητῆς φύσεως.*
σὲ προσκυνοῦσιν ἀνάριθμοι *στρατιαὶ ἀγγέλων κτλ.*	*σὲ* προσκυνεῖ πᾶν ἀσώματον καὶ ἅγιον τάγμα, [σὲ προσκυνεῖ ὁ παράκλητος] πρὸ δὲ πάντων ὁ ἅγιός σου παῖς Ἰησοῦς ὁ χριστὸς ὁ κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν σοῦ δὲ ἄγγελος καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀρχιστρατηγὸς καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς αἰώνιος καὶ ἀτελεύτητος, *σὲ προσκυνοῦσιν* εὔρυθμοι *στρατιαὶ ἀγγέλων κτλ.*

Parallels can be found for *αἰώνιος καὶ ἀτελεύτητος* viii 38 § 5 (548. 5); for *ἄγγελός σου* viii 12 § 7 (498. 4), for *ἀρχιερεύς σου* viii 46 § 12 (560. 23), for *τάγμα* as used of the ranks of angels vi 11 § 2 (325. 15), vi 30 § 10 (385. 9), vii 35 § 3 (430. 9). The bracketed words are by the second hand over an erasure according to Funk: but I do not doubt that it was some close connexion in the original of the Holy Spirit with angelic spirits which was the motive of the erasure. Similarly in viii 12 § 8 (Funk 498. 10 = Br. 15. 11) *ὁ δι' αὐτοῦ πρὸ πάντων ποιήσας τὰ Χερουβίμ* 1506 after *πάντων* inserts *τὰς οὐρανίους δυνάμεις* and an erasure follows—comparing vi 11 § 2 (325. 15), where the word is also *ποιητής*, I suspect the words erased contained mention of the 'creation' of the Holy Spirit.

13, 14. viii 12 § 50, 15 § 9

Funk 514. 7 (= Br. 23. 1)	cod. Vat. gr. 1506
ὅτι σοὶ πᾶσα δόξα σέβας καὶ εὐχαριστία, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.	*ὅτι δι' αὐτοῦ σοὶ πᾶσα ἡ δόξα σέβας καὶ εὐχαριστία, καὶ διά σε καὶ μετά σε αὐτῷ τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.*
Funk 520. 24 (= Br. 27. 9)	
ὅτι σοὶ δόξα αἶνος μεγαλοπρέπεια σέβας προσκύνησις, καὶ τῷ σῷ παιδὶ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Χριστῷ σου τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.	*ὅτι σοὶ δόξα αἶνος μεγαλοπρέπεια σέβας προσκύνησις, καὶ μετά σε καὶ διά σε τῷ παιδὶ σοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλεῖ, δι' οὗ σοὶ ἐποφείλεται παρὰ πάσης λογικῆς καὶ ἁγίας φύσεως ἡ ἐπάξιος εὐχαριστία ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.*

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I repeat these two passages from *J. T. S.* xv 54, with the reference for διά σε καὶ μετά σε to vii 43 § 3 (448. 20), adding that for some minor phrases the text of Funk may be better than that of 1506: τῷ **Χριστῷ** σου τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ looks like the compiler's style.

15. viii 14 § 3

Funk 518. 15 (= Br. 25. 26)	cod. Vat. gr. 1506
ἑαυτοὺς . . . Θεῷ καὶ τῷ **Χριστῷ** αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα.	ἑαυτοὺς . . . Θεῷ **διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ** αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα.

I cannot doubt that the reading of 1506 alone corresponds to the use of the compiler: compare e. g. viii 36 § 3 (544. 15) ἑαυτοὺς . . . τῷ ζῶντι θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα.[1]

16. viii 15 § 2

Funk 518. 17 (= Br. 25. 30)	cod. Vat. gr. 1506
ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου τοῦ **εὐλογητοῦ** παιδός.	ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου τοῦ **εὐλογημένου** παιδός.

Curiously enough neither phrase appears to be used elsewhere by the compiler.

17. viii 16 § 3

Funk 522. 5	cod. Vat. gr. 1506
ὁ διὰ Χριστοῦ τὰ πάντα δημιουργήσας καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τῶν ὅλων προνοῶν.	ὁ διὰ Χριστοῦ τὰ πάντα δημιουργήσας **πρὸ δὲ πάντων αὐτοῦ ὑποστησάμενος** καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τῶν ὅλων προνοῶν.

I presume we ought to read αὐτὸν ὑποστησάμενος 'making him to have ὑπόστασις' 'to exist'. πρὸ δὲ πάντων occurred in the passages numbered 4 and 12 above, and if it is one of the compiler's phrases would serve as a good test of the genuineness, which on other grounds I should be prepared to support.

18. viii 27 § 1

Funk 530. 1	cod. Vat. gr. 1506
Σίμων ὁ Κανανίτης.	**Σίμων ὁ Καναναῖος.**

Here Funk's reading has the support of the list of apostles in vi 14 § 1 (335. 11) and of the *Textus receptus* of Matt. x 4, Mark iii 18, in both of which passages, however, Καναναῖος is beyond question the correct reading. If the *Constitutions* had been compiled in any part of the Christian world but Syria, it would have been fairly clear that a fourth-century author must have written Καναναῖος: in Syria the presumption is much smaller. But a later recension would hardly have ousted the 'Syrian' in favour of the primitive reading.

[1] Cf. Justin *Ap.* i 49 τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἑαυτοὺς ἀνέθηκαν: Chrys. *Hom.* ii *in 2 Cor.* 9 ἑαυτοὺς τῷ ζῶντι Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ παράθεσθε.

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19. viii 28 § 2

Funk 530. 10	cod. Vat. gr. 1506
ἐπίσκοπος εὐλογεῖ οὐκ εὐλογεῖται· χειροθετεῖ χειροτονεῖ . . . πρεσβύτερος χειροθετεῖ οὐ χειροτονεῖ.	ἐπίσκοπος εὐλογεῖ οὐκ εὐλογεῖται, χειροτονεῖ οὐ χειροθετεῖ . . . πρεσβύτερος χειροθετεῖ οὐ χειροτονεῖ.

Apart from the dogmatic passages, this is certainly the most interesting variant offered by 1506. No phrase in the *Constitutions* is more familiar than this epigrammatic contrast of the function of bishop and presbyter: and the epigram is heightened, and the clauses are better balanced, if we adopt the striking reading of 1506. It must be admitted that the reconciliation of penitents by χειροθεσία is included among the offices of a bishop described in the earlier Books, and so far the parallels are in favour of the ordinary reading: yet it is so extraordinarily difficult to conceive of the reading being invented that I prefer to regard it as original, and to interpret χειροθεσία of the concurrent imposition of hands in the ordination of presbyters, 'the bishop ordains, the presbyter lays on hands'.

20. viii 32 § 2

Funk 534. 8	codd. Vat. gr. 1506, 2089
τὰς αἰτίας ἐξεταζέσθωσαν, οὗ χάριν προσῆλθον τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ.	τὰς αἰτίας ἐξεταζέσθωσαν, εἰ θεοῦ χάριν προσῆλθον τῷ κυριακῷ λόγῳ.

21. viii 37 § 3

Funk 544. 27	cod. Vat. gr. 1506
εἰρηνικὴν παράσχου τὴν ἑσπέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀναμάρτητον.	εἰρηνικὴν παράσχου τὴν ἑσπέραν καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἀναμάρτητον καὶ ἀφαντασίαστον.

These twenty passages seem to me to be enough to guarantee both the excellence of the text of 1506 and the fundamentally Arian character of its theology. I cannot feel the least doubt that it represents, more faithfully than our other witnesses, the wording of the *Constitutions* as the compiler published them. If so, the compiler was an Arian *pur sang*.

I hope in a second Note to examine the genuineness of the group of *Apostolic Canons* which deal with baptism (nos. 46, 47, 50) and of the addition to canon 50 found in Vat. gr. 1506 (see *J. T. S.* xv p. 57), with special reference to the discussion—unknown to me a year ago—by Prof. E. Schwartz of Freiburg in his treatise *Ueber die pseudo-apostolischen Kirchenordnungen* (Strassburg 1910) pp. 12 ff. Schwartz is always a stimulating writer, though not always a convincing one. In any case the Syriac passage, printed by him in his own Greek rendering, represents quite obviously the original form of the addition to can. 50, which both Vat. gr. 1506 and John Scholasticus give in a catholicized edition. And this original echoes with remarkable closeness the theological language and ideas of the writer of the *Apostolical Constitutions*.

C. H. Turner.

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THE PSALM OF HABAKKUK.

THE following Note is an attempt to carry one step further the admirable paper published by Mr H. St J. Thackeray in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for Jan. 1911 (*J. T. S.* xii 191–213). Mr Thackeray started from the Jewish lectionary practice of reading the Psalm of Habakkuk during the Feast of Weeks, i. e. Pentecost, and he proceeded to shew that the obscure and untranslateable words of Hab. iii 9^{b} are very probably catchwords indicating the passages of the Pentateuch in connexion with which the Psalm, or part of it, was to be recited. I propose to consider more closely a question which Mr Thackeray only touched upon on p. 211, the question of the authenticity and original meaning of the whole Psalm.

The 'authenticity' of the Psalm of Habakkuk naturally means nothing more than the question whether the third chapter of the Book of Habakkuk is by the same author as the first two chapters. We know nothing about Habakkuk, except what we can get from the book, for the Habakkuk 'capable de tout', whom we meet with in Bel and the Dragon, may be left out of serious consideration.

I.

What is the date of the Book of Habakkuk? What is its general message? The usual answer is that it comes from the period of the Exile. The just man is told to wait in faithful endurance, till at last (but not just yet) due vengeance falls on the Chaldeans, 'that bitter and hasty nation' (i 6). From the mention of the Chaldeans it is assumed that the prophecy falls in the time when the Chaldeans had dominion over the Jews.

Another view has, however, been taken, which English readers may find most conveniently set forth in Budde's article 'HABAKKUK' in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* cols. 1921–1928. It is pointed out that there is no word of 'exile' or 'restoration' in the prophecy; it is Jahwe Himself who is raising up the Chaldeans to be an instrument of vengeance, and it is not said that they have laid Zion waste—or, indeed, that Zion is lying waste at all. For these reasons it is contended that the enemy of chapter ii, upon whom destruction is coming, is not Babylon but Nineveh, and that the true date is a few years previous to the destruction of Nineveh in 608–606 B. C. The revolt of the Babylonians under Nabopolassar had been the turning-point in the decline of the Assyrian

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Empire, and though in the end Nineveh was actually captured by Medes, the Chaldean rebellion had greatly contributed to the final catastrophe. No doubt Hab. i and ii are written in a somewhat obscure style, with few definite allusions involving names and places from which certain historical conclusions inevitably follow, but though certainty cannot be obtained it may be said that the earlier date is at least as probable as the later one. This means dating the Book of Habakkuk in the decade from 620–610.

2.

What is the meaning of the Psalm of Habakkuk? What is the point of the whole composition? I find in commentaries a great deal of admiration expressed for its poetry and grandeur, but the general conclusion appears to be that, as it stands, the poem has suffered some damage, and so it no longer means anything at all as a whole. In this connexion Budde's remarks are very instructive (*Ency. Bibl.* 1927). He says:—

'it is to Wellhausen that we owe the complete elucidation of this obscure composition (*Kl. Proph.* 166, 170 f). As he well remarks: "It is the community that is the speaker, . . . it prays, Renew Thy work in the midst of the years. The long-since founded theocracy has fallen into ruin, and a new foundation is desired . . ." In the description of the theophany . . . the colours are derived exclusively from the deliverance from Egypt, as can be seen with sufficient clearness from *vv.* 3, 7, 8 ff. With this description of the deliverance wrought for the fathers that of the new deliverance now prayed for and expected becomes for the poet so blended that he seems to behold the approach of the other. Wellhausen leaves open the possibility that this may not always have been the case, and that the proper close of the poem has been lost, since *vv.* 17–19 cannot be the genuine one.'

Yet Prof. Budde is not quite certain, after all, that *vv.* 17–19 are not genuine. 'Verse 17', he says, 'which certainly seems strange, may give some fresh touches to the picture of the fate of the hostile people; but *vv.* 18 f present not only a very appropriate contrast to this, but also a thoroughly typical psalm-epilogue.' Let us see what this epilogue really is, which Wellhausen says cannot be genuine and the most characteristic part of which Budde acknowledges to be strange. It runs thus:—

17 For though the fig-tree should not blossom,
Neither fruit be in the vines,
The labour of the olive have failed,
And the fields have yielded no meat,
The flock have been cut off from the fold,
And there be no herd in the stalls:

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18 Yet I will rejoice in Jahwe,
I will joy in the God of my salvation.
19 Jahwe, Adonai, is my strength, &c.

Certainly, verse 17 is unusual. It comes in very oddly, and if it is to have a meaning in the context it must be something quite special and definite.

I venture to suggest that if we strip off all the poetical imagery from the verses I have quoted, we may fairly say that the meaning is 'However bad the year may be, we will hold our Harvest Festival all the same!' I do not say this is doing justice to the poetry, but I think it expresses the thought.

With regard to the rest of the Psalm, no doubt Wellhausen is right in saying that 'the colours are derived exclusively from the deliverance from Egypt'. Verse 2 is the essence of the whole, and here we have a paraphrase of the meaning ready to hand in the familiar versicle 'O God, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us, the noble works that Thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them'. And, further, the particular work of old time appears to be connected with the battle of Rephidim and the defeat of the Amalekites, who are (I suppose) referred to in verse 7.[1] It was these references to the events between the Passage of the Red Sea and the giving of the Law at Sinai that made the Psalm appropriate for recitation at Pentecost, which the Jews regarded as the time of year when the Law was given, as Mr Thackeray has been telling us.

3.

Very little is known about the celebration of Pentecost in pre-exilic times. It is, of course, the season of corn-harvest in Palestine. There are features about it that are ancient and others that are secondary. In Lev. xxiii it is only a one-day feast and in Ezekiel's revised Kalendar it is altogether passed over. Yet it was no novelty, as the Day of Atonement seems to have been, for even in the old codes of Exodus xxxiv and Exodus xxiii it is a feast of obligation. We do not know how old the theory was that connected it with the giving of the Law: this connexion is commonly said to be based on the chronology of Exod. xix 1, a passage from the Priestly Code. It is quite conceivable that the connexion is the other way round, and that the view that Pentecost commemorated the Law (or rather the Covenant between Jahwe and Israel, as emphasized in Deut. v 2 f) is the reason for the artificial dating by months, found in Exodus xix. In any case one element of

[1] For the equation of Midian and Amalek, see Judges vi 3, &c., and Nöldeke's article MIDIAN in *Ency. Bibl.*

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the Deuteronomic legislation was to enforce the theory that the religion of Israel was no nature-worship like that of the peoples round about, but a special cult designed to remind the Chosen People of the special relation in which they stand to their Covenant God and of the great deliverance which He wrought for them in the past.

To come back now to the question of date, we have seen that a most probable date for the Prophecy of Habakkuk is the decade 620–610 B.C. What was going on at that time in Judah? Politically it was a quiet period, but ecclesiastically it was a time of revolution, for at the beginning of it falls the 18th year of King Josiah, when the High Places of Judah were destroyed and the Law of the One Sanctuary at Jerusalem was put in force, so that a Passover was kept unto the LORD their God, 'as it is written in the book of the Covenant' (2 Kings xxiii 21). If this was the time of Habakkuk, was it not with new feelings, with eyes turned back to the days of old and to the law of Moses, that he and his contemporaries kept together at Jerusalem the immemorial agricultural Feasts?

I cannot but think that this date, the date of the reforms of Josiah, gives a meaning and unity to the Psalm of Habakkuk, and further that it is the only thing that does give real unity to it. Let us substitute for the actual words the paraphrase of the two parts given above:—

'O God, we have heard with our ears, and our fathers have declared unto us, the noble works that Thou didst in their days, and in the old time before them: however bad the year may be, we will hold our Harvest Festival all the same.'

These two sentiments are connected together by a real link if the Harvest Festival to be celebrated is being now for the first time connected in thought with the noble works which God did in the old time for His chosen people.

In other words Habakkuk iii is not only an appropriate lection for Pentecost; in my opinion it is, when considered as a whole, *too* appropriate not to have been originally composed for the occasion, and no epoch in Jewish history is so appropriate for its composition as the one which is from other considerations its probable date, viz. soon after the reforms of Josiah.

4.

I should like to guard myself here against two possible misunderstandings. I have not assumed that the Book of the Law found in Josiah's time was the Book of Deuteronomy. Professor Kennett, as readers of this JOURNAL know, has made it probable that Deuteronomy as a literary work is later than Jeremiah. The basis of the reform under Josiah was rather the earlier Book of the Covenant (2 Kings

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xxiii 21), supplemented by the 'Deuteronomic' principle, so acceptable to King and Priests at Jerusalem, that the Temple on Mount Moriah is the only legitimate place of worship. But in any case the regulation of public worship by the Book of the Covenant in itself connects the Feasts with Sinai and the first meeting between Jahwe and His people rather than with the time of year when the corn is ripe, as had immemorially been the case.

Further, the later Jewish theory represents rather a different *nuance* from what is suggested by the words of Habakkuk's Psalm, and even (if Mr Thackeray be right) the earliest system of commemoration. The chronology of Exod. xix 1 and the Jewish traditions dependent on it make the event commemorated at Pentecost the giving of the Law. The Psalm itself and the reading of Genesis xii, on the other hand, lay stress on the earlier, more 'prophetic', idea of the Covenant between God and Israel. It is not so much the documentary result of the meeting between God and Israel that is emphasized as the meeting itself. 'Blessed be the LORD, God of Israel; for He hath redeemed and visited His people'—that is the idea which the Psalm of Habakkuk wishes to connect with Pentecost.

If the Psalm of Habakkuk really be a Hymn written for Pentecost in the first years of its reformed celebration, a Hymn so appropriate and so popular that it has practically never passed out of Jewish liturgical use on that Festival, may we not consider the question of the authorship of the Book of Habakkuk from a new point of view? Is it not likely that the first two chapters owe their inclusion in the Canon to the fact that they are by the author of the Pentecostal Psalm?

I began by leaving out the Habakkuk who figures in the Greek tale of Bel and the Dragon. No doubt the story is pure invention, without any basis at all in fact. But it is just worth notice that even in that tale Habakkuk is connected with the harvest, for he is represented as bringing food to the reapers.

F. C. BURKITT.

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TRIANGULAR NUMBERS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

In a recent number of the JOURNAL Dr McNeile called attention to an article by Dr van den Bergh van Eysinga in the *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, in which a new explanation was suggested for the number of the Beast. In this article it was pointed out that $666 = 1+2+3 \ldots + 36$, while 36 again $= 1+2+3 \ldots + 8$. Evidence was then brought from Philo and elsewhere to shew that these 'triangular' numbers $(= 1+2+3 \ldots + n)$[1] were held to have the symbolic value of n. Thence the conclusion was drawn that 666 had the symbolic value of 8, which in Gnostic symbolism = wisdom. Thus we get a new meaning at any rate for the words 'here is wisdom'.

Dr McNeile did not however mention, what to me seemed the most significant point in Dr van Eysinga's paper, viz. that the other well-known Johannine number 153 is also triangular, being equal to $1+2+3 \ldots + 17$. This coincidence seemed to me to give a *prima facie* ground for looking further into this arithmetical theory. The materials for what I have to say about it will be found in Gow's *History of Greek Mathematics*, and in the short treatises of Nicomachus of Gerasa and Theon of Smyrna, both of which are edited in the Teubner series.

The doctrine of 'triangular numbers' seems to belong to the earlier form of Pythagorean arithmetic. The meaning of the name is clearly explained by both the writers mentioned above with diagrams. Arrange your units (symbolized by a) in parallel lines as follows:—

(1) a (2) a $a\ a = 3$ (3) a $a\ a$ $a\ a\ a = 6$ (4) a $a\ a$ $a\ a\ a$ $a\ a\ a\ a = 10$

and so on. The whole number in each case, 3, 6, 10, &c., will form an equilateral triangle, with the side (technically called the gnomon) equal to the last number of the series. Thus 153 fishes will be conceived of

[1] May I explain for the benefit of those who have forgotten their elementary algebra, that the sum of $1+2+3 \ldots + n = n \cdot \frac{n+1}{2}$, and that therefore a triangular number is half the product of two consecutive numbers, e.g. $666 = \frac{36 \cdot 37}{2}$.

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as forming an equilateral triangle with a side of 17. It is thus easy to see why any symbolic value that may attach to 17 will also attach to 153.

As I have said the theory of triangular numbers is early, but with other kindred ideas, two of which I shall mention later, it appears to have been popularized very much about the time that the New Testament or at least its later books were written. Arithmetic, says Gow, disappears from history about 100 B.C., but was revived by Nicomachus of Gerasa, from whose time it became the favourite branch of mathematics. Nicomachus became extremely popular. He was translated into Latin in the second century by Apuleius and by Boethius in the sixth, and was the subject of some Arabian commentaries. In Lucian's time he was the type of the arithmetician or calculator.[1] He was succeeded by Theon of Smyrna, who was most probably living and working at A. D. 140. Both these men write avowedly in the interests of philosophy, of which they regard arithmetic as the vestibule. Nicomachus was a Pythagorean and Theon a Platonist.

The date and home (or possibly birthplace) of Nicomachus himself is a matter of some interest in our present enquiry. He came probably from Gerasa in the Decapolis, about twenty miles from the Jordan. This date is given by Gow as about A.D. 100, but the evidence is consistent with some decades earlier. Liddell and Scott in fact give his *floruit* at A. D. 50. If so, he is both a contemporary and a near neighbour of the Apostles.

In both writers closely bound up with the 'triangulars' are two other systems. The first is the τετράγωνοι or square numbers. These are the same as our square numbers, but they are conceived of as generated in the following way. Start as in the triangulars with one unit α; then add a 'gnomon' of 3, making the square number 4, then a 'gnomon' of 5, making the square number 9, then of 7 making 16, and so on.

α	α α	α α α	α α α α
	α α	α α α	α α α α
		α α α	α α α α
			α α α α

Thus the τετράγωνοι are conceived of as the sum of successive *odd* numbers.

Again, closely connected with these are the ἑτερομήκεις.[2] No diagram

[1] ἀριθμεῖς ὡς Νικόμαχος ὁ Γερασηνός (*Philopatris* 12).

[2] I do not know how to translate this word. Not 'oblong', which is προμήκης. Boethius gives 'altera parte longiores'.

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is given, but it can easily be supplied. Start with *two* units: then add 4, making 6, then add 6, making 12, and so on.

a a	a a a	a a a a
	a a a	a a a a
		a a a a

Thus the ἑτερομήκης will always form a rectangle of which one side is shorter by one unit than the other. It is therefore the product of two consecutive numbers, and is of course always double of some triangular number. It is also the sum of successive *even* numbers. It will thus be seen that these three systems form a compact whole.

(1) τρίγωνοι (sum of successive numbers).

$$1+2+3 \ldots + n = n.\frac{n+1}{2}.$$

(2) τετράγωνοι (sum of successive odd numbers).

$$1+3+5 \ldots + n = \left(\frac{n+1}{2}\right).$$

(3) ἑτερομήκεις (sum of successive even numbers).

$$2+4+6 \ldots + n = \frac{n}{2}.\frac{n+2}{2}.$$

A passage from Nicomachus in which he describes the relations of these last two systems is worth quoting, as shewing the romance and interest which attach to these numbers. He arranges the first few of the τετράγωνοι and ἑτερομήκεις in parallel lines as follows:—

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
τετράγωνοι	1	4	9	16	25	36	49	64	81	100
ἑτερομήκεις	2	6	12	20	30	42	56	72	90	110

He then shews that to form an ἑτερομήκης for the corresponding τετράγωνος, you must add the number which represents its place in the series: e.g. 64 being the 8th τετράγωνος, you must add 8 to make the 8th ἑτερομήκης viz. 72. He then proceeds.

'When we contemplate (ἐνατενιζοντες) them as set forth we shall marvel at their mutual harmony (φιλαλληλία), and how they help each other to generate and perfect those that succeed, and thus naturally suppose that in universal nature a similar result is accomplished by the providence which orders the Cosmos (κοσμικὴ πρόνοια).'

The suggestion I now have to offer is that this Nicomachean arithmetic, if I may so call it, has distinctly influenced the numbers of some books of the New Testament. And first let us take the Apocalypse. It will not be questioned that (1) the writer had a very great interest in numbers, (2) that his choice is largely based on Old Testament usage. But is there another element?

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The smaller numbers cannot be said to shew anything one way or another. His favourites are 4, 7, 10, 12. It is true that of these 4 is square, 10 triangular, and 12 ἑτερομήκης, but no argument can of course be based on this. In the first place they are all Old Testament numbers, in the second place the numbers belonging to the three systems occur so frequently among early numbers, that nothing can be inferred from their appearance.[1] All we can say is, that so far we have nothing incompatible with a knowledge of Nicomachean arithmetic. But when we rise to the higher numbers we get a more suggestive result. Here we must naturally disregard the thousands. No one, however addicted to the Nicomachean series, can be expected to dispense with the use of thousands to represent large multitudes. Apart from these we have—

(*a*) The number of the Beast 666 (xiii 18).
(*b*) 1,260 days (xi 3 and xii 6).
(*c*) The blood pours out of the winepress for 1,600 stades (xiv 20).
(*d*) The wall of the New Jerusalem is 144 cubits high (xxi 17).

Of these (*a*) van Eysinga has shewn that 666 is the 'triangle' of 36, but one point, which he has not observed, may be mentioned. In Plutarch (*de Is. et Os.* 76) we are told that 36 was held peculiarly sacred by the Pythagoreans, and that it was called the great tetractys, because it was the sum of the first four odd and the first four even numbers. This is of course merely a way of stating that it is equal to $1+2+3 \ldots + 8$.[2] It should be observed that elsewhere the name of the 'great tetractys' seems to be reserved for 10 which $= 1+2+3+4$. 36, says Plutarch, was their greatest oath, and signified the Cosmos. This last statement seems rather suggestive in connexion with the Beast. We have, of course, no specific evidence that the honour given to 36 was extended to 666, but it would naturally follow from the general principle of triangular numbers. When we take into account the identity of what we call the digits in 666,[3] it seems likely that in Pythagorean or Nico-

[1] It may help readers to estimate the value of the argument, if I subjoin the following: The total proportion of numbers belonging to the three systems is between
1 and 50—44 per cent.
50 and 100—18 per cent.
100 and 1,000—8 per cent.
1,000 and 2,000—$4\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.

[2] Zeller suggests that 36 was also sacred as being the sum of the first three cubes $= 1+8+27$. I do not know whether there is any definite evidence that this was recognized. It also possesses the rare, if not unique, property of being both square and triangular.

[3] This of course is not so striking in the Greek numerical system. But the *words* ἑξακόσιοι, ἑξήκοντα, ἕξ would by their similarity strike the imagination. In fact this is the one point about the number which does strike Irenaeus.

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machean circles 666 would be a very king amongst numbers. I will leave for the present the question of the variant 616.

(*b*) The 1,260 days which occur in two connexions are usually assumed to be another way of expressing 42 months (xi 2 and xiii 5), and 'a time, times, and half a time (xii 14) or $3\frac{1}{2}$ years'. This may be so, though one may doubt whether the seer would without some special reason have made the year consist of only 360 days. Anyhow the fact remains that 1,260 is ἑτερομήκης $= 35 \cdot 36$, as also is $42 = 6 \cdot 7$.

(*c*) and (*d*) 144 and 1,600 are of course both square numbers. They belong to the Old Testament scheme of numbers, in so far as their 'roots' are typical Old Testament numbers. But as they represent lengths not areas, there is no apparent reason for the squaring.

Two other Apocalyptic numbers may be noted.

(*a*) Amongst the thousands 144,000 is the most striking. It is not of course properly speaking a square number, and it is attained by the ordinary process of multiplication. Given 12,000 per tribe it follows necessarily. Still it harmonizes with the seer's love of square numbers.

(*b*) The number of the 24[1] elders has given rise to a good deal of speculation. It is not an Old Testament number, and it does not belong to our three systems. But it may be observed that the 24 elders are always (I do not think xi 16 is really an exception) coupled with the 4 living creatures. That is to say there are always 28 round the Throne. And 28 is of course triangular $= \frac{7 \cdot 8}{2}$[2] This can no doubt be brought into the argument, only on the assumption, that when a writer mentions two closely connected and juxtaposed numbers, he wishes to bring their sum (though unexpressed) before our minds. Such an assumption would, I think, be made by many readers in one familiar case. Many probably feel that in the miracle of the 5,000, the Evangelists in speaking of 5 barley-loaves and 2 small fishes wish to direct our minds to the mystic number 7. Still it is of course conjectural.

Leaving out these two doubtful numbers, we have the fact that all the five largest numbers of the Apocalypse (exclusive of thousands) belong to the three systems. I find it difficult to resist the belief, that

[1] I suspect that one at any rate of the associations present in the seer's mind, when he assigned the number 24 to the Elders, was the fact that the Greek alphabet has 24 letters. That the alphabet had a romance for him, which it has not for us, is obvious. Which of us could describe the deity as A and Z? The chapter on the alphabet in Dionysius Thrax (for centuries the accepted grammar book) opens with the words, 'There are 24 letters from Alpha to Omega'. The name στοιχεῖα was in itself suggestive. An interesting illustration of this will be found in Mr Gaselee's *Parerga Coptica* i.

[2] It is also in Pythagorean arithmetic a 'perfect' number, as being the sum of its factors $1+2+4+7+14 = 28$.

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St John though working on an Old Testament basis is influenced by Nicomachean arithmetic.

When we turn to the narrative books we find in the Fourth Gospel and the Lucan writings phenomena, which though in themselves probably unconvincing, become significant, if taken with the facts of the Apocalypse. In these books three numbers stand in a category by themselves, as what I may call large definite statistical numbers, numbers that is which the reader would naturally regard as the result of a pretty careful counting of a collection of people or things assembled by chance. These are

153 fishes (John xxi);
(about) 120 at the election of Matthias and presumably at Pentecost (Acts i);
[1] 276 in St Paul's ship (Acts xxvii).

All these three are triangular. I have already noted that

$$153 = \frac{17 \cdot 18}{2} = 1+2+3 \ldots + 17.$$

$120 = \frac{15 \cdot 16}{2} = 1+2+3 \ldots + 15$, and 15 again $= 1+2 \ldots + 5$, so that this number like 666 is doubly triangular.

$$276 = \frac{23 \cdot 24}{2} = 1+2+3 \ldots + 23.$$

All three are connected with some supernatural event or revelation. For the 276 of Acts xxvii is not a mere official statistic. When all hope of safety had been lost, the Angel of the Lord had stood by Paul and assured him that God had granted him all that sailed with him. This assurance was twice conveyed by Paul to the crew, and was verified by the sequel contrary to all human probability. It is in connexion with these facts that St Luke says 'now we were in all in the ship 276 souls'.

It may be noted that the triangular character of the 120 and 153 were known to the fathers. Jerome (Ep. 53)[2] remarks that the number at Pentecost 'rising gradually and by increments from 1 to 15 makes the number of 15 degrees which are mystically contained in the Psalter'. So, too, Augustine in his tractate on John xxi shews by addition that 153 is the 'triangle' of 17.[3]

[1] It will be remembered that B (supported by the Sahidic) has 'about 76'. But here no doubt πλοίῳ σοϛ had been corrupted to πλοίῳ ωϛ οϛ.

[2] 'Qui centum viginti ab uno usque ad quindecim paulatim et per incrementa surgentes, quindecim graduum numerum efficiunt, qui in Psalterio mystice continentur.'

[3] 'Qui numerus (i. e. septemdecim) ab uno usque ad seipsum computatis omnibus crescens ad centum quinquaginta tres pervenit.' I owe this reference to Mr W. Montgomery.

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If we examine the other numbers in these books we find (1) the familiar groupings of the disciples 7, 12, 70, and the 40 days, all of which are typical Old Testament numbers; (2) various notes as to distances, sums of money, chronological data, ages, or periods in human life, and the like. Most of these are either small or round numbers.[1] Even here, however, one or two odd possibilities crop up. The highest number amongst the age records, that of Anna, on the principle suggested above, that two juxtaposed numbers may be consciously added together gives the triangular number 91 $\left(= \frac{13 \cdot 14}{2}\right)$. Again, in Luke x 1 the very well supported variant 72 is ἑτερομήκης (= 8 . 9). These are, of course, merely possibilities and only strengthen the argument, in so far as they weaken the counter-argument, which may be drawn from the frequency of numbers, which do not belong to the three systems.

The question now is whether the facts, which I have brought forward, taken all together fall within the reasonable limits of coincidence. I hardly think that they do, and I would ask readers who think otherwise, to let me put before them a little sum in probabilities. There are in these books, and indeed I think in the whole of the New Testament,[2] only seven of what I should call definite numbers above a hundred (120, 144, 153, 276, 666, 1,260, 1,600). Now the numbers between 100 and 1,600, which belong to our three classes, are 103, or about 1 in 14 or 15. The odds therefore against all seven belonging to these three classes are somewhere about 120 millions to 1. I daresay some exception may be taken to this way of stating it, but it will require a vast amount of exception to reduce the odds to a point where coincidence becomes probable. Still, unless some general principle can be found, which will account for the predilection shewn for such numbers by the authors of the Fourth Gospel, Acts, and Revelation, I can well understand that many will still prefer to regard it as a coincidence.

Such a principle can hardly be found in symbolism. The numbers do not seem to lend themselves to any such treatment, with the exception perhaps of 666. On the symbolic principle 120 = 15, 153 = 17, 276 = 23, but what are we to make of 15 and 17 and 23? We have seen indeed that Jerome brings in the 15 'degrees' of the Temple. Augustine explains 17 as an addition of 10, symbolizing

[1] 46 in John ii 20 (apparently a careful piece of chronology) and 38 in John v 5 are rather marked exceptions.

[2] The only number answering to this description, which I have observed, is the 430 years of Gal. iii 17, which as a chronological datum derived direct from the Old Testament may be fairly said not to count.

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the law, to 7 symbolizing the Gospel. Van Eysinga thinks that the author of the Gospel intended to indicate the nations represented according to Acts ii at Pentecost (which will add up to 17). It seems to me that the modern critic outdoes the ancient allegorists in fancifulness. Moreover, I doubt on my present knowledge, whether symbolism plays a large part in the later Pythagorean theory of numbers. Certainly there is nothing of the sort in Nicomachus and Theon. Their relation to the original Pythagorean symbolism seems to me much the same as that of Wordsworth's view of nature to Keble's, as shewn in the hymn 'There is a book, who runs may read'. While to Keble the sky meant the Maker's love, the moon the Church, and the stars the saints, to Wordsworth all nature was a revelation of divine beauty. So with Nicomachus different numbers did not mean different things, but the endless mysteries and harmonies revealed in the properties of numbers were a sign and proof of 'Cosmic Providence'.

I would explain the New Testament phenomena by supposing that these numbers had become to certain minds a matter of profound interest. This feeling probably took a different shape in different minds. In some it may have been superstitious or at least mystical, in others it may have represented a genuine intellectual curiosity. Many readers may be inclined to think that in St John the first feeling was predominant, in St Luke the second. Such an interest might have a threefold result. Firstly, when the imagination is largely free as it presumably is in the Apocalypse, such numbers may be deliberately chosen. Secondly, when such numbers actually occurred, the circumstance is more likely to be recorded. Thirdly, there may be a tendency to imagine that a number is triangular when it is really something less interesting. I can illustrate such a tendency from a recent experience of my own. Forty years ago I remember a great cricket match at Haileybury, where the captain played a splendid innings of (as we thought) 153 not out. I remember a friend of mine exclaiming 'although they were so many yet was not the net broken', and all these years I should have affirmed most positively that the score on this occasion was 153. A few months ago I had occasion to look back at the old school magazines and found that it was really 152, and so recorded in the magazine of which I was at the time myself an editor. I can only suppose that the aptness of the quotation and the association obliterated from my mind the real facts.

If we apply these principles to the number of the Beast we need not come with van Eysinga to the conclusion that the old explanation of a 'gematria' is to be rejected. On the contrary, such a 'gematria' would be more acceptable, if it could be made to harmonize with a sovereign number. And further we may expect that the working of

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the gematria might be somewhat strained to get this result. If Nero Caesar in Hebrew is otherwise suitable, we need not quarrel as van Eysinga does with the fact that it is Hebrew not Greek. It might be well worth while to use Hebrew letters, if thereby the writer secured a number with the properties of 666—perhaps we may add a number which bore the very appropriate meaning of the Cosmos—a term which to the Pythagorean would suggest the ordered universe, but by a Christian would be taken in the sense which it bears so often in the Fourth Gospel.[1] It should be added that the virtues of 666 make it all the more necessary to account for the variant 616. The facts seem to me to suggest strongly that 616 is not indeed the original reading in the text, but is the original form of the gematria which St John reshaped. And this is quite in accordance with the fact that Γαΐος Καΐσαρ does satisfy 616.

On the whole, the remarkable fact which van Eysinga has pointed out, and the other facts which I have added, seem to me to leave the riddle of the Beast much where it was. Have these facts then any real significance or value? When this paper was discussed at the Cambridge Theological Society, Professor Burkitt expressed an opinion that the residual truth which appeared was that we must enlarge our ideas of what were interesting numbers to the early Christian mind. I should put it a little higher than this. It seems to me a real link between the New Testament writers and the speculation and science of the time. If 'science' seem too lofty a word, it must be remembered that Greek arithmetic worked out its results under drawbacks which we hardly realize. In the first place, multiplication, as we know it, was a difficult process with Greek notation.[2] In the second place, the Greeks at this time had no algebra. Thus while Nicomachus infers from the geometrical form of his diagrams that the ἑτερομήκεις and τετράγωνοι were respectively of the form $r.\overline{r+1}$ and r^2, he shews no knowledge of the corresponding property of the τρίγωνοι, where his diagram did not help him. In fact the simple formula

$$1+2+3 \ldots + n = n.\frac{n+1}{2},$$

which is now within the grasp of an ordinary schoolboy, seems to have been beyond his ken. The calculation therefore of high triangular numbers was worked by addition, and if St John really knew that 666 was the 'triangle' of 36 he knew a fact which could only be learnt with a great deal of patience and labour.[3] It must be re-

[1] And in the Apocalypse itself (xi 15).

[2] v. Gow l. c. pp. 49–51.

[3] This may perhaps account for the fact that, while the triangularity of 120 and 153 was observed by Jerome and Augustine, that of 666 is not known apparently by Irenaeus, or, so far as I know, by any of the Fathers.

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membered that the Church was born in an age which gave great attention to education, and had in its own way a really scientific spirit. I would diffidently suggest that the Mystery religions and the Gnosticism to which so much attention is now given were but side-breaths of the time-spirit, and that even philosophy was not a universal study. The main current of intellectual life and thought followed the regular channels of education—grammar and literature, rhetoric and history, arithmetic and geometry; and a closer study of these may conceivably throw a great deal of light on the thought and terminology of the New Testament and early Christian writers.

F. H. COLSON.

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APOCALYPSE xviii 15, 17.

Apocalypse xviii 15 *οἱ ἔμποροι τούτων . . .* 17 *καὶ πᾶς κυβερνήτης καὶ πᾶς ὁ ἐπὶ τόπον πλέων καὶ ναῦται καὶ ὅσοι τὴν θάλασσαν ἐργάζονται . . . vv. ll. ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων ὁ ὅμιλος (vel ὁ . . . πλέων). ὁ ἐπὶ πόντον πλέων* Nestle ex conj.

THE first, the third, and the fourth of these classes of seamen are indicated clearly enough; and the fifth phrase, in contradistinction to the others, indicates clearly enough fishermen and the like, as a candid examination of Wetstein's citations will shew. With that great scholar systematic and unbiased illustration of the New Testament died; and I trust to shew by degrees that it died all too soon. Wetstein read *ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων ὁ ὅμιλος* and threw in carelessly one illustration (out of hundreds he may have had) of *τόπος* = harbour—an illustration idly repeated, as usual, by subsequent editors. But it does not mean that; for one says *εἰς λιμένα—ἐπὶ γῆν* perhaps: for that is 'to an anchorage off' a shore.

Now any one who looks fairly at the phrase will see that in between the *κυβερνήτης* (practically 'captain') and *ναῦται* the crew, we need a mention of the rest of the hierarchy of a ship; and this conclusion, obvious at first sight, is greatly strengthened by the parallel the editors give us from Ezek. xxvii 28 f, where the prophet gives us *κυβερνῆται, κωπηλάται, ἐπιβάται, πρῳρεῖς.*

Any lexicon will tell us sufficient of this last officer (usually called *πρῳράτης*) for our purpose; and Artemidorus (i 37) tells us that the second mate was the *τοίχαρχος*, and perhaps the *ἐσχαρεύς* (Poll. i 95) was a third. Here we have the complement of the merchant crew.

Now all these officers are named from their station—the *part* of the ship assigned to them; and if such part could be designated by *τόπος* we might be on the road to an explanation of the meaning of this passage of the Apocalypse. But, as may be seen from the dictionaries, it means nothing of the kind.

Does it not? What then of the following: Poll. i 92 *καὶ τὸν τόπον δὲ τὸν πρὸς ταῖς κώπαις κωπωτῆρα καλοῦσιν.* Schol. Thuc. iv 12 *παρεξειρεσία ἐστιν ὁ ἔξω τῆς εἰρεσίας τῆς νεὼς τόπος*, and I doubt not that many examples might be found from the grammarians. Here is one from an Alexandrine author Kallixeinos (Ath. 204 a) *ζῷα μὲν γὰρ εἶχεν οὐκ ἐλάττω δώδεκα πηχῶν κατὰ πρύμναν τε καὶ κατὰ πρῷραν καὶ πᾶς*

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τόπος αὐτῆς κηρογραφίᾳ καταπεποίκιλτο . . . ἀνεπλήρου δὲ τὰ προσδεόμενα τῆς νεὼς μέρη—the last being the word preferred by Hesychius in his glosses.

My conclusion is then that ἐπί, τοπ-, and πλοίων are right, and the first means 'in charge of', the second 'a quarter (of a ship)'; the corruptions are then easily explained. Between τόπον (as ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐπί τι), τόπου and τόπων, which are normal, I hesitate.

Σπιλάς.

To the list of instances which I gave in the JOURNAL (xiv 56, July 1913) where σπιλάς means storm, there is another to be added. It is in Theophylact. Simoc. p. 95 D (166 *Scr. Hist. Byz.*): βασιλείας γὰρ σκάφος πολλοῖς τοῖς πηδαλίοις οἰακιζόμενον μικρά τις σπιλάδος ἐπιδρομὴ κατεβάπτισε, περισχιζομένης τῆς κυβερνήσεως πρὸς τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἀντιθέτους ἐπιβολάς, ἀλλότε ἄλλου πρὸς τὸν οἰκεῖον σκοπὸν ἐπειγομένου. Here, again, it is a squall not a rock which attacks; when they struck a rock they ran to pump out the water, or scrambled for the boats (Ach. Tat. iii 1 sqq.) or planks; the question Whither shall we steer? was mooted in a storm, and even the least experienced passenger had his view and was allowed to express it to the helmsman.

A. D. KNOX.

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A FURTHER NOTE ON ἘΠΙΦΩΣΚΕΙΝ.

PROFESSOR MAX BONNET, known to all students of the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, has sent me some fresh instances of *ἐπιφώσκειν* in illustration of my article on that word which appeared in the JOURNAL for July 1913 (*J.T.S.* xiv 538–546). The passages seemed to me so illuminating that, with M. Bonnet's permission, I reproduce them here as a sort of Appendix.

1. *Acta Anastasii* (ed. Usener, p. 4b 15): Anastasius, having had a dream, comes into the monastery church during Nocturns (*εἰς τὸν κανόνα τῆς νυκτερινῆς ψαλμῳδίας*), the time of which is *ἐπιφωσκούσης τῆς ἁγίας κυριακῆς*, i. e. before the Sunday Eucharist (l. 33).

2. *Acta Thomae* 29 (=Wright, p. 168, end): Judas Thomas gives his hearers a simple meal, but he himself does not[1] eat, because the Lord's Day was about to arrive (*ἐπιφέειν*). During the night he has a dream telling him to go elsewhere, and so he takes farewell of the people after the Eucharist.[2]

3. *Acta Johannis* 61 (Bonnet, p. 180, 25): St John commands the fleas to leave the hut, *ἡμέρας δὲ ἐπιφανούσης*[3] the narrator gets up and sees them all congregated at the door waiting for permission to come in!

4. *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Arsenius 30 (Migne, *P. G.* lxv 97 c): They used to say about Arsenius that late on Saturday at the beginning of Sunday (*ὀψὲ σαββάτων ἐπιφωσκούσης κυριακῆς*) he used to let the sun set behind him and stretch out his hands to heaven praying till the sun shined again on his face.

It will be noticed that in this striking story, where *ἐπιφώσκειν* is so clearly used in the conventional 'Jewish' sense, the phrase in which it occurs is directly adapted from Matt. xxviii 1. In the passage from the *Acts of John*, on the other hand, where there is no allusion to the hours of worship or to the New Testament, *ἐπιφαύειν* (or *ἐπιφώσκειν*) is used of daylight.

F. C. BURKITT.

[1] Wright's Syriac MS omits 'not', apparently by a mere error.

[2] *ἐπέφαυσεν μοι* (*Act. Thom.* 34, Bonnet, p. 151[11]) appears to be a mistranslation of ܐܬܦܪܩ ܠܝ (Wright ܐܬ, line 1), i. e. 'I have escaped'.

[3] So the better MS (*M*); the other MS (*R*) has *ἐπιφωσκούσης*.

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THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.

It is clear from the new Oxford edition of the 'Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament' published last year that Dr Charles still holds the positions with regard to 'the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs' which he took up in his edition of that book in 1908 (English Translation with Notes, T. & T. Black: Greek Text with Critical Apparatus, Clarendon Press).

In the *Journal of Theological Studies* (vol. x p. 135) Prof. Burkitt reviewed Dr Charles's edition, and pointed out some of the weaknesses of his positions. It is time that certain of them were challenged in detail, and particularly:—

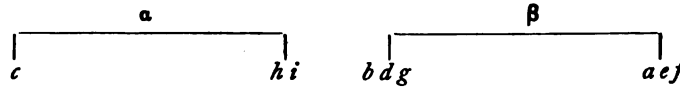
(i) Dr Charles's reconstruction of the Greek text on the basis of the α family of MSS;

(ii) his theory of two Hebrew recensions of the Jewish work which he and many other scholars (including Schürer and Bousset) believe to lie behind the present Christian edition of the Testaments; and

(iii) his analysis of Jewish and Christian elements.

At the same time all students of the Testaments must acknowledge the immense obligation they are under to Dr Charles; first for gathering together within the compass of a single volume almost all the available material for the reconstruction of the text, and secondly for the mass of information and the many illuminating suggestions contained in his notes.

(i) Dr Charles has shewn that the Greek MSS are to be divided into two families, thus:—



Of the first family *c* is the best representative. It is a MS of the thirteenth century now in the Vatican, and in addition to the Testaments it contains a series of extracts from the Fathers. The present condition of the text is not one to inspire confidence. It is frequently corrupt (e.g. R 1^{10} S 4^{3} L 2^{12} 6^{1} Iss 7^{1} N 1^{7} 3^{1} A 2^{3} B 3^{5}) or careless (S 6^{5} L 6^{3} Jud 26^{3}): the spelling is erratic (e.g. R 6^{1} S 7^{1} L 8^{17} 15^{4} B 1^{1}), and the accents are very incorrectly given. It is guilty of

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frequent and considerable omissions (e.g. R 3^5 S 7^1 L 5^7 9^{11} 10^8 12^{5-7} 13^2 $17^{5,6}$ 18^4 Jud 21^7 Iss 1^{14}).

Occasionally these are supplied by *h i* (e.g. Z 1^{7b-21a}). These two MSS are similar in many ways (e.g. in omission and in spelling) to *c*, but are not earlier than the seventeenth century. Their relation to *c* is well illustrated by the fact that where in Iss 7^7 A 7^3 Jos 19^3 B 3^8 9^2 *c* adds περὶ χῡ (i.e. χριστοῦ) in the margin *h i* have transferred the addition to the text. It must be added that not infrequently these MSS differ from one another and from *c*, and sometimes they support β against *c*.[1] Dr Charles himself calls attention to the disfigurement of the α text by omissions, of which he gives examples (Introd. p. xx), and he mentions 'one notable depravation of the text' in Jud 12^{6-10}; but he nowhere shews up the faults of *c* as he does those of *b*, the chief representative of the β family.

The β family falls into two groups. *b* belongs to the first group (*b d g*). It dates from the tenth century, and is at present in the Cambridge University Library. It is well written, and its spelling, though peculiar, is regular. Its faults compared with those of *c* are remarkably few.

As for the instances which Dr Charles quotes: in B 4^5 Jos 7^3 L 11^7 Jos 17^{52} Z 8^6 it is quite possible that *b* preserves the original reading; in Jud 16^2, if *b* adds ζήσεσθε, the α text adds ἐστέ: and in the remaining examples A 1^9 (διαβόλου for διαβουλίου) L 9^9 (μή[3] for μοι) D 5^9 (BOΩN for ḰΔΩCEI) D 5^{10} (πέρασιν for πατράσιν[4]) the corruption lies on the surface and is easily corrected.

This is generally the case with the errors in *b*, e.g. L 4^4 (νἱοί instead of νἱοῦ) Gad 2^5 (*om.* μή) Jos 6^3 (αὐτῆς for αὐτοῦ) Jos 15^3 Iss 1^1 Jud 3^3 21^9.

Almost always these errors may be corrected from some other MS of the β family, e.g. R 6^{11} (from *f*) Jud 7^1 (from *a e f*) Jud 12^1 (from *e*). This is true also of the omissions of *b* which are comparatively rare and are generally due to a simple cause like homoioteleuton (R 6^9 L 18^9 A 2^7).

On the other hand *b* sometimes deserts its family to support a reading which has every appearance of originality, e.g. D 6^2 (*b g* A)[5] N 2^8 (*b d* A) L 6^7 (*b c*): while there are cases in which *b* stands practically alone in

[1] For examples see Dr Charles's Introduction p. xx.

[2] Cf. the addition in Jud 5^2 (καὶ νότου) which Dr Charles accepts as original though found in *b* alone.

[3] Cf. *c*'s addition of μή in L 6^3.

[4] Which needs no emendation. The context does not require 'enemies'. Cf. τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἁγίων in the parallel clause.

[5] A being the Armenian version for which see below.

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preserving the original text,[1] e. g. S 6^5 (*b d*) L 12^2 ('Αμβράμ) Jud 24^3 (πορεύσεσθε).

In the Testament of Zebulon *b* contains several passages, notably 6^{4-6} 7^1–8^3, which are found in no other authorities except *d g*.[2]

d g, the other members of this group, are considerably later than *b* (*d* thirteenth century, *g* sixteenth century) and much inferior to it; the former being characterized by many conflate readings, the latter being disfigured by inaccuracies of various kinds.

It is clear, therefore, that *b* is by far the most important representative of this group of the β family.

Of the other group *a* is a fourteenth-century MS now at Oxford marked by a large number of omissions: *e* and *f* are well-written MSS of the tenth century; the former is now at Mount Athos and contains three remarkable additions to the text[3]; the latter is at Paris and adds to the title of each Testament the meaning of the patriarch's name, and at the end of each the number of years of the patriarch's life.

There is nothing distinctive about these two MSS. They are guilty of small omissions[4] and additions,[5] of curious peculiarities[6] and spelling mistakes.[7] *e* occasionally preserves a noteworthy reading (e.g. L 16^5 (*e*[1]) and Jud 12^1); *f* is closely allied to *a*, while *e* is not infrequently found in the company of *b d g* (e.g. Iss 3^6 L 8^{17} G 7^1).

In addition to the Greek MSS we have an important Armenian version,[8] the value of which is evident from the following consideration: all the Greek MSS are descended from an original which had lost[9] three verses in the middle of the account of Joseph's vision (Jos 19^{5-7}) and these are preserved in the Armenian alone.

In this instance, therefore, the Armenian proves itself to be earlier than the archetype of the Greek MSS.

Another striking example of superiority on the part of the Armenian is

[1] In cases like L 8^1 Jud 5^2 23^5 there is much to be said in favour of *b*'s peculiar reading, though it is very difficult to come to a final decision.

[2] On the whole, perhaps, it is safest to regard them as late additions (cf. B 11^{2-5}); on the other hand *a* A *may* have left them out because the charity they commend is bizarre and undiscriminating.

[3] L 2^3 (prayer of Jacob) L 18^2 (fragment of a Greek Testament of Levi) A 7^2 (Christian homily).

[4] e.g. *e*, R 4^3; *f*, L 9^{13} Jud 19^2.

[5] e.g. *e*, R 4^9 L 18^{13}; *f*, Jud 14^4.

[6] e. g. *e*, L 14^6 (μυχαλλίδαις) Jud 2^4 (δένδρον); *f*, R 3^3 5^3 (πονηρίας) Jud 11^3 (άνδρα); *e f*, Jud 20^3 23^3.

[7] *e*, R 1^6; *f*, Jud 21^9 25^1.

[8] No Old Latin or Syriac version has been discovered. There is a Sclavonic version, but its value, as we should expect, is small.

[9] There are other traces of primitive errors in the archetype of the Greek MSS, e. g. N 2^7 G 7^3 B 12^8 (ἐξόδου).

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found in B 10^{10} where the misreading of the Greek MSS is evidently due to the influence of Num 25.

The Armenian version itself exists in two recensions, A^{α} and A^{β}, as Dr Charles has shewn. The relation between them will have to be considered later on, but first it will be necessary to examine the differences between the two families of Greek MSS, α and β.

They may be classified as follows:—

(1) Verbal differences.
(2) Omissions.
(3) Additions.
(4) Differences in order.

1. To illustrate the verbal differences between the two families it will be sufficient to give a list of the principal variants in the Testaments of Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Zebulon, and Gad.[1] In cases where the Armenian evidence is available I have indicated which of the two families it supports:—

Reuben	β	α
1^{10}	ἐγευσάμην (+ *h*)	ἔφαγον + A
3^{6}	ποιήσῃ + A	ἐμπλήσει
3^{10}	πρᾶξιν + A	ὄψιν
3^{14}	ἰδών	θεασάμενος[2]
4^{3}	ἁμαρτίας	ἀσεβείας
4^{6}	ὄλεθρος + A	βύθρος
4^{7}	γέλωτα + A	πρόσκομμα
4^{8}	κυρίου + A	θεοῦ
4^{10}	ὁρατοῦ καὶ + A	πονηροῦ
4^{11}	κατισχύσει + A	δύναται κατισχῦσαι
5^{2}	δυνάμεως + A	σχήματος
	καταγωνίσασθαι + A	καταγοητεύσασθαι
$5^{4\,3}$	ἄνθρωπον βιάσασθαι	ἄνδρα βιάσαι
6^{1}	πάσης θηλείας[4] (+ *h*)	γυναικῶν
6^{5}	δυνήσασθε	ἰσχύσετε
6^{7}	Δὰν + *h* A	Γὰδ (*c*)
6^{8}	κυρίου + A	θεοῦ
6^{9}	ποιῆσαι[5] (+ *h*)	λαλεῖν (*c*)

Simeon		
1^{1}	ἔτει + A	χρόνῳ
2^{10}	διασῶσαι (+ *h* A^{α} [6])	ἀπαγαγεῖν + A^{β}

[1] Minor variations (e. g. between δὲ οὖν and καί, personal pronouns, the sing. and the plur. verbal forms) and slight omissions are for the present neglected.

[2] I omit 4^{1} which seems to be a case of omission on the part of *c* and of corruption (at least to the extent of the omission of μή) on the part of β.

[3] Cf. 5^{6}. α has an addition here not found in A.

[4] πασῶν γυναικῶν A. [5] 'Walk' A.

[6] A^{α} is conflate, διασῶσαι καὶ ἀπαγαγεῖν.

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Simeon	β	α
3^{6}	οὐ καταγινώσκει *b d g* + A	συγγινώσκει + *a e f*
4^{5}	ψυχῆς	καρδίας
6^{1}	προείρηκα	εἴρηκα + A
6^{2}	σκληροτραχηλίαν + A^{β} [1]	σκληροκαρδίαν
6^{5}	Σήμ *b d* + A [2]	σημεῖον + *a e f*
8^{3}	ταμείοις + A	μνήμασι
Levi		
1^{2}	ὤφθη	ἀπεκαλύφθη
2^{1}	συνελήφθην καὶ [3] ἐτέχθην + A^{β}	ἐγεννήθην + A^{α}
2^{3}	ὅτι τείχη ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ ἡ ἀδικία καὶ ἐπὶ πύργους ἡ ἀνομία κάθηται + A^{β} [1]	ἐπὶ τείχους οἰκοδομεῖτο ἡ ἁμαρτία καὶ ἐπὶ πύργους ἡ ἀδικία ἐκάθητο
4^{1}	ἀπιστοῦντες + A^{β} [1]	ἀπειθοῦντες
5^{1}	ναὸν τὸν ἅγιον καὶ ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης τὸν ὕψιστον + A	ἅγιον ὕψιστον ἐπὶ θρόνου καθήμενον
5^{4}	οὐρανῶν [4] + A^{β} [1]	πατέρων
5^{6}	παραιτούμενος [5]	παρεπόμενος
6^{3}	ἐν Ἰσραήλ + A^{β}	ἐπὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ μου + A^{α}
6^{5}	ῥομφαίας *b* [6]	μαχαίρας + *β–b*
6^{6}	ἄλλως ἐποίησεν + A	παρεῖδεν ἡμῖν
6^{10}	γυναῖκας αὐτῶν *b d e g* A	τὰς ξένας + *a f*
8^{2}	τοῦ σημείου *b d e g* A^{α} [7]	τῆς κεφαλῆς
8^{15}	ἄφραστος *b d e g* A	ἀγαπητή *c a f*
8^{17}	ἀρχιερεῖς *b d e g* A	ἱερεῖς + *a f*
	φυλαχθήσεται *b d e g* A	ληφθήσεται + *a f*
10^{3}	ἔνδυμα + A	καταπέτασμα
13^{5}	εὕρητε + A^{β} [1]	ὑγιασμένοι ἦτε [8]
13^{7}	ὅτι + A	ἵνα
13^{9}	ταῦτα + A	καλά
14^{8}	ἐν καταφρονήσει γελοιάζοντες + A^{β} [1]	χλευάζοντες καὶ γελοιάζοντες
15^{3}	οἱ θεωροῦντες ὑμᾶς *b d g* A^{β} [1]	οἱ μισοῦντες ὑμᾶς + *a e f*
	φεύξονται ἀφ' ὑμῶν + A^{β} [1]	χαρήσονται ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ
16^{1}	τὰς θυσίας + A^{β} [1]	τὰ θυσιαστήρια
16^{3}	ὡς νομίζετε ἀποκτενεῖτε + A^{β} [1]	ὁρμήσετε τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι
17^{11}	μάχιμοι + A^{β} [1]	μοιχοί
18^{14}	εὐφροσύνην *b e g* A^{β} [1]	δικαιοσύνην + *a f*
Zebulon		
1^{5}	ἐσκέπασα *b g* A	ἐβεβαίωσα + *a e f*
1^{7}	πολλὰ διεμαρτυράμην αὐτοῖς μετὰ δακρύων + A [9]	ἐγὼ μετὰ δακρύων προσεκάλουν αὐτούς

[1] A^{α} is defective.

[2] A^{α} reads Σήθ which is a mere corruption of A^{β} (Σήμ).

[3] Cf. L 11^{8}. [4] Cf. A 2^{10}. [5] 'guard' A.

[6] ῥομφαία is found in all the authorities in L 5^{3} 18^{10}.

[7] τοῦ στηθίου *a f*. A^{β} is defective. [8] *h* apparently is a corruption of this.

[9] *om.* μετὰ δακρύων A.

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	Zebulon β	α
2^4	εἰς οἶκτον ἦλθον ἐγὼ καὶ + A [1]	μὴ φέρων ἐγὼ τῶν οἰμωγῶν
2^5	ἐξέστησαν	ἔτρεμον
2^8	τοῦ ἀναβῆναι ὕδωρ	τοῦ μὴ ἀναβλῦσαι ὕδωρ *h i* [2] A
3^4	νόμου Ἐνὼχ [3]	νόμου Μωυσέως
3^6	ἔμπροσθεν	ἔξωθεν
3^7	ἔμπροσθεν + A	παρὰ *c* [4]
4^9	ἐμβάψωμεν + A	μολύνωμεν [5]
4^{11}	θέλων	ἐβούλετο
4^{12}	ἐροῦμεν + A	εἴπωμεν
5^{16}	ἀναγγελῶ	παραγγέλλω *c* A [7]
9^1	ἄμμον + A	καὶ ἕτερά τινα
9^4	σχισθῆτε	χωρισθῆτε
	ἔχει	κέκτηται
10^2	ὅσοι ἐφύλαξαν [8]	οἵτινες φυλάξουσιν
Gad		
1^3	πιάζων [9] + A	φθάνων ἐκράτουν
	γυρεύων [9] ἐσκότουν καὶ ἀκόντιζον [9] αὐτὸ ἐπὶ δύο σταδίους + A	ἠκόντισα αὐτὸ ὡσεὶ λίθου βολήν
1^4	τρυφερὸς ὢν + A	ὑπάρχων νέος
2^2	ἀπὸ [10] τῆς γῆς + A	τοῦ πεδίου
3^2	βδελύσσεται	βδελυκτόν ἐστιν
4^3	εὐθὺς θέλει + A	σπουδάζει εὐθύς
4^4	ἐπιχειρεῖ *b* A	ἐπιχαίρει + *β–b*
5^3	τὸ μῖσος *a b e* A	τὸ ζῆλος
	τὸ διαβούλιον + A	τὴν ψυχὴν
5^4	νικᾷ τὸ μῖσος + A	οἰκεῖ ἐν αὐτῷ
5^9	διαφώνησεν	ἐξέλειπε [11]
5^{11}	μῆνας ἔνδεκα + A	χρόνους δέκα
6^1	ἀδελφόν *b d g* A	πλησίον + *a e f*
6^2	τὴν ψυχήν μου + A	μου τὸν λογισμὸν
6^6	μὴ ἐξάξῃς [12]	μὴ ἐλέγξῃς
$7^{1\,13}$	τελείως εὐοδοῦται *b d e g* A	τελειωθῇ + *f*
7^6	καὶ ἄφθονος ἐπὶ πᾶσι κυρίῳ + A	ἐὰν ἀφθόνως ἐπὶ πᾶσι κυρίῳ εὐαρεστῇ
	πονηρὸν περισπασμὸν [14] τῶν ἀνθρώπων + A	περισπασμὸν τῶν ματαίων ἀνθρώπων
8^2	ἐνώπιον + A	ἀπὸ

[1] 'Compassion fell into my heart' A.
[2] *c* is defective.
[3] 'their law' A.
[4] *ὑπὸ h.*
[5] So LXX Gen 37^{31} as Dr Charles points out.
[6] We omit 8^6 which is a case of omission + addition on the part of *a* A or *b g*. We have already called attention to the peculiarity of *b d g* in the T. of Zebulon.
[7] *παραγγελῶ h i.*
[8] *ὅσοι ἐφυλάξατε* A.
[9] This is the reading of *b*. *β–b*, A read *πιάσας*, &c.
[10] *ἐπὶ e f g.*
[11] 'would have been removed' A.
[12] 'do not oppose' A.
[13] We omit 7^2 where all the Greek MSS seem to be corrupt.
[14] Cf. Eccles 1^{13} 5^{13} LXX *περισπασμὸν πονηρόν.*

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From this list of variants it is clear:

(i) That the support of A is practically always on the side of the β and against the α text.

R 1^{10} S 2^{10} 6^1 Z 2^8 5^1 are the only cases in the above list in which A supports α against β, and they can be easily accounted for as loose renderings or slight emendations of the β text on the part of the Armenian translator which happen to coincide with the readings of the α text. It appears also that the *b d g* group is closer to A than the *a e f* group which sometimes supports α against *b d g* A.

Thus the evidence of the Armenian version strongly suggests that *b* should be chosen as the basis for the reconstruction of the text.

(ii) The differences between the α and β texts are such as to point to the conclusion that one family represents the result of a free handling of the text of the other.

They may be classified as follows:—

(i) Differences due to corruptions in a Greek text, e. g. S 6^5 G 4^4. It will be noticed that in both these cases it is the α text which is secondary.

(ii) Alterations of style, e. g.

(*a*) The substitution of a colourless or conventional word for a more striking or unusual one, e. g. R 1^{10} 4^{10} 6^1 6^9 S 8^3 L 2^1 6^6 8^2 8^{15} 18^{14} Z 1^7 2^5 G 5^9. Here again it is the β text which appears to be original.

(*b*) An attempt to improve the sense which sometimes succeeds (e. g. R 3^{14} L 1^2 G 2^2), is sometimes quite unnecessary (e. g. L 13^9), and sometimes fails (e. g. R 4^7 5^2 S 1^1 G 5^{11}).

Here the evidence is not very decisive, but such as it is it supports the originality of the β text.

(*c*) The cultivation of a somewhat florid style on the part of the originator of the α text, e. g. R 3^6 4^{11} Z 9^4 G 1^4. The idiomatic use of *ὑπάρχων* in the last passage is confined to the α text. It occurs again S 4^4 L 11^1 Iss 7^1 N 1^9 Jos. 10^5 11^3; and in all these cases β simply uses *εἰμί*.[1]

(iii) The alteration of a statement in order to bring the story into accordance with the writer's views: e. g. in R 6^7 *c* considers that Gad is a more suitable person than Dan to share with Levi, Judah, and Joseph the divine gift of sovereignty; in Z 3^4 α alters *νόμου Ἐνώχ* into *νόμου Μωυσέως*: in G 1^3 α avoids the exaggeration of β's description of Gad's prowess: in L 10^3 α is influenced by Mt 27^{61} and in Z 4^9 by Gen 37^{31}:[2] in G 1^4 α feels that *τρυφερός* is an ambiguous word to apply to Joseph and changes it to *νέος*.

[1] For other instances of stylistic ambition on the part of α see notes on Jud 3^1 3^6 below.

[2] Similarly in A 4^4 *c* is influenced by Ps 34^{12} LXX.

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(iv) The correction of the teaching of a passage, e. g. in L 16^3 the expression ὡς νομίζετε, is avoided by α as savouring of Docetism. As another example we may quote the readings of *c* in R 5^4 6^1 which suggest that the omission of σύζυγον ἣν αὐτὸς θέλει in R 4^1 is due to the scribe's prejudice in favour of celibacy.

(v) Of many differences little more can be said than that they bear witness to a rather arbitrary handling of one text on the part of the originator of the other, e.g. R 3^{10} 4^3 4^8 S 4^5 6^2 L 2^3 5^1 6^3 15^3 18^{14} Z 2^8 9^1 9^4 G 7^1.

2. Omissions are next to be considered. While the MSS of the β text are guilty of a few omissions, generally through homoioteleuton,[a] and practically always to be corrected by means of one of the other MSS of the same family, omissions are a leading characteristic of the α text.

They occur on every page and vary from the omission of a few words (e.g. R 3^5 S 7^1 8^2 L 5^7 10^3 16^1 Z 5^5) to the omission of several verses (e.g. L 12^{5-7} Jud 12^{6-10}).

Most of these omissions appear to be dictated by a desire to shorten the text by leaving out uninteresting details, and to remove passages open to objection or misconstruction.

3. With regard to additions: those of α are fairly frequent but trivial, and for the most part easily recognized as attempts at improvement: e. g. L 6^8 G 5^1 5^8 7^6 Z 4^9 S 2^6 R 5^4 Z 3^2. Such additions scarcely ever have the support of A.

The case of β is more complicated. It is not only a longer text than α; it is also longer than the text of the Armenian. It is important for us to notice that α and A do not commonly agree in their omissions. The following is a list of omissions in the Testaments of Issachar and Asher, β being taken as the standard:—

Issachar.

Omissions occur in:

om. A	*om.* α	*om.* A	*om.* α
1^2		3^2	2^5
1^5	$1^7 + efg$	d $3^{3,4}$	d 3^1
1^8	1^9	d 3^5	d 3^4
b 1^{11}	b 1^{11}	e $3^{6,7,8}$	e 3^6
1^{13}	1^{14}	4^1	
c 2^4	c 2^4	f $4^{2,3}$	f $4^2 + af$

[a] e. g. R 6^9 L 18^9.

[b] These omissions have only καὶ ὁ δοῦλος in common.

[c] These omissions have nothing in common.

[d] These omissions (very considerable on the part of A) have 4 words in common.

[e] " " " " " 2 " " "

[f] " " " " " 4 " " "

In the case of α *af* the omission seems due to homoioteleuton.

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Issachar.

Omissions occur in :

om. A	*om.* α	*om.* A	*om.* α
4^4		c 7^1	c 7^1
a 4^5	a 4^5	$7^{2,3,4}$	
b $5^{1,2}$	b 5^1	d 7^5	d 7^5
5^4		e 7^6	e 7^6
5^5		7^7	
$5^{6,7}$		f 7^8	f 7^8
$6^{1,2}$			7^9

Asher.

Omissions occur in :

om. A	*om.* α	*om.* A	*om.* α
1^3	1^9	4^5	8^2
1^8	2^2	5^1	
2^7		5^3	
4^3	5^4	6^6	
4^4	7^5		

It will be observed that in the Testament of Asher the omissions of α and A are quite independent of one another: in the Testament of Issachar A's omissions are so numerous and large that they naturally overlap to some extent the much smaller omissions of α.[1]

Of all the α-omissions the only ones which convict β of an addition are Iss 1^{11} (καὶ ὁ δόλος, which may well have come from the preceding clause) and Iss 7^1 (εἰς θάνατον).[2]

With these we may compare L 8^{12} (πιστεύσας βA: *om.* α); but instances of this kind are rare.

Thus *as compared with* α even in the matter of additions β proves to be the superior text.

I have already mentioned the three long interpolations in *e*, and the doubtful passages in the Testament of Zebulon which are found only in *bdg*. We must not overlook the verses about St Paul in B 11^{2-5}, which are peculiar to the β text and may well be an interpolation later than the time when the α text originated. On the other hand, it is quite possible that α deliberately changed the reference of the passage from St Paul[3] to our Lord by means of a large omission and

[a] These omissions have 2 words in common.
[b] ,, ,, ,, 3 ,, ,, ,,
[c] ,, ,, ,, 2 ,, ,, ,,
[d] ,, ,, ,, 6 ,, ,, ,,
[e] ,, ,, ,, 4 ,, ,, ,,
[f] ,, ,, ,, 3 ,, ,, ,,

[1] We shall return later to the omissions of A. See below.

[2] β apparently inserts εἰς θάνατον again in Jos 11^3 against the other authorities.

[3] The comparison between St Paul and the wolf of Gen 49^{27} (LXX), not on the ground of his 'persecuting the church' (Tertullian *Adv. Marcionem I* vol. ii p. 275

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a small and conventional addition. In the following chapter (12) α seems to be handling the text of β very freely—shortening the ending of the Testament and turning it into the conventional form.[1]

4. Differences between the two groups in the order of words in a sentence are common. The following is a list for the Testament of Joseph:

2^{7} 3^{4} 4^{2} 5^{2} 6^{3} 7^{2} 7^{3} 7^{4} 9^{2} 9^{5} 10^{6} 11^{4} 11^{7} 14^{3} 14^{4} 15^{1} 15^{2} 15^{6} 16^{4} 17^{7} 19^{1} 19^{11}.

A curious little preference on the part of α may be noticed here, viz. of μῆνας ἑπτὰ to ἑπτὰ μῆνας R 1^{8}, and similarly S 8^{1} L 19^{4} G 8^{5} Jos 15^{1} B 12^{2}.

The facts we have been considering lead irresistibly to the conclusion that α is little more than a late and free recension of the β text, and that the best representative of the β text is b.

We will now test this result by examining a few consecutive chapters of the Testament of Judah in the light of it. Let us take the text of b, giving the variants of c in full, together with the evidence of A, and quoting the other MSS when their testimony seems desirable.

Judah

1 I. Ἀντίγραφον λόγων Ἰούδα, ὅσα ἐλάλησε τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τοῦ
2 ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν. Συναχθέντες ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς·
3 τέταρτος υἱὸς ἐγενόμην τῷ πατρί μου, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ μου ὠνόμασέ με
Ἰούδα, λέγουσα· Ἀνθομολογοῦμαι τῷ Κυρίῳ ὅτι ἔδωκέ μοι καὶ τέταρτον

I. 1. αντιγραφον] + διαθήκης d A οσα] ἃ a 2. συναχθεντες b A] + οὖν a προς αυτον β A] *om.* c 3. τεταρτος β A] *pr.* Ἀκούσατε, τέκνα μου, Ἰούδα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν· ἐγὼ a εγενομην] + ἐγὼ a f g A μου β A] + Ἰακώβ a η b] *pr.* λεία a β A ωνομασε β] ἐπονόμασέν a Ιουδα h b d g] Ἰούδαν c a e f

I. 1. The difference of grammatical taste between α (ἃ) and β (ὅσα) is to be noticed, and similarly at the beginning of the next verse (2) where α has οὖν which b A *om.* In the same verse c against all the other authorities omits πρὸς αὐτόν.

3. The clause added by α is not found in β A. To come to a decision we must examine the opening words of all the Testaments.

Similar words to these are found in R 1^{6} S 2^{1} Iss 1^{1} Z 1^{2} D 1^{2} N 1^{6} A 1^{2} Jos 1^{2}. They are absent from L 2^{1}; in B 1^{2} they are added only by d; in G 1^{2} α reads Ἀκούσατε τέκνα μου (*om.* β A).

It seems therefore that here and in Gad 1^{2} α makes an effort (as d does in B 1^{1}) to make the introduction to the Testament uniform with that which he regards as the norm, viz. (as a minimum) ἀκούσατε τέκνα μου.

α has both names; b omits both. The remaining MSS of the β family, supported by A, have the name of the mother only. The evidence therefore is indecisive, but rather points to the reading of $\beta(-b)$ A. Cf. S 2^{2}.

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ed. Oehler), but because of his 'bursting in upon Israel, for salvation and tearing away from them like a wolf and giving to the synagogue of the Gentiles' is very striking.

[1] Cf. a's bold substitution of a conventional ending for the striking verse of β (Jos 20^{6}).

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4 υἱόν. Ὀξὺς ἤμην καὶ σπουδαῖος ἐν νεότητί μου, καὶ ὑπακούων τῷ πατρι
5 μου κατὰ πάντα λόγον. Καὶ εὐλόγουν τὴν μητέρα μου καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν
6 τῆς μητρός μου. Καὶ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἠνδρώθην, καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου Ἰακὼβ
ηὔξατό μοι λέγων· Βασιλεὺς ἔσῃ καὶ εὐοδούμενος ἐν πᾶσιν.

1 II. Καὶ ἔδωκέ μοι Κύριος χάριν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις μου ἔν τε ἀγρῷ καὶ
2 ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ· Ὡς εἶδον ὅτι συνέδραμον τῇ ἐλάφῳ, καὶ πιάσας αὐτὴν ἐποίησα
3 βρῶμα τῷ πατρί μου. Τὰς δορκάδας ἐκράτουν διὰ τοῦ δρόμου, καὶ πᾶν
ὃ ἦν ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις κατελάμβανον. Φοράδα ἀγρίαν κατέλαβον, καὶ
4 πιάσας ἡμέρωσα. Καὶ λέοντα ἀπέκτεινα καὶ ἀφελόμην ἔριφον ἐκ τοῦ
στόματος αὐτοῦ. Ἄρκον λαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποδός, ἀπεκύλησα εἰς κρημνόν·

4. *οξυς β*] *pr. ἐγὼ α* A *και σπουδαιος β* A] *om. α* *υπακουων a b f*] *ὑπήκουον c d e g* 5. *ευλογουν b*] *ἐτίμουν α*: *ἐτίμων β–b* 6. *ηνδρωθην b* A] *ἠδρύνθην c a g* *Ιακωβ β* A] *om. α* *και ευοδουμενος b*] *κατευοδούμενος α β–b* A

II. 2. *ως ειδον b*] *οἶδα α β–b* A *τη*] *om. c* *πιασας αυτην β*] *ἐπίασα αὐτὴν καὶ α* *εποιησα*] + *αὐτὴν c* *μου*] + *καὶ ἔφαγεν α* 3. *τ. δορκαδας*] *τὴν δὲ δορκάδα c* *διὰ τοῦ δρόμου ἐκράτουν α* *φοραδα . . . ημερωσα β*] *om. α* *φοράδας* A *κατέλαβον om. α* A + *δορκάδα* (wild beasts A) *ἐκύνηγον ἐν τῇ χειρί μου e* A 4. *και β*] *τὸν α*: *καὶ τὸν* A *λεοντα* + often A *αρκον β*] *pr. τὴν α*: *pr. καὶ τὸν* A *απεκυλησα b d e f*] *ἀπέλυσα α a*: *ἀπηκόντισα g* A *τὸν κρυμνόν c* + *καὶ συνετρίβη α*

3. Where *β* has *ὠνόμασεν α* has a compound word *ἐπωνόμασεν* (which the MSS spell *ἐπονόμασεν*). There are many instances of *α*'s preference (as compared with *β*) for compound words, e.g.: Jud 5^5 and N 5^7 (*κατελάβομεν α* for *καὶ ἐλάβομεν β*) Jud 6^5 7^8 Jos 5^4 6^4 6^6 8^4 9^2 11^2 13^3 B 1^2. *b* especially favours the simple form Jud 1^6 3^{10} Jos 18^3. On the other hand there are cases where *α* has the simple and *β* the compound word, e.g. A 1^9 N 5^3 Z 2^3 Jos 17^1. Ἰούδα for Ἰούδαν is a slip on the part of *h b d g*. *b* is occasionally guilty of slips of this kind, e.g. L 4^4 *υἱοί* for *υἱοῦ* (and sim. Iss 2^1).

4. An unnecessary *ἐγώ* is not infrequent in *α* (e.g. D 1^3). In such a case the support of A counts for little. *α* omits *καὶ σπουδαῖος*. It is probably original or else the emphasis laid upon Judah's swiftness would appear to be excessive. Swiftness is the peculiar characteristic of Naphtali (N 2^1). Judah figures rather as the all-round athlete. Another slight difference in style is seen in the change of the participle (*a b f*) into the finite verb (*c d e g*).

5. For *ἐτίμων b* has the strange *εὐλόγουν*. The reading is probably to be classed among the peculiarities of this MS. It may be due to the influence of *ἀνθομολογοῦμαι* in verse 3.

6. *α* omits Ἰακώβ against *β* A.

II. 2. *ὡς εἶδον* for *οἶδα* is another of *b*'s peculiar readings and probably needs correction.

3. *α* shortens the account and again in the next verse.

4. The article is distinctly more frequent in *α* than in *β*. In the Testament of Joseph I have counted 15 cases where *α* has the article against *β*, and only 4 cases where *β* has the article as against *α*.

ἀπεκύλησα is the best supported reading. The author may have been using it in much the same sense as *ἀπηκόντισα*, which may represent a correction (due to 2^6): while *ἀπέλυσα* looks like the substitution of a more familiar word.

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5 καὶ πᾶν θηρίον, εἰ ἐπέστρεφε πρός με διήσπουν αὐτὸ ὡς κύνα. Τῷ χοίρῳ
τῷ ἀγρίῳ συνέδραμον, καὶ προλαβὼν ἐν τῷ τρέχειν με, κατεσπάραξα
6 αὐτόν. Πάρδαλις ἐν Χεβρὼν προσεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὸν κύνα· καὶ πιάσας
αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς, ἀπεκόντισα αὐτὴν καὶ ἐρράγη ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις Γάζης.
7 Βοῦν ἄγριον χώρᾳ νεμόμενον ἐκράτησα ἐκ τῶν κεράτων καὶ ἐν κύκλῳ
συσσείσας καὶ σκοτίσας ῥίψας ἀνεῖλον αὐτόν.

1 III. Καὶ ὅτε ἦλθον οἱ δύο βασιλεῖς τῶν Χαναναίων τεθωρακισμένοι
ἐπὶ τὰ ποίμνια καὶ πολὺς λαὸς μετ' αὐτῶν, κἀγὼ μόνος δραμὼν ἐπὶ τὸν
βασιλέα Σούρ, συνέσχον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κνημῖδας κρούσας κατέσπασα
2 καὶ οὕτως ἀνεῖλον αὐτόν. Καὶ τὸν ἕτερον βασιλέα Ταφουὲ καθήμενον ἐπὶ
3 τοῦ ἵππου, ἀνεῖλον αὐτὸν καὶ οὕτως πάντα τὸν λαὸν διεσκόρπισα. Τὸν

4. *και . . . κυνα*] *om.* a. 5. *τον αγριοχοιρα c συνεδραμον β*] *κατέδραμον a a προελαβα c με*] + *καὶ a αυτον a β*] its bones A 6. *παρδαλις*] + another time A *αυτην* 1⁰ and 2⁰] *αὐτὸν a ουρας*] *κέρκου a a f ἀπηκόντησα a και ερραγη* (was found broken A) . . . *Γαζης*] *ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν καὶ ἐρράγη εἰς δύο a* 7. *χωρα* (mountain A) . . . *εκρατησα β* A] *εὗρον τὴν χώραν νεμόμενον, καὶ κρατήσας a και*] *om. c εν*] *om. a συσσεισας*] *συστήσας c*

III. 1. *και οτε*] *ὅτε δὲ a* the king of the C. A *ποίμνια ἡμῶν καὶ λαὸς πολὺς a Σουρ b f g* A] *Ἀσούρ a e*: *τὸν ἕνα a συνεσχον αυτον β* A] *om. a κρούσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰς κνημῖδας a* 2. *και τον*] *τὸν δὲ a τὸν Ταφουὲ a αυτον*] *om a λαον*] + *αὐτῶν c a f g* A$^{\beta}$ + *αὐτοῦ h d e* A$^{\alpha}$ 3. *τον*] *pr. καὶ a* A

5. *κατέδραμον* seems to be an attempt at an improvement of *συνέδραμον*.

6. An excellent example of a slight variation with little apparent reason between the *α* and *β* texts is to be seen in the readings *κέρκου a a f* and *οὐρᾶς β* (the two words occur about equally in the LXX: *κέρκος* is the more common in the later versions Aq. Th. Sm.).

Cf. 7⁵ *ὠργίσθην a a f*: *ἐθυμώθην b d e g* (the latter less common in the Testaments): 7⁸ *ὑποφόρους a* (a word found in *β* in 9⁷ where it is omitted by *α*): *ὑποσπόνδους β* A.

α leaves out Γάζα which has every appearance of originality and completes the local touch introduced by **Χεβρών**. Perhaps the scribe was aware of the distance between the two places and disliked the exaggeration of the description. This, however, is not at all excessive when compared with some of the later rabbinical tales. *α*'s free paraphrase in this case prepares us for his rearrangement of the first clause of the following verse.

III. 1. A apparently thinks it more natural to have one king of the Canaanites than two (and see below). *α* has *δέ* while all the other authorities have *καί*. The *α* text has a conspicuous fondness for the particle *δέ*. I have counted 26 cases in the Testament of Joseph where the *α* text has *δέ* when it is absent from the *β* text, and in the same chapters I have found only 3 instances of the presence of *δέ* in the *β* text when it is absent from the *α*. The *α* text makes a more serious omission in this verse owing to lack of interest in the narrative, viz. the omission of the name **Ἀσούρ** and the graphic expression *συνέσχον αὐτόν*. The name **Ἀσούρ** (חצור the name of the place referred to in 1 Macc 11⁶⁷) is preserved correctly by *a e*. In *b f g* the *α* has dropped out through the presence of *α* at the end of the preceding word, and they read **Σούρ**, A following them.

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Ἀχὼρ βασιλέα ἄνδρα γιγάντων βάλλοντα τόξα ἔμπροσθε καὶ ὄπισθεν
ἐφ' ἵππου, ἀνελόμενος, λίθον λιτρῶν ξ' ἀκοντίσας ἔδωκα τῷ ἵππῳ καὶ
4 ἀπέκτεινα αὐτόν. Καὶ πολεμήσας τὸν Ἀχὼρ ἐπὶ ὥρας δύο, ἀπέκτεινα
αὐτόν, καὶ εἰς δύο μερίδας ποιήσας τὴν ἀσπίδα αὐτοῦ, συνέκοψα τοὺς
5 πόδας αὐτόν. Ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐκδύειν με αὐτοῦ τὸν θώρακα, ἰδού, ὀκτὼ ἄνδρες
6 ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ ἤρξαντο πολεμεῖν πρός με. Ἐνειλίσας οὖν τὴν στολήν μου ἐν
τῇ χειρί μου, λίθοις σφενδωνίσας αὐτοὺς τέσσαρας ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλον· οἱ δὲ
7 ἄλλοι ἔφυγον. Καὶ Ἰακὼβ ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἀνεῖλε τὸν Βεελισᾶ, βασιλέα

3. Αχωρ βασιλεα] βασιλέα χωρὰ (Οχοσορά Aβ) A γιγαντων *b*] γίγαντα *aβ* βαλλοντα] *pr.* εὖρον *a* : having round his loins A εμπροσθε και οπισθεν (+ sitting A) εφ' ιππου] *om. a* ανελομενος] ἀνηλάμενος *c* ἐξήκοντα λυτρῶν *c* εδωκα *b d e*] δέδωκα *a a f g* : struck A αυτον] + σὺν τῷ ἵππῳ *a* 4. *om. a* Αχωρ] βασιλέα Ναχὼρ A about two hours A απεκτεινα αυτον] *om.* A δυο] *om.* A μέρη *β* αυτον] + and so I slew him A 5. εκδυειν] putting on A τὸν θώρακα αὐτοῦ *a* ἄνδρες ὀκτὼ *a a d* : there appeared seven men A εταιροι *a b* A] ἕτεροι *aβ* αυτου] ἑαυτοῦ *c* προς] *om. a* 6. ἐνειλήσας *a a d g* ουν] δὲ ἐγὼ *a* : ἐγὼ A εν τη χειρι] ἐπὶ τὴν χεῖρά *a* λιθοις] *pr.* καὶ *a* A σφενδονήσας αὐτοῖς λίθοις *c* αλλοι] λοιποὶ *aγ*. ὁ δὲ πατήρ μου Ἰακὼβ *a* ημων] μου *e* Aβ βεελισα *b*] Βελισάθ *a a f* : Βελιασάθ A

3. A does not understand that Ἀχώρ is the name of the king and writes *βασιλέα χωρά*. Dr Charles suggests that Ἀχώρ = אחור, a corruption of אֶחָד ἕτερος. But in the LXX Ἀχώρ stands for אָכוֹר. Achor is a third king, the fight with whom is recorded in addition to the account of the battle with the two kings of the Canaanites.

γιγάντων is an instance of the necessity for making small corrections in *b*. Cf. 5^4 (λαθραῖοι for λάθρα).

The εὖρον of *a* is an attempt to make the sentence grammatical, whereas ἀνελόμενος is intended as the verb (cf. ἀνεῖλον).

a shortens the account and omits verse 4, probably through lack of interest in the narrative.

4. The sentence is clumsily arranged in the *β* text. The order seems to imply that the cutting off of the feet took place after the death of the king. This, however, is not what the writer means, as A perceives.

5. There is a curious discrepancy in numbers between the various authorities. ὀκτώ has the strongest support (*b e f a a d*). A replaces this by the symbolical number ἑπτά. $A^{cf g}$ have ἐννέα which would have attracted no attention but for its agreement with the number given in the similar story of Judah's exploits which is found in two mediaeval collections of rabbinical legends (Midr. Wajjis. and Book of Jashar). This coincidence, however, interesting as it is, cannot be allowed to override the decisive MS evidence as to the true reading in this passage.

ἕτεροι is an easy corruption of ἑταῖροι.

6. The δὲ ἐγώ is a rather typical attempt at emphasis on the part of *a* (cf. 4^2 below, also Jos 4^6 D 1^3 A 5^4 7^2 7^5). σφενδονήσας αὐτοῖς λίθους, which is apparently the reading intended by *a*, gives the verb the same form and usage as in the LXX.

λίθοις σφενδωνίσας αὐτούς *b* : (σφενδονίσας *a d g*) is the construction found with the verb ἐσφενδόνουν in 7^5.

7. The Βεελ of *b* best preserves the בעל part of the original name, whatever the second part of it may have been.

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8 πάντων τῶν βασιλέων, γίγαντα τῇ ἰσχύι πηχῶν ιβ'. Καὶ ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ'
9 αὐτοὺς τρόμος, καὶ ἐπαύσαντο πολεμοῦντες ἀφ' ἡμῶν. Διὰ τοῦτο ἀμέριμνος
ἦν ὁ πατήρ μου ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, ὅτε ἐγὼ ἤμην ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου.
10 Εἶδε γὰρ ἐν ὁράματι περὶ ἐμοῦ ὅτι ἄγγελος δυνάμεως ἔπεταί μοι ἐν πᾶσι,
τοῦ μὴ ἡττᾶσθαι.

1 IV. Καὶ κατὰ νότον γέγονεν ἡμῖν πόλεμος μείζων τοῦ ἐν Σικίμοις.
καὶ παραταξάμενος μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου, ἐδίωξα χιλίους ἄνδρας, καὶ
2 ἀπέκτεινα ἐξ αὐτῶν διακοσίους ἄνδρας καὶ τέσσαρας βασιλεῖς. Καὶ
ἀνῆλθον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ ἄλλους δύο βασιλεῖς ἀνείλον·
3 Καὶ οὕτως ἐλευθερώσαμεν τὴν Χεβρών, καὶ ἐλάβομεν πᾶσαν τὴν αἰχμα-
λωσίαν τῶν βασιλέων.

7. γιγαντα] *pr.* ἄνδρα *a* δώδεκα *cf* 8. τρομος] + and fear A ἡμᾶς *a* 9. Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ πατήρ μου ἀμέριμνος ἦν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις *a* : καὶ Aβ οτε *cβ*] ὅτι *h* A^{a} ημην] *om. a* εν *b*] σὺν *aβ* μου] + ειμην *c* 10. περι εμου] *om.* A. επεται *b d*] συνέπεταί *a afg* ηττασθαι *β* A] ἀψασθε *a* + με A (μαι *c* μοι *h*)

IV. 1. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο γέγονεν ἡμῖν κατὰ νῶτον *a* τοῖς ἐν Σηκήμοις *a* σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς *a* ἐδιώξαμεν *a* ανδρας] *om. a* ἀπεκτείναμεν *a* ανδρας] *om. a* και τεσσαρας (τέσσαρες *b*) βασιλεις] *om. a* 2. ανηλθον] + ἐγὼ *a* A επ' αυτους] *om. a* A their walls A αλλους δυο (τέσσαρας A) βασιλεις ανειλον *β* A] ἀνείλον τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν *a* 3. ηλευθερώσαμεν *a ag* των βασιλεων] *om. a*

8. The construction in *β* is again clumsy. *a* does not realize that ἀφ' goes with the verb ἐπαύσαντο, and so he introduces a simplification.

10. *b* stands alone in reading ἐν for σύν. In Levi 10^{3} *c* stands alone in reading ἐν (σὺν *β* A).

ἡττᾶσθαι is the more original and striking word. ἄψασθαι is the more conventional one in this connexion.

IV. 1. *a* omits καὶ τέσσαρας βασιλεῖς.

3. Again Dr Charles is too much influenced by parallels from the mediaeval rabbinical collections of legends. There is no good reason for rejecting Χεβρών. Ἀσούρ (the correction Dr Charles would make) is not in the *South* (4^{1}).

τῶν βασιλέων is another omission on the part of *a*.

The examination of these four chapters together with what has gone before is sufficient to shew that *b* is a good foundation for the reconstruction of the text, and that it is unnecessary to quote *c* continuously in a critical apparatus, unless that apparatus is to be exhaustive.

The Armenian version remains to be considered.

Dr Charles is too much inclined to treat this version as a verbal reproduction of the Greek text rather than as a translation.

Not infrequently the Armenian which Dr Charles is at pains to retranslate exactly into Greek is simply a free rendering of the existing Greek text. Thus in Jos 10^{1} 'is' (A) does not necessarily imply a different word from κατεργάζεται (Greek MSS)[1]: and the evidence of

[1] Many other examples could be given but one or two must suffice, e. g. L 10^{2} where for μεγάλα A has 'very great', Iss 4^{4} where A translates θηλείας as if it were γυναικῶν, and cf. R 3^{7} 5^{7} Jud 2^{5} D 5^{10}.

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A scarcely counts with regard to the omission of καί or δέ or ἐγώ, variations in the order of a sentence, the use of an abstract word for a concrete,[1] and so on.

It is instructive to compare the Armenian version of the Testaments with the Armenian version of the Book of Adam.[2] This also is a literal translation and not a verbal reproduction.[3]

In attempting to estimate the value of A we must remember that

(i) it is sometimes corrupt (e.g. R 3^5 Jud 3^3 Z 2^4) and very occasionally makes what is clearly an addition (e. g. L 1^1 Jud 1^1 5^4 5^5 6^3 9^6).

(ii) occasionally it alone preserves what is certainly a more original text, e. g. Jos 19 B 10^{10}.[4]

(iii) it is guilty of at least a considerable number of omissions (e. g. R 6^5 S 6^3 L 12^3), but on the other hand

(iv) in the Testaments[5] of Issachar,[6] Joseph, and Benjamin[7] the narrative of A is shorter and neater than that of the Greek MSS, which is inclined to be a little rambling. Thus Issachar is evidently a pattern of 'simplicity' and not of charitableness,[8] and A omits all the passages (Iss 3^8 5^2 $7^{5,6}$) which refer to charitable acts on the part of the patriarch; and similarly A does not mention his offerings to the Lord (3^6 5^3).

It is quite possible, therefore, that there lay before the Armenian translator a Greek text which was shorter (particularly in the three Testaments mentioned above) than that which has been preserved in any of the Greek MSS.

Even so, however, it does not necessarily follow that this would be more original than the longer text of the archetype of the existing Greek MSS.

In the case of the two recensions (A and B) of the Testament of Abraham, A, which is the longer, is in many respects more original than B.[9]

On the whole then the probability is that the Armenian represents

[1] e. g. R 2^9 3^8 Jos 1^5 (+α) 8^1 (+α) G 4^5 and sim. Jos 6^2 6^8 7^8 (variations between finite verb and participle).

[2] F. C. Conybeare *J. Q. R.* vii pp. 221 ff.

[3] For examples of freedom of rendering see especially chapters XV, XVIII, XXXII, XL.

[4] These instances are unmistakeable. There are others more doubtful, e. g. Iss $5^{6,7}$ B 2^{6-8}.

[5] It is not necessary to refer again here to the passages in Testament of Zebulon only found in *b d g*.

[6] Where there is nothing distinctively Christian in any of our authorities.

[7] In B 2 A is first guilty of an omission, and then apparently for some verses is alone in preserving the original text for which (on account of its dubious teaching) the Greek MSS offer a rather feeble substitute.

[8] Zebulon is the pattern of charitableness.

[9] *The Testament of Abraham*, ed. Dr M. R. James, p. 49.

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a slight abridgement, and the present Greek text a very slight expansion of the original Testaments. In the actual reconstruction of the original text it will often be extremely difficult to decide whether to admit words on the authority of the Greek or to reject them on the authority of the Armenian.[1] If, therefore, *b* be taken as the foundation of the reconstructed text, it will be advisable to record the readings of A in the margin.[2]

The fact that A exists in two recensions A^{α} and A^{β} has already been mentioned. Of these the latter (which is found in Biblical MSS) is considerably longer and nearer the Greek: the former (which is found only in non-Biblical MSS) is frequently defective, and has every appearance of being merely a corrupt and shortened form of A^{β}.

The passages which go to shew that this is the case are very numerous: e.g. A^{α} is guilty of omissions in the Testament of Simeon 3^{6} $4^{7,8}$ 4^{9}–5^{2} 6^{2} 6^{4}: in the Testament of Levi 4^{4} 7^{1} $13^{5,6}$ 13^{7} 14^{2-6} $15^{2,3}$ 17 18: 'in the Testament of Judah the text of A^{α} is less by a third than that of A^{β}',[3] and so on.

Not infrequently the reading of A^{α} is obviously a corruption of that in A^{β}, e.g. S 6^{5} L 6^{7}.

Dr Charles claims that in Levi 3^{1-5} 'A^{α} gives the nearest reproduction of the original Hebrew', but his treatment of the text of Levi's vision, of which this passage forms a part, is arbitrary and unconvincing. There are numerous indications that A^{α}, which describes two heavens, and α, which describes six, are shortened forms of β A^{β}, which speak of seven. In Levi 2^{7} A^{α} agrees with A^{β} β in connecting the water with the second heaven. *Between* the two heavens (as in β A^{β}) must be its original place.

A^{α} has already had considerable omissions in the verses which precede the account of the vision (*vv.* 3 and 4): it tells us nothing about the first heaven (*v.* 7): it leaves out 9^{b}, which is essential to the sense. Again, in chapter iii, it omits all mention of the third heaven, although its enumeration is here plainly that of A^{β}, and it entirely ignores the description of the heavens in descending order from the highest to the fourth.

Further, such a reading as 'live' (2^{10}) for 'stand' seems clearly to shew that A^{α} is a corruption[4] of A^{β}, while the phrase 'the *coming* mysteries' in the same verse appears to be a reminiscence of the next clause of all the Greek MSS τοῦ μέλλοντος λυτροῦσθαι.[5]

[1] Nor is the difficulty solved in cases where the omission of A is supported by α.

[2] Except where they are obviously corrupt or loose renderings of the existing Greek text.

[3] Charles, Introd. p. xv.

[4] Cf. the corruption of A^{β} in A^{α} L 6^{7}.

[5] Cf. the contraction of the text in A^{α} L 4^{1}.

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The text of a in its present form mentions six heavens, a most improbable number. The transcriber is apparently attempting[1] to reduce the number to three ($2^{9\,b}$). Moreover, it is no objection to the account of βA^{β} that the dwellers in the fourth heaven are described first in general terms as 'holy' 3^{5} and afterwards more particularly as 'thrones and dominions in which always praises are offered to God' (3^{8}).

There is, therefore, every reason to suppose that βA^{β} give us the original text of this passage, and that A^{α} is merely a corrupt and shortened form of A^{β}.

If this is so then A^{α}, being a corrupt and shortened form of A^{β}, and a being a corrupt and shortened form of β, A^{α} and a will naturally agree occasionally against A^{β} and β. As a matter of fact such agreements are few and unimportant, and there are cases when A^{α} agrees with β against a (e. g. S 2^{10} L 8^{2}).

The fact seems to be that Dr Charles has allowed himself to be prejudiced in favour of c by his theories (1) of two recensions of a Hebrew original of the Testaments, and (2) of the possibility of recovering the Jewish original from the present Christian edition of the Testaments by the removal of a few obvious interpolations.

There is a considerable amount of evidence in favour of the supposition that the Testaments were originally written in Hebrew.[2] Starting from this hypothesis and observing that a certain number of the differences between b and c might have arisen in Hebrew, Dr Charles has launched out into the further hypothesis that each of these manuscripts represents a distinct Hebrew recension of the original text. Thus he regards c, not as a late and inferior exemplar of the text of b, but as preserving independently a second form of the primitive Hebrew text.

Further, if it is possible, as Dr Charles maintains, to eliminate the Christian element in the Testaments simply by removing a Christian phrase here and there, the shorter text of c will naturally contain fewer Christian interpolations, and so will appear to be nearer to the Jewish original than the longer text of b.

It remains therefore to be shewn

(1) that there is no sufficient ground for the hypothesis of two Hebrew recensions, and (2) that the Jewish original, whatever it was, cannot be recovered by the scissors and paste method which Dr Charles recommends.

[1] Is this due to the influence of 2 Cor 12^{2}? It was natural to suppose that St Paul was caught up into the highest of the heavens.

[2] To be considered later.

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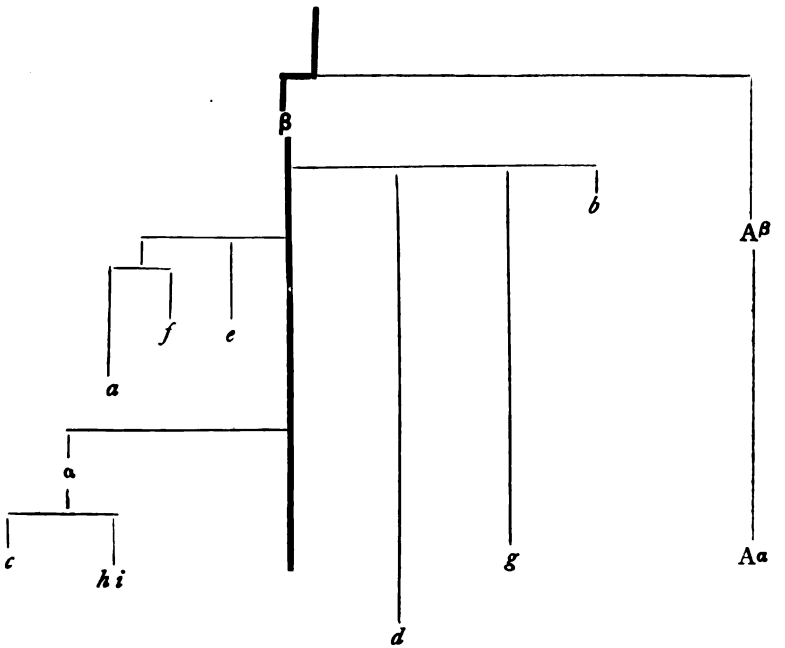
Meanwhile the result of the preceding investigation may be represented by the following genealogical table:

THE TESTAMENTS IN GREEK.



α = the archetype of the α family.
β = the archetype of the β family.

The value of each MS is roughly indicated by its height on the page.

J. W. HUNKIN.

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A MONASTIC STAR TIME TABLE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

THE text printed below is taken from Bodley MS 38 (8849), and covers nine small[1] vellum pages, fol. 19*b* to 23*b*. It deals with the appearance in the sky, and in relation to the buildings of a monastery, of certain constellations, and the observations were taken by a monk to enable him to know the hour, at which on certain holy days, to begin, or to prepare for, the office of the night. They appear to be based upon, or suggested by, the treatise by Gregory of Tours entitled *De Cursu Stellarum Ratio*,[2] and the monk uses as guides several of the stars chosen by Gregory. The notes have no formal beginning; they follow on the same page the last of a series of six liturgical *cantica*, chiefly tropes of various sorts, written by the same hand, and put together apparently at haphazard. Probably the collection was intended merely for the monks' private use.

It has proved beyond my power to identify the monastery where the observations were made; and there are at once too many and too few indications of locality to allow of a satisfactory conjecture. The following facts offer all the evidence available:—

(1) The manuscript is written in a hand of about the middle of the eleventh century.

(2) It was written in a Benedictine house[3] in France.

(3) On the south of the church was the cloister with the dormitory on the east side, the refectory on the south, a closet, *armarium*, making the corner between. The dormitory had seven windows, and the refectory four, which the observer counted from left to right.[4] He stood apparently in the open air of the cloister garth. He had an appointed place, but moved from it to take certain observations.

(4) A church of S. Aignan—or possibly an apsidal chapel on the south of the choir of the monastery church—rose above the north end of the dormitory roof. From one place in the cloister could be seen the writing over S. Aignan's altar.[5]

[1] $4\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

[2] Printed in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum* i p. 854. My attention was drawn to this connexion by my friend Miss Rose Graham, to whom I owe my best thanks for some help also in the completion of this paper.

[3] See the observation for March 21.

[4] The orientation of the monastery church was probably not due east and west, but a little north-east and south-west.

[5] Cf. 'Iuxta parietem Sancti Aniani . . . super scripturam altaris Sancti Aniani'.

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(5) There was a chapel of All Saints visible over the south or south-east side of the cloister.

(6) The last of the *cantica* referred to above celebrates S. Nazarius as one who *huic patriae procuravit inluminatorem.*[1]

(7) The manuscript was at one time the property of Peter Daniel, the sixteenth-century Orleans collector and *bailli* of Fleury, and the volume, in what appears to be contemporary binding, bears his name.

The clue to the whereabouts of the monastery—which it will be observed was of the most usual plan—would seem to lie in the connexion of the volume with Peter Daniel, and further in the bringing together in the notes of the saints whose worship was not common to every French diocese, viz. S. Aignan, S. Nazaire, and two others whose festivals are mentioned, S. Launomar or Lomer and S. Germanus of Auxerre.

The late Librarian of the Bodleian, Mr E. W. B. Nicholson, left S. Nazarius out of the account, and decided that the manuscript was almost certainly written at Orleans in the Benedictine monastery of S. Aignan.[2]

This opinion is open to question on two grounds. (1) Was the house of S. Aignan a Benedictine monastery in the eleventh century? (2) Do the local conditions suit the requirements of the MS? With regard to the first point it is hard to give a perfectly satisfactory answer, as the archives of S. Aignan's were burnt in 1562,[3] and were reconstructed by the chapter from any available sources that were to be found. The new documents may have been made, it may well be argued, under the influence of the owners of that day who were unquestionably a chapter of canons. But the verdict of all the historians[4] of S. Aignan's and of Orleans is unanimous as to the unbroken tenure of the church by canons from the middle of the ninth century down to 1790. And it is scarcely possible that so important a church could pass in the eleventh century from the hands of canons

[1] The five other *cantica* afford no clue to identification. I owe this observation to my friend the Rev. H. M. Bannister.

[2] Madan, *Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library*, Nos. 16670–24330, App. p. 720. Notes by E. W. B. Nicholson.

[3] *Mémoires de la Société archéologique de l'Orléanais* vol. iv p. 80.

[4] Hubert, *Antiquités historiques de l'Église royale de St-Aignan d'Orléans*, I have not consulted, there being no copy in Oxford, in the British Museum, or in the Cambridge University Library; but references to Hubert by other writers are unmistakeable. See also Saussaye, *Annales Ecclesiae Aurelianensis.* Lemaire, *Histoire et Antiquités de la Ville et Duché d'Orléans.* E. Bimbinet, and other writers in *Mém. de la Soc. arch. de l'Orléanais*, vols. 4, 9, 11, 18, 21. The charter printed by Pflugk-Harttung, as belonging to S. Aignan at Orleans, ann. 1061, refers to the monastery of S. Benoit d'Aniane, *Acta Pontificum Romanorum inedita* iii 9.

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into those of monks and be restored to the canons without some reference to the transaction remaining in some document or chronicle. *Gallia Christiana* claims for S. Aignan's a Benedictine origin, but in an agreement about a burial-ground, dated 854, between Agius bishop of Orleans [1] and the owners of S. Aignan's, they are called canons.[2] In 999 the church was burnt down, and was rebuilt by Robert the Pious. The ceremony of restoring the reliques of S. Aignan to their place in the new church took place in 1029. Helgaldus, the biographer of King Robert, gives a full description [3] of the building, and of the translation. He uses the word *monasterium* to denote the church itself. Nineteen altars to saints are mentioned by him, of whom no less than nine including S. Benedict correspond with those named by the monk of the star-notes. Helgaldus does not refer to any capitular buildings, nor does he indicate in any way the order by which the church was to be served. This omission, it may be noticed, would be the more natural if the chapter of canons which had held it till its destruction in 999 resumed possession in 1029. The interval for the rebuilding of a great church was indeed short enough [4] to allow of at least some of the dishoused canons assisting at the consecration of the new building. The abbots of S. Aignan were commonly great political personages, but the list of deans is given complete in *Gallia Christiana.* The fact that several of the early deans held at the same time offices [5] in the Chapter of the Canons of the Cathedral Church of S. Cross confirms the presumption that at the date of the MS under consideration the church of S. Aignan was not Benedictine.

The second objection to accepting Mr Nicholson's view as to the monastery where the star-notes were written rests upon the local position of the church of S. Aignan at Orleans. The church completed in 1029 was destroyed in 1370, but the crypt [6] has been decided by careful investigation to remain practically perfect. It is built upon the north bank of the Loire where the ground falls away somewhat sharply to the river. The

[1] Reproduced in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France* for 1866, ix, 3rd series 'Ego Agius episcopus venerabilium canonicorum monasterii Sancti Aniani'. Also in *Mém. arch. de l'Orl.* xi p. 483.

[2] See also *Gall. Christ.* vii 1521 '... Caroli Crassi quo tempore Sancti Aniani monasterium seculari toga iam erat donatum'.

[3] *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France* x 111.

[4] The next rebuilding begun by Louis XI took 70 years, Buzonnière *Histoire architecturale de la ville d'Orléans* i 313.

[5] Tedelinus, dean in 1029, was sub-dean of S. Cross. Robert, dean in 1038, was canon of S. Cross. Stephen de Garlande was dean of S. Samson in 1108, S. Aignan in 1111, S. Cross in 1113, and returned to S. Aignan in 1114. *Gall. Christ.* viii 1522.

[6] Buzonnière *Histoire architecturale* i 298.

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floor of the present fifteenth-century church, says Monsieur Buzonnière, though on the north level with the ground outside, is on the south *relativement exhaussé de quatre mètres et plus.*[1] The fall of the earth was perhaps less in 1029, but at no time could the situation have been favourable for the buildings of an important abbey. No trace of eleventh-century constructions have been found south of the crypt.[2] Charles VIII gave leave to the chapter to raise 30,000 livres from the *octroi* of the city to complete a small south cloister[3] which probably led to the sacristy and chapter-house. But the canons' entrance was on the north.[4] There was no access to the church up the bank of the river, and so much was this aspect shut off that the architect of the present church completely neglected the external decoration of that side of his building.[5] In fact not only do no traces survive of a spacious dormitory and refectory on the south of S. Aignan's, but it seems probable that neither in the eleventh cantury nor later was there any provision made near the church for the residence of its chapter.

If, however, we dismiss Mr Nicholson's identification, I have found it impossible to make a satisfactory suggestion in its place. Peter Daniel collected books from many places besides Fleury. At Fleury itself no record remains of there ever having been a chapel to S. Aignan,[6] or a church dedicated to that saint, in close neighbourhood to the monastery, nor a chapel[7] of All Saints in the monastery grounds, or on the walls. Moreover some saints specially connected with Fleury are absent from the monk's calendar. The list indeed has baffling omissions. The day of the dedication of the church and of the patron saint are not mentioned. There are also breaks in the continuity of the observations; one long interval from March 21 to June 24 includes the time of the great moveable feasts; and several shorter ones occur of from four to six weeks' duration. It is probable that the same monk did not do all the watching throughout the year, and it is unlucky for my purpose that the time of his supposed absence corresponds with the dates of S. Nazarius, June 12, S. Aignan, Bishop of Chartres, June 10, and the day of the deliverance of his city by S. Aignan of Orleans, June 14. On the other hand, had S. Aignan, as Mr Nicholson assumed, been the patron saint of the monastery, one would expect to find his

[1] Buzonnière *Hist. arch.* i 323. [2] *Ibid.* i 303. [3] *Ibid.* i 312, 314.
[4] *Ibid.* i 313. [5] *Ibid.* i 313, 319.

[6] There was an altar to S. Aignan at a later period, and the 19th of December was a festival in the church in connexion with it. Rocher *History of S. Benoît-sur-Loire* p. 326.

[7] There were two chapels in the precincts of the monastery, dedicated to S. Peter and to S. Lazarus. The great church was burnt down in 1026 and only rebuilt in 1071.

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other festival on November 17 commemorated, for the monk duly makes his observation for All Saints' Day and for S. Clement on November 23. The manner, however, in which S. Aignan is referred to in the text makes it extremely unlikely that he held the place Mr Nicholson assigned him. In the service books that I have consulted giving the order of service on special festivals, processions, and so forth, the monastic church is referred to as *ecclesia*[1] simply. If the reference to S. Aignan indicates a separate church, we must suppose the monk's monastery to be in a town, or to have a parish, or second monastic, church within its boundaries. But it seems unlikely that a mere parish or secondary church would be so lofty as to dominate the cloister and dormitory.

Chartres with its Church of S. Aignan, rising on a fairly steep hill above the great convent of S. Père, might possibly be the home of the star-watching monk. But the cloister of S. Père appears to lie a little too much to the east, and I have not been able to trace any chapel of All Saints in the town. Moreover, the absence of saints in the monk's calendar should be considered as well as their presence, and at Chartres one would expect to find S. Lubin commemorated on March 13, and a monk of S. Père to give special honour to the festivals of S. Peter, so closely associated with his house. Two of the less usual saints mentioned in the MS, S. Aignan and S. Nazaire, are found honoured in the diocese of Narbonne. And the twin monasteries of S. Laurent and S. Aignan—called together S. Chinian—suggest themselves as a tempting solution of the problem. But here again certainty is unattainable, and the data recoverable is insufficient for even a conjectural identification.

With regard to the question of the hours on the different days at which the monk roused the convent it is impossible to reach a definite conclusion, since the exact geographical position of the monastery, the orientation of the church, the height of the buildings, and the precise date of the observations are all unknown to us. But it would seem that the services to be attended belong to three classes of festivals lasting more or less time before cockcrow. The approximate results of calculations for the year 1100[2] of the position of the stars on the days mentioned can be tabulated as follows:—

Dec. 25, Christmas, evening.
Jan. 1, Circumcision, midnight.
Jan. 19, S. Launomar, 2 a.m.
Jan. 20, S. Sebastian, midnight.

[1] Except of course where the name of another church has been introduced into the order of ceremonial.

[2] I owe the astronomical notes and calculations to the kindness of Mr E. B. Knobel, Fellow, and twice President, of the Royal Astronomical Society.

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Jan. 21, S. Agnes, 2 a.m.
Jan. 22, S. Vincent, midnight.
Jan. 25, Conversion of S. Paul, 2 a.m.
Feb. 2, Purification, midnight.
March 21, Translation of S. Benedict, evening.
June 24, S. John the Baptist, evening.
June 29, SS. Peter and Paul, evening.
July 31, S. Germanus of Auxerre, evening.
Aug. 3, S. Stephen, midnight.
Sept. 21, S. Matthew, midnight.
Sept. 29, S. Michael, midnight.
Sept. 30, S. Jerome, midnight.
Oct. 1, S. Remigius, midnight.
Oct. 28, SS. Simon and Jude, 2 a.m.
Nov. 1, All Saints, evening.
Nov. 23, S. Clement, 2 a.m.

On most of the nights of his watching the monk leaves his actual duties unrecorded. He has to ring the bell on Christmas evening, and on the festivals of S. Germanus and All Saints. On the latter night and on the Circumcision he kindles the lamps. But his last words 'Prepare thyself to rouse the Brethren' are probably meant to cover the directions for the whole year.

RACHAEL POOLE.

Bodl. MS 38 Bernard (8849).

[fol. 19 b] In natale domini [Dec. 25] cum geminos quasi super dormitorium iacentes uideris et signum ORIONIS · super capellam omnium Sanctorum preparate ad commouenda signa. In CIRCUMCISIONE domini [Jan. 1]
[20 a] dum claram stellam quae in | genu ARTOPHILACIS est · contra spatium quod inter primam et secundam dormitorii fenestram habetur quasi super summum tectum uideris tunc ad accendendas lucernas perge.

In Sancti LAUNOMARI [Jan. 19] et sanctae AGNETIS [Jan. 21] dum lances quas VIRGO dicitur tenere duas uidelicet claras stellas contra spatium quod est inter sextam et septimam dormitorii fenestram alcius
[20 b] eleuatas aspexeris. Similiter & in CONVERSIONE | Sancti Pauli. [Jan. 25] Ast in Sancti SEBASTIANI [Jan. 20] dum easdem stellas contra spatium quintę et sextę fenestrę uideris · ita tamen ut uiciniores sint sextę. Verum in Sancti VINCENTII [Jan. 22] dum super quintam fenestram uicinas tecto & quasi surgentes uideris & hoc adtende · ut ad contemplandas eas a designato loco paululum retro uersus sauinam[1] per uiam putei secedas · ut fenestras et uidere et numerare possis. |

[1] Can this mean 'a juniper bush'?

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In Purificatione Sanctae MARIE [Feb. 2] dum stellam que in genu [21 a]
artophilacis est in[ter] terciam[1] et quartam dormitorii fenestram uideris ·
ita tamen ut uicinior uideatur tercie quam quarte.

In transitu Sancti Patris BENEDICTI xij uidelicet K. April. [Mar. 21]
dum contra sextam dormitorii fenestram · lances quasi alte positas uideris ·
uel stellam de genu Artophylacis · contra medium spatium quod est
in[ter] terciam et quartam dormitorii fenestram. | IN festiuitate Sancti [21 b]
iohannis precursoris domini [June 24] dum signum Sagittae contra
spatium quod est inter quintam et sextam dormitorii fenestram uideris ·
ita tamen ut uicinius sit quinte quam sexte seu cum caput equi contra
secundam dormitorii fenestram quasi tecto super iacentem uideris. IN
festiuitate sanctorum Petri et Pauli · [June 29] quando ipsum caput
quasi uicinum tercie dormitorii fenestre uideris · & signum Sagitte. In [22 a]
Kalendis | Augusti [Aug. 1] & in festiuitate Sancti GERMANI [July 31] que
eas precedit dum uideris signum Sagitte contra spatium quod est in[ter]
terciam et quartam Refectorii fenestram certo loco iuxta polum scilicet
constitutus atque ad meridiem conuersus · tunc ad commouendum sig-
num nocturnalium ymnorum te prepara. IN translatione Sancti Stephani
[Aug. 3] dum eam inter primam et secundam uideris. IN festiuitate
Sancti Mathei [Sept. 21] conuersus ad orientem | dum contra primam [22 b]
dormitorii fenestram que est iuxta parietem Sancti Aniani duas gemi-
norum uideris stellas. IN festiuitate Sancti Michaelis Archangeli
[Sept. 29] similiter contra orientem spectans · ad dexteram partem de uia
secede. Et ubi eosdem geminos quasi super scripturam altaris[2] Sancti
ANIANI uideris tunc horam surgendi scito esse.

Porro in sollempnitate Sancti Hieronimi [Sept. 30] et in Sancti
Remigii [Oct. 1] ubi ipsas stellas inter | secundam & terciam dormitorii [23 a]
uideris fenestram sic tamen ut propiores uideantur esse secunde fenestre
quam tercie. IN apostolorum Simonis et Iude · natalicio [Oct. 28] ad
austrum spectans · dum signum ORIONIS quasi super tectum armarii quod
est inter dormitorium et refectorium uideris · ita tamen ut proxumus[3]
prime refectorii fenestre uideatur. IN sollempnitate Omnium Sanctorum
[Nov. 1] ad orientem conuertere. | et dum contra spatium quod est [23 b]
inter primam & secundam dormitorii fenestram capita uideris gemi-
norum ad accendendas lucernas te prepara & post hec omnia sona signa.
IN Sancti clementis [Nov. 23] dum signum orionis inter terciam
& quartam refectorii fenestram uideris ita tamen ut gladius et uagina
te uideri possit simul tunc prepara te at excitandos Fratres.

[1] in℈cia' for in℈ ℈cia'.

[2] It was a custom to inscribe over the altar the name of the saint in whose honour it was erected. References to this practice occur in B. Albers's *Consuetudines Monasticae* i p. 183 and Wilkins's *Concilia* i pp. 169, 624.

[3] *uicinius* is written under *proxumus*, but is not erased.

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PELAGIUS AND THE PAULINE TEXT IN THE BOOK OF ARMAGH.

THE question what text was used by Pelagius as the basis of his commentary on the Epistles of St Paul has been answered by Simon, on the basis of the printed editions of Pseudo-Jerome, by Zahn, on the basis of Zimmer's collation of the anonymous MS 73 at St Gall, and by myself, on the basis of the non-interpolated Reichenau MS 119 at Karlsruhe, as the Vulgate. The evidence of the last authority is given, so far as the Epistle to the Romans is concerned, in Wordsworth and White's edition of the epistle (Oxonii, 1913). The Reichenau text is not at all identical with the text approved by Wordsworth and White, and this fact, joined to certain other phenomena in the text of the other epistles, has created a doubt whether after all it was the Vulgate text that was used by Pelagius, in spite of the occurrence of *porro* at 1 Cor. vii 35, a word entirely absent from the Old-Latin.

MS 157 of Balliol College, Oxford, written by an Italian scribe about the middle of the fifteenth century, doubtless to the order of Bp William Gray, who gave it to the College, has the name of Jerome in the title, but is almost, if not entirely, devoid of interpolation of any sort. But what is perhaps more interesting is this, that it provides a text of the Epistles which is Old-Latin right through. It is in constant agreement with certain European non-Vulgate manuscripts and citations, and shews a specially close relationship with the text in the Book of Armagh, being not infrequently in solitary agreement with it in striking readings. The detailed proof of this will be presented elsewhere, but meantime one is moved to ask whether it is not more natural to suppose that Pelagius used an Old-Latin text, which was in certain copies like Reichenau 119 harmonized almost perfectly with the Vulgate, than to regard Balliol 157 as a descendant of a copy in which an original Vulgate text was perfectly altered to an earlier type. The Book of Armagh contains the Pelagian prologues under their author's name, and its Pauline text is, I believe, copied out of a manuscript of the Pelagian commentary, where the Biblical text had been somewhat harmonized with the Vulgate. The Balliol MS represents an altogether purer strain. It may be mentioned that both lack *porro* at 1 Cor. vii 35.

A. SOUTER.

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REVIEWS

NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS.

A Letter to Asia. Being a Paraphrase and Brief Exposition of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Believers at Colossae. By FREDERICK BROOKE WESTCOTT, D.D. (Macmillan & Co., 1914.)

THE reception accorded to Dr Westcott's exposition of the teaching of the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians[1] has encouraged him to publish a similar treatment of the Epistle to the Colossians. And again we venture to think that his volume will prove of great interest and value not only to the 'quiet' Bible reader to whom it is specially addressed, but to the preacher and the student. The book opens with a brief Introduction in which the circumstances of the writing of the Epistle, or Letter, are clearly sketched. And this is followed by a running paraphrase and exposition of the text. Many of Dr Westcott's renderings are very happy, and even where the reader may hesitate as to the correctness of some of his conclusions, he cannot fail to be helped by the lucid statement of the manner in which these conclusions have been reached, and the frank account of the difficulties with which they are attended. It is just these features indeed that make Dr Westcott's exposition so stimulating and suggestive. And when we have said that, we have accorded to it the highest praise that any interpreter of Scripture can hope to merit. It is unnecessary to enter into details, but I am glad to notice that Dr Westcott shews a proper hesitancy in reading a 'technical' meaning from the mystery-religions or from Gnosticism into the Pauline language, where it can be understood in a plain way. On the other hand he fully recognizes the value of the papyri and other recent discoveries for establishing a proper starting-point for understanding the deeper contents with which St Paul has enriched the ordinary language of his time. For the latent textual corruption which Dr Hort suspects in the difficult *θέλων ἐν ταπεινοφροσύνῃ* of Col. ii 18, Dr Westcott suggests the emendation *ἐν ἐθελοταπεινοφροσύνῃ*, 'by a show of humility', and for the *πλησμονήν* of ver. 23 he wonders if we may substitute such a word as *ἐπιλησμοσύνην*, 'not of any value in regard to forgetting the flesh'.

The Last Discourse and Prayer of our Lord: a study of St John xiv–xvii. By HENRY BARCLAY SWETE, D.D. (Macmillan & Co., 1913.)

NEW Testament Revisers have told us of the deepened feelings of reverence and awe with which the consideration of the chapters in

[1] *St Paul and Justification.* Macmillan and Co. See *J.T.S.* xv p. 298 f.

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St John's Gospel containing the Last Discourse and Prayer of our Lord was approached. Certainly no other passage of Scripture leads us more directly into the very Holy of Holies of our Christian Faith, or makes a greater demand on the spiritual insight of those who seek to interpret it. And in these circumstances we cannot but be thankful that so trusted and devout an expositor as Professor Swete should have given us his guidance here, as he has already done in connexion with *The Appearances of our Lord after the Passion*,[1] and *The Ascended Christ*.[2] As in these earlier volumes, Dr Swete has specially in view the ordinary Bible reader who is anxious to penetrate beneath the surface of his Lord's words to their inner meaning, and in consequence he avoids the discussion of the many critical problems which the Fourth Gospel raises as foreign to his immediate intention. At the same time it is reassuring to learn that while Dr Swete, in accordance with the prevailing modern attitude, regards the author of the Fourth Gospel as an 'interpreter' rather than as a compiler, he sets aside as 'inconceivable' the idea that the discourses as a whole can be regarded as his work. 'Repeated study', he writes, 'of these chapters confirms my conviction that they approach as near to the words actually spoken by our Lord as the memory of one who heard them can bring us. There is in them a severe simplicity, a divine dignity, a mystery of paradox in which the reader catches sight of unexplored depths of truth; features which, if not absent from the earlier discourses, are present here far more conspicuously' (p. x). And elsewhere he suggests that the real key to the 'profound difference' between the historic Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels and the Incarnate Word of the Fourth Gospel, lies in the fact that in the earlier representation we have 'a portrait of Christ as He manifested Himself in the days of the flesh', and in the later 'the same Person transfigured by the Spirit's revelation of the glory of the Incarnate Son' (p. 129). In this conviction those who follow Dr Swete through his exposition paragraph by paragraph, almost word by word, cannot fail to be strengthened. And on almost every page the student will be further rewarded by some illuminating comment suggested by the outward form of the words in which the Lord's teaching is embodied. Constantly, too, Dr Swete lets us see how much light an exact adherence to the deeper truths of Scripture is able to throw on present-day controversies, as when in answer to the common call for a return to primitive simplicity in the *credenda* of the Church he shews that in reality 'Christ asks not for less faith, but for more, in proportion as our faith is greater' (p. 24), or as when he meets the widespread hesitancy to accept the historical character of so many of

[1] *J.T.S.* xi p. 126 f. [2] See *J.T.S.* xii p. 635.

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the Gospel miracles by an appeal to the still 'greater works' which, in fulfilment of its Lord's promise, the Church has witnessed during the past nineteen centuries (p. 32). With one other quotation emphasizing the progressive character of the Spirit's teaching, we must close this imperfect review of a small but most valuable work: 'It is reasonable to expect that as the world grows older the teaching of the Spirit of Christ will grow both fuller and clearer. New lights will illumine the words of Scripture and the Creeds; there will be new interpretations of God as He is to be seen in Nature, in history, in thought; and in all such accretions of knowledge believers are entitled to hear the voice of the glorified Christ reporting what He has seen and heard in the heavenly sphere with a clearness of which the first generation of Christians had no experience.'

The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures: The New Testament. The First Epistle to the Corinthians. By the Rev. CUTHBERT LATTEY, S.J. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1914.)

AMONGST recent translations of the Scriptures, the Westminster Version has a special interest of its own, as the attempt by Roman Catholic scholars to translate the Bible into English direct from the original languages and not from the official Vulgate. The first part to appear, the Epistles to the Thessalonians, was the work of the Rev. Cuthbert Lattey, and to him again we owe this new rendering of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. The text followed in the main appears to be that of Westcott and Hort, and the brief notes with which the translation is accompanied are evidence of the conscientious care with which it has been executed. Fr Prat's *Théologie de S. Paul* is frequently cited, and there are also references to the works of Dalman and Deissmann. The translation is accompanied by two Appendices, one on 'The Vulgate Reading in 1 Cor. xv 51', and the other by the Rev. A. Keogh, S.J., on 'The Ministry in the Apostolic Church', which leads up to the conclusion that 'the steps in the organization of the local church would . . . seem to have been the establishment of a body of presbyters and deacons under the oversight of an apostle and his staff, followed later by the apostolic appointment over the presbyters, deacons, and faithful of a monarchical bishop who worked under the general control of the apostles, as long as such control was possible.' The writer states that in his discussion no account is taken of the *Didache* 'because of its uncertain date and authority'.

G. MILLIGAN.

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THE MEANING OF PHIL. ii 5–8.

Christus in seiner Präexistenz und Kenose nach Phil. 2, 5–8 : 1. Teil : Historische Untersuchung, von HEINRICH SCHUMACHER. (Rome, Verlag des Päpstl. Bibelinstituts, M. Bretschneider, 1914.)

IN view of the number and the variety of the attempts to explain the passage Phil. ii 5–11 Dr Schumacher (who is now lecturer in New Testament exegesis in the Catholic University of America in Washington) describes it as the *mysterium par excellence* of New Testament exposition. Recent attempts in particular seem to him to present paragons of distortion of its real meaning.

In this volume, therefore, he has aimed at collecting together all the different interpretations of the phrases used in the passage from the beginning to the present day. The collection must have involved great labour, and many students will be grateful to the author for enabling them to run through the long series of citations of Fathers and other commentators, grouped in chronological order, and see how each of them understood each particular phrase. One ought perhaps to wait for the second volume in which, I understand, we are to have a more systematic treatment of the subject as a whole, before offering any criticisms. But Dr Schumacher gives us enough of comment of his own in this volume to shew the drift of his investigation, and in view of his disparagement of the more recent attempts at interpretation it may perhaps be worth while to make some remarks on the interpretation which he seems to favour. I will confine myself to the two clauses (1) *οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ* and (2) *ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν.*

(1) Dr Schumacher shews that ancient commentators are nearly unanimous in referring this phrase to the pre-incarnate Person who was already 'in the form of God', and in treating it as a strong assertion of His consciousness that equality with God belonged to Him of right as His own possession by nature and not by any act of robbery or aggression or presumption on His part. He dismisses almost contumeliously the interpretation, familiar to us as Lightfoot's, which treats *ἁρπαγμός* as *ἅρπαγμα*; and he shews that Eusebius used the two words in different senses. Let us agree to dismiss the idea of a prize, or a thing to be tenaciously held (though Chrysostom recognized this meaning), and let us also assume that the reference is to the pre-incarnate Christ.

But if so, how very curious a sense the rendering of *ἁρπαγμός* as 'a wrong' or 'an injustice' gives! If St Paul meant by 'being in the form of God' sharing in the Being of God (as is assumed), how could

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it have occurred to him to suggest that the Person thus declared to be divine by nature could by any possibility have supposed that there was any injustice in His being so? How could One who knew Himself eternally God be conceived as supposing that He ought not to be on an equality with God? If the phrase 'being in the form of God' really means (as I believe it does) what nearly all Catholic interpreters of it have supposed, then surely they erred in their interpretation of ἁρπαγμός, and something after all was left for the later commentators to contribute to the true explanation of the phrase. 'He did not deem His being on an equality with God a means of preying upon others (*or* self-aggrandizement)' is an interpretation which fits the words and gives an excellent sense to the whole passage.

Moreover with the common patristic interpretation of the clause οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν κτλ. the following ἀλλά must be taken to mean 'and yet', 'nevertheless', limiting the force of the statement with which it is connected. Does this make sense? There we certainly have a question for the grammarians, with whose services Dr Schumacher seems to wish to dispense. And if the sense is possible, it is at least an unnatural mode of expression. The run of the sentence with its negative οὐχ ἡγήσατο suggests a purely adversative sense for the following ἀλλά clause. He did not do the one thing, but he did do the other, the two being contrasted as mutually exclusive. I do not know whether ἀλλά is used in the other sense after negative clauses, but in any case the meaning of the οὐχ ἁρπαγμόν clause cannot be determined in isolation from the following ἀλλά clause.

(2) The context shews that the real stress of the whole statement falls on the clause ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν. That He 'emptied Himself' is St Paul's main thought. The early commentators as cited in this volume were for the most part content to understand by the expression the mere fact of the Incarnation, without entering into detail as to the nature or the extent of the 'emptying'. On their lines of interpretation the question at issue is no less than that of all the conditions of our Lord's life on earth, and the short quotations given by Herr Schumacher do little more than indicate the difference between the older and the newer exegesis on this vital question. They shew, however, that some of the more recent 'Catholic' commentators are not insensible of the problems by which other students feel themselves confronted. Dr Schumacher gives dozens of interpretations of the phrase by 'non-Catholic' commentators, but though he refers to Mr Ross's article in the JOURNAL (x 573 f) as to the meaning of ἁρπαγμός, he does not mention Mr W. Warren's fresh interpretation of ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτόν (*J. T. S.* xii 461 ff). Yet this interpretation is eminently one which calls for very careful consideration, even though acceptance of it brings most of

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what has been written on the passage down to the level of merely antiquarian interest.

In the eyes of some students one of the chief boons which the publication of Herr Schumacher's painstaking investigations confers upon them will be the knowledge that the traditional 'Catholic' interpretations of the passage were not always accepted even in early times. For example, Origen contrasts ἁρπαγμόν with the actual *course of action* followed by our Lord (so too Phileas of Thmuis and Methodius), and Theodore of Mopsuestia and Pelagius and Theodoret find the point of the phrase in our Lord's disregard of any personal advantage. Novatian understood *rapinam* as 'a means to self-glorification'. And, if it is only in quite recent times that we have the thorough-going anthropocentric interpretation of the phrase as an emphatic negation of the essential Godhead of Christ, Wetstein certainly treated it as meaning that He was unwilling during His mission on earth to seize *before the right time* the use of Divine power,—and this explanation is compatible with the theory that St Paul conceived of the Divine *status* as something conferred upon the Risen Christ.

That is to say that some of the best Greek scholars of the past from the time of Origen onwards can be claimed on the side of one or other of the modern interpretations which Dr Schumacher would apparently smother under the weight of ancient numbers. It is not this kind of weight that confers authority in such matters to-day. The high merits of Dr Schumacher's earlier work *Die Selbstoffenbarung Jesu bei Mat.* 11, 27 (*Luc.* 10, 22) were recognized in the JOURNAL (Oct. 1913, XV 112 ff); and it is as one who recognizes similar merits in the present book and agrees with the author that St Paul conceived of our Lord as eternally 'being on an equality with God', but dissents from the view that the *consensus* of patristic authority can decide the meaning of any of the phrases used in this passage, that I would suggest to him the advisability of a more open mind as to the meaning of at least the two clauses οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ, ἀλλὰ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν.

J. F. BETHUNE-BAKER.

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DOCTRINE AND CREEDS.

Die Inspirationslehre des heiligen Hieronymus. By Ludwig Schade. (*Biblische Studien*, xv. Band, 4. und 5. Heft, Freiburg i. B., 1910.)

This is a volume in the series of 'Biblical Studies' of which the general editor is Dr Bardenhewer of Munich. In it Dr Schade examines the views of Jerome on the inspiration and interpretation of Holy Scripture and the contents of the Canon of the Old and New Testaments. Full use is made of recent literature on the subject, and the author shews acumen and good judgement in his conclusions. Careful account is taken of the chronology of Jerome's works and the successive changes which his views underwent in such matters as the authority of the Septuagint, the value of Origen's allegorical interpretation of Scripture, and the place assigned to the deutero-canonical books. Dr Schade denies that the school of Antioch exercised any appreciable influence on Jerome, and contends that it was Jerome's philological studies which led him to a fuller appreciation of the literal sense of Scripture. Jerome's great service to biblical learning lay in the fact that he extended to wider circles in the West the knowledge of Origen's biblical studies and familiarized the West with the writings of other Greek Fathers, as well as with Rabbinical methods of exegesis. He deprived the Septuagint of the halo with which tradition had surrounded it, and vindicated the inspiration of the original text.

In dealing with Jerome's attitude towards the deutero-canonical books Dr Schade discusses the theory which has been widely accepted that the so-called *Decretum Gelasianum*, in that portion which contains a Canon of Scripture including the deutero-canonical books, embodies the decrees of a Roman synod in A.D. 382 held under the presidency of Pope Damasus, and that Jerome's influence is traceable in it. This theory Dr Schade finds by no means convincing, and the case against it has been strengthened, since Dr Schade's book appeared, by Von Dobschütz, whose work on the *Decretum Gelasianum* was reviewed in this Journal by Professor Burkitt in vol. xiv pp. 469 f.

J. H. Srawley.

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Die Christologie des heiligen Ignatius von Antiochien, von DR MICHAEL RACKL, Prof. der Theologie in Eichstätt. (Herdersche Verlagshandlung, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1914.)

THIS is a very able defence of the genuineness of the seven Ignatian letters against Daniel Völter. It may seem strange to many readers that this should be necessary after the work of Zahn and Lightfoot. Indeed, Harnack could write in 1890: 'He who considers the Ignatian letters spurious has not studied them thoroughly enough.'[1] But Völter draws a distinction between the letter to the Romans and the six letters for Asia Minor. The latter he assigns to a certain Theophorus writing about the year A.D. 150, whom he identifies with the Peregrinus Proteus of whom Lucian writes, and supposes that Peregrinus Proteus wrote them in his Christian period before he became a Cynic. Fantastic as this theory may appear, I am glad that Dr Rackl should take it seriously and refute it point by point. After that he has a right to speak of 'its inner impossibility', and of the gaps in the argument.

The way is then clear for consideration of the Ignatian Christology in itself (pp. 87–289), and of the importance of the Ignatian letters for the history of Dogma (pp. 291–401).

Dr Rackl deals first with the well-worn theme of the Docetism which Ignatius combated, concluding that these Docetists were not Gnostics. He then discusses the teaching of Ignatius on the true Manhood of Christ, and his testimony to the authority of the Bible, to the truth of Redemption, and to Christ's example of virtue, leading up to discussion of belief in Him as Messiah, true God and Son of God. He analyses carefully every phrase in the letters which has any bearing on the question, and defends Ignatius against the charges of Subordinationism and Patripassianism. His conclusion is that 'it is not true, as is commonly asserted, that Ignatius derives the Divine Sonship of Christ from the moment of the Incarnation as though Christ were the Son of God because by the co-operation of the Holy Ghost He was conceived and born of a Virgin. On the contrary Ignatius teaches (*Smyrn.* i 1) that Jesus Christ is the Son of God because of His divine power and His divine will, as He is the Son of Man because of His fleshly, that is, His human nature.'

In Part II Dr Rackl discusses the Biblical sources from which Ignatius drew his teaching and the advance which he made in the formulation of theological language, as when He says of the Logos that He became 'man' in the fullest sense of the word, not simply that He became 'flesh' (*Smyrn.* iv 2).

[1] *Theol. L.Z.* N. 15, S. 374.

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Finally he discusses the influence of the Ignatian letters on later Patristic writers and their importance at the present time. He leaves it an open question 'whether the Ignatian formulas presuppose a Creed in the literal and exact sense of the word, or whether we must look upon them as an unofficial compendium of the Christian faith'.

A. E. BURN.

Theological Symbolics, by the late C. A. BRIGGS, D.D., D.Litt. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1914.)

MANY will regret that Dr Briggs did not live to revise the whole of this book for the Press, while we are grateful for the loving care bestowed upon it by his daughter, Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, 'long a co-worker', and by an anonymous friend. Mr Francis Brown contributes a sympathetic prefatory note, in which he sums up the author's purpose: 'In the analysis and comparison of creeds and confessions he was not influenced by zeal for private interpretations, but animated by the longing to bring to view underlying harmonies, and to shew the prevailing and essential oneness of the various official statements of belief put forth by the Church and its divided parts through the Christian centuries. His conception was a large one, and the expression of it in this book is profoundly sincere and impressive.'

Such words disarm criticism, but they are somewhat at variance with the melancholy conclusion on p. 411: 'Christian Symbolics seems to have brought us to a situation in which the reunion of Christ's Church is impossible as far as Faith is concerned.' Dr Briggs follows this up on his last page (p. 412) with suggestions for a great Federation of Churches formed after the model of the United States of America. He has not tried to work out his proposal in detail, but it is the very sense of failure in the present as in the past, based on wide and accurate knowledge such as he possessed, which brings us to the dawn of a new hope, that where reason fails love may prevail. He would build on the irenic principle of an obscure but fascinating writer of the seventeenth century, Rupertus Meldenius: '*In necessariis unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in utrisque caritas.*'

The proposals which have been put forward for a World Conference on Faith and Order are still inchoate, but Dr Briggs has done a service to all students by placing in their hands this handy encyclopaedia on the subject of fundamental Christian Faith.

He distinguishes between *Fundamental*, *Particular*, and *Comparative* Symbolics. Under Fundamental Symbolics he classes the study of the Ecumenical Creeds and Conciliar Decrees. He begins with a useful summary of the history of the Creeds, with references to recent literature,

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but I am constrained to challenge certain statements made without proof. As in his recent book, *The Fundamental Christian Faith*, he says that it is probable that the original form of the second article of the Apostles' Creed corresponded with the meaning of the symbol of the Fish: 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour.' During the controversy with the Modalists *the Son of God* was changed into *His Son*.

The Old Roman Creed, if dated with Kattenbusch *c.* A.D. 100, supplies an argument against this theory. It is far more probable that the symbol of the Fish goes back to a more primitive Christological Creed (Acts viii 37, Heb. iv 14).

In the chapter on the Nicene Creed I miss references to Dr Kunze's theory of the origin of the revised Jerusalem Creed,[1] to Bishop Gibson's criticism of Hort's theory,[2] and to Mr Turner's illuminating chapter on the whole history of the *Nicenum*.[3]

In the chapter on the Athanasian Creed the theory that the present text represents an enlarged and revised form is put forward without any proofs. There is no evidence that the damnatory or any other clauses came from another author.

Particular Symbolics is the study of the symbols of the various branches of the Church. Dr Briggs outlines the Symbols of the Latin Church, the Reformation, the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries.

In Part III, Comparative Symbolics, he compares the doctrinal statements of the Symbols of the separated Churches. He argues that the Reformation developed the antithesis between the Bible and the Church. 'The reconciliation is in the recognition of the three independent fountains of divine authority—the Bible, the Church, and the Reason. Each one of these may give final authority and certainty. But they each and all need interpretation; and it is just this interpretation that is fallible. Where there is difficulty of interpretation, appeal to the witness of the other two, and in their coincidence secure the final decision' (p. 272).

From this point of view Dr Briggs boldly advances to the central questions at issue between the separated Churches on the subject of the Sacraments. The character of his irenic teaching may be judged from the following quotations:—

'The Roman Catholic *Transubstantiation* depends upon the scholastic distinction between substance and accidents, and can only be understood by the scholastic philosophy. What is substance? If it be essentially force or motion, then there is no sufficient reason against the real presence of the virtue, or power, or grace of the body of Christ in

[1] *Das Nicänisch-Konstantinopolitanische Symbol*, Leipzig, 1889.
[2] *The Three Creeds* p. 169, Longmans, 1908.
[3] *Hist. and Use of Creeds and Anathemas*, S.P.C.K., 1906.

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the Eucharist. I fail to see why that power or grace might not sustain the accidents of bread and wine by assuming their forms, just as in Theophanies and Christophanies various other forms were assumed by Christ' (p. 288).

'The sacrifice of the Eucharist is repeated in a secondary sense only; not a repetition of the death of Christ as a sacrifice, but a repeated participation in the sacrifice once offered yet perpetually on the heavenly altar; a participation because of the coming of the sacrificial flesh and blood of Christ to the altar-table of the Church, whenever the Eucharist is celebrated. . . . A more comprehensive knowledge of the Biblical doctrine of sacrifice really overcomes the antithesis, and shows it to be a strife of words rather than of doctrine' (p. 294).

I feel very doubtful whether the time has come when such explanations can be accepted on either side, nor do they seem fully adequate. But the earnestness of the writer deserves recognition, pleading as he does for mutual forbearance and patient thought.

A. E. BURN.

THE CHURCH AND EPISCOPACY.

The Catholic Conception of the Church, by W. J. SIMPSON, D.D. (Robert Scott, 1914.)

IN Dr Sparrow Simpson's treatment of the New Testament evidence anything which lends real or imaginary support to the corporate and institutional aspects of Religion is claimed in behalf of an exclusive sacerdotalism, with the result that there is a serious confusion of issues which mars the usefulness of what might otherwise have been a valuable contribution to the discussion of a perennial problem. The reader finds himself constantly confronted with an antithesis between the individual and the community, when the real point at issue is the difference between the evangelical and the sacerdotal conceptions of the Church. The author speaks, for example, of 'the two ultimate conceptions of Religion, the individual and the corporate' (p. 32), and claims the latter as St Paul's. If he means that in the last analysis the thing that counts is not faith, love, and the new creation, but membership of the visible Church, I understand the issue though I do not agree with the conclusion; but the position is so directly repudiated by St Paul himself (cf. Rom. viii 6, 9, 14; 2 Cor. v 17; Gal. v 6, vi 15) that I cannot seriously accept that as the author's meaning. The only alternative seems to be that the corporate conception of religion is the exclusive possession of 'catholicism', and is capable of only one

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definition; but this is not true to fact. Every Protestant confession has its doctrine of the Church. The true antithesis is not between the individual and the corporate conceptions, but between two different definitions of the corporate conception.

The author's position appears to be that the Episcopal churches, despite their schisms, and by virtue of their adherence to Episcopacy, represent, to the exclusion of all other Christian communions, the one visible institution which Christ founded, the one exclusive and indispensable sphere of redemption beyond which there is separation from the sources of spiritual life (pp. 76, 229). He claims that the conception is potentially present in the teaching of our Lord and of the Apostles; but as we read the book, we are constantly reminding ourselves that what Dr Simpson regards as questionless and unmistakeable is very far from being so in point of fact. It is not every one, for example, that will perceive an ecclesiastical significance in the thought that the sheep hear the shepherd's voice, or will regard the Johannine writings as the work of an author whose ideas of Christianity found their centre in the conception of a hierarchically governed institution. Where, moreover, is the evidence for the statement that the Eucharist 'was intended for the Apostolic Order alone in the sense that they were the only agents in its administration' (p. 27)? Similarly, we are told that the commission given by the risen Lord in Galilee was for the Apostles alone. '*The commission imposes upon the Apostles the task of converting mankind.*' '*Christ is viewed as the Law-giver of the Christian Body and the Apostles as the constituted transmitters and exponents of the laws of Christ to the community.*' '*It is clear that the Apostles are hereby definitely distinguished and endowed with authority to exercise this prerogative within the Church*' (p. 28). Thus the words which set before the Church her duty to the world are claimed as representing the distinctive function of the Apostolic Order in relation to the Church; and, inasmuch as the commission and promise go together, the words '*I am with you all the days*' must be similarly restricted as referring to the distinctive endowment of that Order. Another instance of this forcing of a sacerdotal conception is found on p. 43. The argument may be summarized as follows: Jesus Christ is the corner stone, and the corner stone is not His teaching but His very self: the Apostles are the foundation; the foundation is therefore not their doctrines but their persons. Now, allowing that the intended antithesis is not between the doctrines and the persons, but between the doctrines treated independently of the persons and the persons regarded as including the doctrines (for did not the Lord Himself speak of His words abiding in His disciples as an essential factor in the union between Him and them?), we cannot, even so, follow the argument. Is it true that the

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Church's continued existence depends on the same kind of union with the Apostles and Prophets as that which unites her to Jesus Christ? Are the Apostles and Prophets in their persons, together with Jesus Christ in His Person, the sources of her life? No: for the growth of the Church, as distinguished from its foundation, is wholly in Christ (Eph. ii 21 f). Then what is the relation of the building to its foundation of the Apostles and Prophets? Is it a mechanical, external continuity effected through ministerial succession from the Twelve? If so, what part in it had the author of the imagery, whose apostleship had nothing institutional about it (Gal. i 1)? Where, moreover, is the expression of such continuity with the Prophets? Do they constitute another Order in the Church, from which a ministerial succession is equally essential to the Church's existence? True, we cannot think of doctrines apart from persons, because Christianity is a life which is the fruit of a revelation; but it is through the transmission of the revelation, with its sacramental framework, and the continuity of the life so produced, that the building is essentially related to its Apostolic and Prophetical foundation; and it is a begging of the question to say that this involves a mechanical succession of a particular form of ministry. Such a position, moreover, would compel us to assert that there can be no building of the Spirit outside the particular form of institutionalism which was developed, in which case we should be involved in the further assertion that there is no Christian life outside the classic churches. This is the dilemma which confronts the theologian who bases his conception of the Church on the idea of a hierarchy.

Yet another illustration of the same characteristic of the book is to be seen in the antithesis which the author sets up between St Paul's conceptions of the institution and of the individual. The Apostle's ideas of the Christian religion, we are told, were corporate rather than individual, 'corporate' being used to signify, not the spiritual unity which is constituted by the fellowship of the Spirit, but the visible union constituted by membership of the Institution (p. 45). It would be equally possible, though not less misleading, to say that they were individual rather than corporate. The fact is that St Paul entertained neither conception without the other. But it would be open to any one to say that in order of importance the conception of the individual came first. It was as an individual that St Paul was apprehended, it was as an individual that he was converted, it was as a converted individual that he joined the Church. Dr Simpson bids us remember, however, the Apostle's Judaistic presuppositions, which would point to corporate rather than to individual selection. But, apart from the question as to whether St Paul's experience was not sufficient to modify his prepossessions, there is the further question as to what corporate selection, as

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applied to the Christian scheme, can mean. How could the choice of Israel, constituted by blood relationship, affect St Paul's conception of the election of Christians? What is the relationship (existing independently of the choice and its purpose) which takes the place of the flesh and blood relationship of Israel, in such wise that the election can be regarded as corporate? If, on the other hand, corporate selection expresses purpose, and refers to a relationship which (humanly speaking) is the effect of the election, then we are dealing with the obvious fact, which no one denies, that St Paul had a doctrine of the Church.

But what is that doctrine? Dr Simpson ascribes to St Paul the idea that 'union with the Church is the medium of union with Christ'. In other words, the penitent believer is not reconciled to God until he has been baptized, and the man who has been made a new creation through the preaching of the Gospel is not in union with Christ until he has joined the visible Church. Here we are at the heart of the divergence between the 'Catholic' and the 'Evangelical' conceptions. To the one, the visible institution is the efficient cause of union with Christ, to the other it is the expression of the union. The one focuses thought on the outward ordinance, the other on the inward experience. In the one case the possession of life is determined by membership of the visible society, in the other it is determined by character. The 'Catholic' conception bids us know the minute when the new life begins: the 'Evangelical' conception regards the time and mode of the commencement of the life as matters beyond the control of human agency. In this connexion it is interesting to notice that Dr Simpson is able to treat our Lord's teaching about the new birth without any reference to the words, '*Thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh or whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit*'.

But while there is this unmistakeable difference between the two conceptions, it is not correct to regard the 'Evangelical' conception as the antithesis of the corporate. Spiritual incorporation in the Body of Christ belongs to the essence of the conception: the difference consists not in the assertion or denial either of the necessity of incorporation, or of the fact of its visible and institutional aspect, but in the difference of conception as to the essential relation between the spiritual experience and the institutional counterpart. This is the matter which really needs treatment, and we look in vain in Dr Simpson's book for any interpretation of such phenomena as the experience of Cornelius and his family.

With regard to the second part of the book, in which there is presented to us a series of testimonies from the writings of various

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divines, one is tempted to ask whether the author regards the Church of England as part of the Catholic Church or not. But under the circumstances the question would be an impertinence; and one can only regret that there is no reference to representative divines of our Church, and that there is no attempt to relate the official statements of the Church's Articles, and the teaching and actions of those who were responsible for their formulation, to the 'Catholic' conception. The inclusion would certainly have disturbed the unanimity of the conception, but this has already been done by the author himself in his treatment of the divergence that exists even within the limited sphere which he assigns to Catholicism. The omission is the more remarkable inasmuch as Dr Simpson in his preface leads us to expect a treatment of the developement of the doctrine through 1900 years; but while authorities are quoted to illustrate the Roman developement, the reader is left to assume that the author's standpoint represents the historic Anglican position, which means that the English Reformers regarded the Continental Reformers as separated from the sources of grace. But this is clearly a matter not for assumption but for careful investigation. The problem of to-day is that in the opinion of a very large number of Christian people the 'Catholic' conception of the Church, as presented to us by Dr Simpson, has broken down; and that, while there is a growing sense of the need of manifested unity, the goal will never be reached along the lines of mediaeval sacerdotalism. The solution of the problem will not be found in the theories of men who lived in circumstances which were not those of the present day: it must depend essentially upon the manifest operations of the Holy Spirit, and it must take into account the principle of Divine accommodation.

ARTHUR J. TAIT.

The Church of England and Episcopacy. By A. J. MASON, D.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1914.)

DR MASON has produced a very interesting book, and an impressive contribution to debate. He has diligently separated out from a complex web of thought one of its strands, and shews how ancient and how continuous is the line of belief which he states and commends. He has undertaken the task, as he tells us, in the capacity of chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Another chaplain to the archbishop, Mr Vernon Storr, has recently shewn us that a very different view of the same important topics is tenable in our communion. There is a difference of method as well as of doctrine. Dr Mason appeals to

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authority, though of course he thinks also for himself; Mr Storr judges without regard to precedent. Dr Mason puts his case in the form of a *catena* of citations from divines, without much reference to the circumstances which influenced their thought, and still less mention of contrary opinions that were often, as in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, more prevalent than those which they approved. And he assumes that the *catena* is a sufficient and a relevant mode of proof. This, however, is a preliminary question to which he might well have paid attention. A very imposing *catena* might be compiled from every age down to the latter half of the nineteenth century in favour of Dr Pusey's beliefs about the Old Testament; a still more impressive *catena* might be constructed on the subject of sin. But would those *catenae* be effectual answers to the views propounded by Dr Driver and Dr Tennant respectively? The fifth Provincial Letter is in part a criticism of the method of the *catena*; not that one would compare those cacophonous Jesuits with the theologians cited by Dr Mason. But after all a *catena* is merely evidence that a number of people have thought in the same way. If they are numerous, and we are content to count them, we may be persuaded; the danger begins when we examine the grounds of their conviction. Sometimes these are weak, and Dr Mason is unfortunate in having to start by adducing a succession of scholars who give, as the reason for their belief, the authority of Epiphanius. In an uncritical age that writer might pass for a 'Father', with all the glamour that surrounded the title; we, who have learned to discriminate, must be swayed in our judgement by this revelation of the incompetence (for it is nothing less) of the scholars who form the earliest links of the *catena*. We cannot take their verdict more seriously than we take the ground on which it is based. And in later cases, where so obvious a flaw does not appear on the surface, we must ask—and the *catena* does not furnish an answer—whether the opinion of great and good men has been fixed for them by their acceptance of a whole scheme of thought, or whether the evidence has been dispassionately examined on each particular point. No motive has been more powerful, and few have been more honourable, than that of maintaining, consistently and completely, an entire religious system. But while that motive is at work, those whom it inspires are incapable of forming a neutral judgement. It is well that they should be; Dr Mason has done us a service in shewing how clear and strong were the convictions of the divines whom he admires and expounds. It is important for us to know what they held and how resolutely they held it. Had they been other than they were, their work in making the English Church what it is could not have been done. But if it turn out that their theories on historical matters were correct, it will be we who justify them, not they who are

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the guides whom we follow. For these things cannot be decided by authority, nor can the necessary task of framing hypotheses be discredited by the failure of any or the apparent absurdity of some. Dr Mason names Dr Edwin Hatch, among others, as an example of an unsuccessful theorist. Of course his experiment was a failure, like Faraday's electric light, and doubtless the gas-trade fifty years ago pointed the moral which Dr Mason is enforcing to-day. But Hatch has the abiding merit that he lifted the subject out of its rut; and when, after a collection and interrogation of the evidence, doubtless more exhaustive and more disinterested than his, a satisfactory account of the origins of the Christian ministry has been constructed, it will be recognized that a succession of such failures as that of Hatch was the necessary antecedent of success. Yet though Dr Mason's principle may fail to convince us, he has given us, in a convenient and attractive form, a mass of valuable information which it would have been hard for us to collect for ourselves. In particular, his fifth chapter, 'The Revolution and Since', is an admirable record of bygone controversy.

E. W. WATSON.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

The Philosophy of Religion. By G. GALLOWAY, D.Phil., D.D. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1914.)

IT may be said, without much need of qualification, that the works hitherto published in English on Philosophy of Religion have been devoted to some part or parts only of the field which they might have been expected to cover. Systematic and comprehensive treatment, and even partial treatment characterized by balance and proportion, have not been accorded to the subject by writers who have supplied treatises purporting, as their titles have implied, to deal with it as a whole. Authors have for the most part arbitrarily selected certain problems, or groups of problems, for discussion, to the neglect of others; and this has perhaps been mainly due to the fact that there has been lack of agreement as to what 'Philosophy of Religion' should mean, or at least lack of any objective definition of the scope and functions of this department of theology.

The British student of theological philosophy, however, is now to be congratulated upon having opportunity of access to a systematic and comprehensive work upon his subject, written in his own language; and

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Dr Galloway is to be congratulated upon having provided a book of this kind which, whatever may be its defects, can be pronounced capable of rendering students valuable service. It is a book which the teacher can without hesitation advise his pupils to procure, and one moreover which readers other than university students will find useful.

There are two ways in which a text-book on the Philosophy of Religion might be written. It might be of the impersonal kind: the chief types of theory concerning the problems to be discussed being allowed to find expression and criticism as far as possible in the form in which authorities on either side have given them, and the author impartially playing the part merely of a redactor and commentator. Or the treatise might take the form of a discussion by the author, from his own point of view, of the various theories which he undertakes to present, with comparatively less appeal to history and with more personal intervention in the selection of material and the balancing of views. The former of these two methods would perhaps be more serviceable to the serious student, and at the same time more free from besetting dangers. The latter of them would probably tend to make the book more pleasant to read. Dr Galloway inclines rather to the personal method; and his work, though by no means marred by partiality, in the sense of dogmatic presentation of an individual view, offers continuous construction and criticism—with reasons given—emanating from himself, though in general having reference to views which have obtained a prominent place in philosophical literature. And it may be said that his book is for the most part pleasantly readable, without grave loss of objectivity. It is, however, somewhat unequal in these respects. The discussion of some questions tends to be just a little tedious, while his treatment of other problems is as interesting as it is conspicuous for learning and ability. One sometimes feels that a subject is treated at inordinate length; at other times one is disappointed at finding an important point discussed with unnecessary brevity. And it is to some extent true that on occasions when less prolixity is called for, and when perhaps Dr Galloway has least to utter, he has found the more to say: as, e.g., in connexion with the relations of Philosophy of Religion to art and to morals; while, on the other hand, on occasions when full information and detailed discussion should be of value to the student—as, e.g., in the case of the various theories of knowledge and their important bearing on religious philosophy, or in the case of the problems of moral evil and theodicy—and in connexion with questions with which Dr Galloway exhibits the greatest competence to deal, he writes with too severe economy of space; so that, after studying what has been admirably said, the reader thirsts for more. Such inequalities are a natural, though not an inevitable, outcome of the method of exposition which Dr Galloway has selected.

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A kindred deficiency in the work before us—if superfluity can constitute deficiency—is less easy to account for. Those who are inclined to regard the scope and functions of Philosophy of Religion as correctly summarized in the statement that this department of learning consists in philosophy (and not anything else, such as science) applied to the phenomena of religion—which is the view Dr Galloway appears to adopt—will probably agree with me that the first main section of the book, the 'phenomenological' part, occupies an inordinately large proportion of the whole contents. Philosophy is related to the special sciences, in so far as phenomenological or empirical questions are concerned, only as unifying them, or as generalizing their generalizations: it is the *scientia scientiarum*. Philosophy of Religion will therefore wander outside its proper field, and exceed its proper functions, when it undertakes to do more than generalize such knowledge as the sciences of religion supply. It does not need to examine in detail the ground which these sciences attempt to survey; and the generalizations which these sciences, in their present stage of developement, are capable of furnishing, are not numerous. But in Dr Galloway's treatise some 250 out of less than 600 pages are devoted to this relatively unimportant rôle of Philosophy of Religion. One regrets this superfluity because it is calculated to suggest to the more elementary student that there is no difference between Philosophy and Science; between Philosophy of Religion and the various sciences concerned with religion.

On passing to the second division of the book, which deals with religious knowledge and its validity, we find, it is to be feared, a fault of graver nature than a tendency to beget confusion upon a matter of secondary importance: viz. the advocacy of a deliberately adopted view as to the nature and validity of religious knowledge, which, in my opinion, is not only confused, but also likely to produce or perpetuate confusion with reference to what is perhaps the most central and fundamental problem of religious philosophy. The consequences of the view adopted with regard to this question are so wide-reaching in any system of Philosophy of Religion, that a reviewer may feel justified in concentrating such criticism as he may have to offer principally upon the author's teaching on this point. Moreover, a review can perhaps only render any small service to an author if it endeavours clearly to point out where its writer differs in opinion from him, and to state the reasons for the divergence. An attempt briefly to shew that Dr Galloway's treatment of the validity of religious knowledge is unsatisfactory, will, it is hoped, not be taken to imply that I do not find much in the section dealing with this subject that is valuable.

The question of validity is associated by Dr Galloway with psychology. It is introduced in a chapter entitled 'The Psychology of Religion and

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the Problem of Validity'. And this is an ominous sign. One has no wish to belittle the importance of religious psychology and its place in Philosophy of Religion; but it surely has little connexion with the question of validity, as validity has generally been understood. Psychology may have much to say as to the origin and nature, the actual juxtaposition or association in experience, of different kinds of mental process; but the logical relation of such processes and the question of their necessary interdependence as grounds and consequences are the subject-matter of epistemology, which needs to be very carefully distinguished from that, just now indicated, of psychology. Dr Galloway apparently does not accept this view that the natural history of coexistence and sequences in mental processes is one thing, and their logical relation quite another; and, granting his premiss, his procedure is natural. But I venture to think his premiss erroneous, and that his procedure in this instance constitutes the weakest part of his effort. He argues that 'the problem of validity must be decided by the whole nature of man in its rational and practical aspects, supplemented by the test of working-value in human experience' (p. 266). Apart from the tendency to come to terms with pragmatism which finds expression in this sentence as elsewhere, this account of validity seems to me to be fundamentally wrong. One need not be an intellectualist to assert that validity is concerned with but one side of mental activity. With all deference to Pascal, the heart has *not* 'its reasons': it has its motives—in the broader sense of the term—which are quite another matter. Validity, however, is concerned exclusively with reasons. And the truth that 'the nature of man is a concrete whole which includes thinking, feeling, and willing' (p. 368), by no means necessarily implies that these inseparable but distinguishable types of experience are capable of performing the same office, and are consequently interchangeable. The mere cohabitation of three modes of experience, which would seem to be mutually irreducible, in the same complex 'nature', does not involve the identity, or even the harmony, of their functioning, any more than the coexistence of hand and eye in one body which 'has many members' implies that, on occasion, the hand can peer down a microscope, or the eye adjust the illuminating apparatus. Further, validity is not only not to be identified with, but is sharply to be distinguished from, capacity to produce, in one way or another, personal conviction or individual certitude: indeed an invalid belief is sometimes held tenaciously by an individual, as Dr Galloway of course recognizes, and conceivably might be held by the totality of individuals. Subjective certitude and objective certainty are, for logic, and should be for theology, poles apart; and it is precisely in virtue of the contrast between them that the term 'validity'

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possesses the technical connotation which it bears in epistemology. Dr Galloway's account of validity confuses them with one another. Whether he himself would deliberately identify them, one need not attempt to guess; but at least on one occasion he appears, voluntarily or unconsciously, to do so. In his section on validity (p. 264), and in a context where validity, if I am not mistaken, is under discussion, he remarks concerning the historical basis for religious truth: 'The inner witness of the spirit is essential, and without it historical proofs count for very little.' To be valid, and to 'count', or to be efficient in producing personal conviction, would seem here to be regarded as synonymous; and so indeed they must be if, as is asserted on the next page, validity be the counterpart of 'the feeling of satisfaction and harmony', which, in turn, is pronounced to be 'the note of truth'.

Dr Galloway's position with regard to the nature of validity seems, then, logically to involve him in subjectivism,[1] personal protests notwithstanding. It further involves him, in spite of his evident sympathy with a sober and qualified intellectualistic attitude, in 'irrationalism'. At least this is the case if there be truth in the contention that, until Theism or something like it be antecedently and theoretically grounded, there is no reason to expect our feelings and aspirations to be destined to satisfaction. For, in the absence of grounds for this prior belief, to argue from needs to satisfaction is simply to beg the question; and any identification of the 'feeling of satisfaction and harmony' with 'the note of truth' will accordingly be without reason, sufficient or insufficient. Lastly, Dr Galloway's position involves him in pragmatism; for he exalts the pragmatic criterion, like the other partial criteria of the mixed thing he takes validity to be, to a position of independence of, and equality with, the rational or intellectual. It is true that this attitude does not commit him to thorough-going pragmatism, which is perhaps the only self-consistent form of pragmatism, whether it be a true or a false philosophy. He would fain stop short of adopting pragmatism as the ultimate, or the sole possible, theory of validity. At the same time he would regard 'value' as a criterion of theoretic truth; and this seems to me to involve the complete surrender of intellectualism, for which he also seems anxious to retain some place in his system. If the term may be used inoffensively, Dr Galloway's whole theory of validity is eclectic; it seeks to combine incompatible and mutually destructive elements. It causes the author to vacillate, and it lays upon his readers the burden of reconciling his apparently inconsistent

[1] The appeal made (pp. 313–314) to the 'cumulative testimony' of the race will not serve to transform subjectivity into objectivity. Until a belief is shown to be valid it may be an illusion; and the millionfold multiplication of illusions will not yield truth.

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doctrines as they are presented in turn on different pages. It culminates in the teaching that all the various criteria of truth are proper to some kind of truth. But unfortunately we are not helped to ascertain when one and when another criterion is to be applied. If each were to be confined to its own domain, we should be clear on the matter; but apparently, as has been already observed, value is maintained to be a test of existential truth. We are not left clear then as to the application of the several supposed criteria; and it is a question whether, in the same department of knowledge, truth can be held to mean one thing at one time and another at another.

It is not perhaps wholly an accident of forgetfulness, though it is certainly not, on the other hand, the expression of a deliberate intention, when, on p. 181[1] of the work before us, the 'double aspect' attributed to religion is another than its fundamentally 'double' aspect. The inner and the outer sides mentioned in this context are not the inward spiritual disposition (i.e. the attitude or response of the religious subject) and the external object towards which the attitude is adopted (God or gods), belief in whose existence is the necessary condition of any personal 'attitude' or disposition being possible; but they are spiritual disposition, on the one hand, and outward expression thereof in institutions, on the other. But through many parts of Dr Galloway's treatise there would seem to be marks of a tendency to do rather less than justice to the objective factor in religion, and unduly to disparage the alleged objective grounds of religious knowledge or belief; although when occasions for deliberately balanced statements present themselves, he is conspicuously impartial and earnestly strives after the maintenance of due proportion. Instances of his failure to recognize adequately the objective factor in religion occur in chapter viii, on Religious Knowledge. Here it is explicitly stated that 'the knowledge of God which is distinctly religious is based on the affections and will, not on grounds purely intellectual' (p. 304). These words provoke the desire to ask several questions, but they must be allowed to pass. When, however, objection is urged (p. 305) against elaboration (by the Church in the past) of faith-ideas into religious doctrines, one cannot but protest that faith-ideas, if incapable of being based upon objective knowledge, relapse into subjective fancies; the Church conceivably may be charged, in particular instances, with having elaborated wrongly; but it can hardly be blamed for elaborating. Doctrine, again, may not be a necessary pre-condition of 'spiritual experience'; but surely true doctrine is the sole justification of the reality of the objective reference in all distinctively Christian experience. 'Christ liveth in me' is an

[1] The only misprint I have observed in the book occurs on this page, where 'Taylor' should be 'Tylor'.

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impossible assertion for one wholly lacking a doctrine of the Person of Christ; and if the Christian doctrine concerning His Person be untrue, St Paul's words were a false description, or rather interpretation, of his own experience. In protesting against the transformation of faith based upon personal experience into knowledge derived from tradition or authority, Dr Galloway seems to write without relevancy to any issue which really concerns his subject or his readers: the question should not be as to a false identification here, but as to a relation, real or supposed, of logical connexion, of ground and consequent.

That Dr Galloway contends for a religious knowledge based on feeling and will, distinct from scientific knowledge, we have already seen. His defence of such knowledge against Dr McTaggart's criticism, which occurs on pp. 308–309 of his book, seems to be very insufficient. It is not enough to say that the view according to which 'scientific knowledge is the only pledge of truth' involves an assumption; this view, surely, must hold the field until some one shall write a 'critique' shewing how universal knowledge grows out of other roots than the two with which and with whose functions, from the time of Kant at least, we have been familiar. The attempt made, in the chapter which still engages our attention, to assimilate this supposed kind of knowledge as closely as possible to the scientific, is similarly unfortunate. Dr Galloway's argumentation here abounds in the fallacy of evading the issue. The objection from the side of science to the legitimacy of the religious knowledge which Dr Galloway champions, does not consist in the charge that it employs symbolism, as seems to be represented on p. 310; it rather consists in a denial of proven reality to the object symbolized, and a *tu quoque* reply to science is therefore out of place. The issue is again evaded, on the same page, when for 'scientific knowledge', which should be there in question, is substituted 'scientific explanation'. It is only fair, however, after finding fault with some of Dr Galloway's single statements in this chapter—perhaps the weakest in his book—to say that a little further on he himself furnishes the refutation of most of them. But inconsistency remains.

As to the merits of the phenomenological section of this work, I must not presume to pronounce an opinion. So far as my limited capacity to judge goes, Dr Galloway's exposition seems to be both learned and sound. Of the last main section of the book I may speak with rather more confidence. And I would now exchange the rôle of critic, which the second section obliged me to adopt, for that of eulogist. The whole of Dr Galloway's treatment of the problem of the relation of God to the world, and his discussion of the world-ground, is admirable for the learning, the ability, and the lucidity which it displays. In the course of this discussion the author makes the most interesting of his

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original contributions to speculative thought. We all remember how Lotze, in unduly (and inconsistently) exaggerating the immanence of his world-ground, and in recoil from the notion of 'transeunt action', lapsed into the pantheism or acosmism which he was concerned to replace by theism. Readers of *The Realm of Ends* will likewise remember how, in a counter-recoil from the implications of Lotze's futile attempt, Dr Ward sets up 'sympathetic rapport' between 'the many', as sufficient to achieve the result which Lotze vainly sought to reach. But some, at least, of Dr Ward's readers will have wondered whether in this 'sympathetic rapport' we have anything more than a new name for the old unexplained difficulty of interaction: whether we gain an 'explanation' rather than resort to a mystery as great as that which physicists find in 'action at a distance'. Dr Galloway offers a suggestion in connexion with this old problem which is both original and captivating. But his secret shall not be given away here.

The discussion of theodicy is good, but somewhat meagre. No notice is taken of the type of theory of which Royce has furnished a well-reasoned example, and the name of Martineau does not occur in the index of Dr Galloway's book. It may be noted in passing that the author's acquaintance with German literature, which is extremely wide, is much more profound than his knowledge of the work of British writers. His somewhat scanty treatment of moral evil or sin contains, in my opinion, one radical error. On p. 540 Dr Galloway gives a fresh sanction to the perennial and mischievous belief that temptability involves the previous presence of moral evil, or that 'the germs of moral evil appear to exist in the sensuous nature of man': a notion which, as I have argued elsewhere, renders a self-consistent concept or doctrine of sin, not to speak of a theodicy compatible with theistic presuppositions, impossible.

F. R. TENNANT.

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THE LATIN PSALTER IN AFRICA.

Le Texte du Psautier Latin en Afrique, par PAUL CAPELLE (= *Collectanea Biblica Latina cura et studio Monachorum S. Benedicti vol. iv*). (Pustet, Rome, 1913.)

THE series, of which this forms the fourth volume, made an excellent start with Dom Amelli's Cassinese Psalter (see the JOURNAL, vol. xiv pp. 433 ff, by Professor Burkitt), which was followed up by Dr Vogels's most welcome edition of the *Codex Rehdigeranus* of the Gospels. Dr Capelle, a Belgian scholar, whose name I have not hitherto met with, has, by carefully studying the methods of Sanday and Burkitt, produced a most admirable treatment of the Latin Psalter in Africa. His method is to take the authorities chronologically, Tertullian, Cyprian, the contemporaries of Cyprian, Lactantius, the Donatists, Augustine and his epoch, Victor of Vita, Vigilius of Thapsus, and Fulgentius of Ruspe. In three supplements he considers (*a*) the Greek text behind the African Psalter, (*b*) some traces of the African Psalter outside Africa, and (*c*) the manuscripts of the *Liber promissionum et praedictorum dei*. Four valuable indexes, with the addenda and corrigenda, conclude the volume: they consist of (*a*) list of symbols, (*b*) list of citations in Cyprian and Tertullian, (*c*) list of Latin words, (*d*) list of Greek words.

This enumeration gives a mere skeleton of the work. It is full of the results of careful research, is of very great interest, and has an abiding value which makes it indispensable to all students of the Latin Bible. One particularly useful feature is that the results of each chapter are succinctly stated at the end. The non-critical reader can therefore in a few minutes grasp the conclusions to which the writer has come. Among the interesting data or results the following may be mentioned: Tertullian used a Latin Psalter, related most of all to that of Cyprian, but sometimes in agreement with other African readings against his: there were more than one old Latin translation of the Psalms in Africa at an early period: the lost MS Veronensis of Cyprian, collated by Latini, was a very good MS, but nevertheless has some non-Cyprianic readings, African in origin and very ancient[1]: MS A (Sessorianus) of Cyprian, for which Hartel shewed such a strong preference, is a low-African or Spanish text of the fifth century, like the Pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum* in the same MS: as to the latter, Sanday's opinion is confirmed that it is only sometimes correct against the other MSS, and the Sessorian MS is rather Spanish, while the others are rather African in character: the version of the Psalms used by the translator of

[1] This MS probably travelled over Spain to N. Italy.

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'Barnabas' is nearer to that of Tertullian than to that of Cyprian: an almost radical, but anonymous, revision of the Psalter text took place in Africa about the middle of the fourth century. The study of St Augustine's text of the Psalter is one of the longest and most thorough parts of the book. It is a pity that we are still without an up-to-date critical text of the *Enarrationes*, but Dr Capelle has produced splendid results from the material at his disposal. He has shewn in much detail the relation between Augustine's copy and the well-known Verona Psalter (R), which he has re-collated for the purpose, the edition of Bianchini being somewhat defective. Of 1,065 characteristic variants, 745 are special to the *Enarrationes* and the *Veronensis*, 486 of these being common to both. The whole subject has been much facilitated by Capelle's study of the African *Liber promissionum et praedictorum Dei* (saec. V med.), published in the editions of Prosper of Aquitaine. For the text of this work, which is very poorly edited, he has employed the surviving MSS, Vaticano-Palatinus 237 (saec. ix), Sangallensis 185 (saec. viii–ix), Trevericus 36 (saec. viii in.), Guelferbytanus 18. 4 Aug. 2° (saec. x–xi), with important results. As its 'African' character is shewn to be beyond doubt, the African character of the closely related Augustine's text and *Veronensis* is confirmed. *Veronensis* has also undergone a revision of which there is no trace in Augustine. Other results of this book are the following: At least part of the Latin Bible in Spain was African in origin, and remained so after revision had taken place in Africa itself, and Dom Morin's conclusion that the small *Epistula seu Libellus contra Arrianos* in the editions of St Hilary is a Spanish work is confirmed: the revision above referred to was made with 'European' texts, as is shewn by the renderings of ῥύεσθαι (*eruere* as against the earlier African *liberare*) and other words: the Gallican text is exclusively used by Augustine in the *Enarrationes* dictated in and after A.D. 415, and in these only: to the last the older texts disputed the supremacy in Africa with the Gallican. 'Lucianic' elements are to be found even in Tertullian's text. A study of the text used by Ambrose in commenting on the 118th (our 119th) Psalm shews that it is closely related to *Veronensis*, but is free from its 'African' characteristics. Capelle inclines therefore to the belief that this translation was in origin African and was revised in Europe. The Mozarabic Psalter is of the Roman type with the double influence of the African text and the Psalterium ex Hebraeo of St Jerome. An appeal is made for a critical edition of the *Liber Promissionum*, which it is hoped will not fall on deaf ears.

Some remarks and notes may be here appended. On page 8 read θλίψεις; p. 10 l. 5 read *proelio*; p. 12 read θλίβοντες and θλίψεως, and *hymodicere* is probably a palaeographical error for *hymnodiare*; p. 14

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read 'Kroymann'; p. 24 'déplorablement' seems too strong a word, if I may judge by a re-collation of the Pauline extracts which I made for ch. vi of my *Study of Ambrosiaster*; p. 31 read *desertum*; p. 36, the writer does not see that *ne simul perdideris* is an exact translation of μή with the aorist subjunctive, while *ne comperdas* is strictly correct only as a rendering of μή with the present imperative; p. 37, for 1882 read probably 1828; p. 55, no notice is taken of C. H. Turner's argument (JOURNAL vol. vii [1905–1906] pp. 597 ff) that the *De Duobus Montibus* is Roman, not African; on p. 62 no notice is taken of the latest and best edition of Firmicus's *De Errore Profanarum Religionum* by K. Ziegler (Leipzig, Teubner); on p. 63 l. 5 read *Caelius*; on p. 64 G. von Laubmann, co-editor of the Vienna edition of Lactantius, is ignored; on p. 70 read *Apocalypse*, and add other sources, such as Pseudo-Augustine (Caesarius) *Homilies*, which help towards the restoration of Tyconius's commentary on the Apocalypse (cf. the JOURNAL vol. xiv [1912–1913] pp. 338–358); it is misleading to speak of Haussleiter in this connexion, as he has edited only the text, not the commentary, of Primasius; p. 123 read *uenari* and *machinari*; p. 125 read *silua*; p. 127 read ὁλοκαύτωμα; it ought also to be remarked *now* that Aug. *De pecc. mer. et rem.*, p. 104 l. 9 of Vrba and Zycha's new edition, reads *sanitans*; p. 130 read *iucundari* and *uenari*; p. 135 *aperimini* is probably a corruption of *aporiamini*; p. 141 l. 22 read *caecos*; p. 144 read *supercaelestis*; p. 145 read *caelum* (ter); p. 156 l. 6, the quotation from Augustine, though copied exactly from the Benedictine edition, would appear to be corrupt; perhaps insert *per* before *adfuturum*; pp. 160 ff, perhaps a better method would have been to select only passages from the Vienna editions, where the true text is thoroughly well ascertained and the quotations are long; Ps. cxliii 11–15 (*De Bapt.* vi 31 § 60) occurs to me as a good example; p. 190 read 'hiéronymiennes'; p. 216 ff, it is most unfortunate that the Vienna edition of Ambrose on the 118th Psalm, though published as long ago as June 1913, did not come into the author's hands in time; the differences it makes on p. 218 are very considerable; on p. 221 read 'H. Bradshaw'; p. 227, add the pages of Schoenemann (first 1031, second 1048); p. 229, 'Bibelliar' is no doubt a corruption of 'Beliar', the true text; p. 237 read 'Lexikographie'; p. 239, here and elsewhere throughout the book Tyconius (Tichonius) is spelt 'Tychonius' without reason assigned; on p. 265 l. 7 for 15 read 25.

A. SOUTER.

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THE HEBREW PROPHETS.

The Prophets of Israel. By MOSES BUTTENWIESER, Ph.D., vol. i. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1914.)

IT was a saying of the late Bishop of London that 'religion is constantly decaying amongst the masses and being revived by individuals', and no better illustration of this maxim could be imagined than is furnished by the history of the Jews. Even if the mighty figure of the traditional founder of Israel's religious and political life be set aside, and with him many another of the early leaders, yet the prophets would still remain to justify the selection. It is the recognition of the importance of the individual in the developement of Hebrew religion which gives to Dr Buttenwieser's book its great value.

The author approaches the study of his subject from a point of view which is somewhat unusual but very desirable. He is concerned primarily with the prophets as men, not with their doctrines or theology, except in so far as these were the expression of their own spiritual experience. Previous investigation in the field of literary prophecy is condemned because it 'concentrated its attention on the historic side of the problem, that is, on the developement of the prophetic ideas and the composition of the prophetic writings, and neglected to a large extent the more vital side of the movement, the spiritual side. It failed to give due attention to the "inward" religion of the prophets'. In his endeavour to supplement the researches of previous scholars Dr Buttenwieser views the prophets as men confronted by great problems and as being the representatives of their people in the face of tremendous issues. A study such as he attempts has to overcome great difficulties; in the first place on account of the comparatively scanty knowledge which we possess of the experiences of the prophets; and secondly, because of the uncertainty of the sources upon which we have to rely for our information. Naturally enough Jeremiah occupies most attention in this first volume both from the importance of his teaching and also from the greater self-revelation contained in the book which bears his name. The study of the prophet's character is sympathetic and thorough, and several suggestive theories are advanced on the basis of it. For example the narratives of the various deputations sent to Jeremiah from Zedekiah are rejected as unhistorical: not simply on the ground that they are imitated from the accounts of Hezekiah and Isaiah, but on the general principle that the literary prophets did not

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interfere in politics and looked upon them as being outside their sphere. I must return to this question later on.

On one point of great importance Dr Buttenwieser is at variance with all previous critics; he regards the account of Jeremiah's appearance before the princes and people (Jer. xxvi) as a regular trial, *the issue of which was the prophet's condemnation to death.* In support of this conclusion he brings forward the following arguments.

(1) *vv.* 17–18 imply condemnation, for if there had been no conviction there would have been no need for the statement contained in them. Against this it may be said that 'some of the elders' may refer to the party which had been, and was still, intent on procuring Jeremiah's condemnation.

(2) *vv.* 20–23 imply that the incident of Urijah is later than Jeremiah's prophecy. 'That Urijah's prophecy did not precede but followed that of Jeremiah may be deduced with certainty from "precisely after the manner of Jeremiah's words" . . ., had Urijah's prophecy been the prior event the comparison would have been reversed.' But surely this is to read too much into the words, Jeremiah's was the case under consideration and comparison with it would be the natural mode of expression; the words might be paraphrased, 'There was another case just like Jeremiah's'.

(3) *v.* 24 (Ahikam's protection of the prophet) cannot be reconciled with *v.* 16 which says that Jeremiah was acquitted. But may not *v.* 24 explain why it was that Jeremiah was acquitted, viz. owing to the action of certain of the princes, of whom Ahikam was the chief, in protecting him from a popular tumult. To make it agree with his theory Dr Buttenwieser would emend *v.* 16 reading אִין for אַיִן (cf. 1 Sam. xxi 9).

The strongest argument, however, is that if the prophet had to go into hiding because of the death-penalty hanging over him, there is a perfectly easy explanation of עָצוּר in Jer. xxxvi 5. But the historian cannot be expected to produce explanations for every statement in his authorities, and the mere fact that the theory explains a difficult phrase is not enough to justify it in face of other difficulties.

The mention of עָצוּר brings me to another point where a new suggestion is offered. To the question, 'Why did Jeremiah dictate his prophecies?' Dr Buttenwieser gives the simple answer, 'Because he could not write'. This explanation at once raises the whole question of the extent to which writing was practised amongst the people of Israel, a question upon which we have but little information. Robertson Smith used to argue that the employment by Isaiah of a placard (Is. viii 1) was a sign that the ability to read, at any rate, was widespread amongst all classes; he also instanced the Siloam

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inscription which he believed to date from the time of Isaiah and to have been engraved by workmen engaged in boring the tunnel (*The Prophets of Israel*[2] p. 236). Neither of these pieces of evidence, however, is conclusive. In the first place Isaiah's placard or tablet was not necessarily intended for the general public, but was a record for those who should come after (cf. Jer. xxxii 14 f), and secondly, the date of the Siloam inscription was in all probability very much later than the time of Isaiah (cf. S. A. Cook *P.E.F.Q.S.* 1909, pp. 284 ff). The fact that Isaiah could write, however, tells somewhat against Dr Buttenwieser's theory. May it not have been that Jeremiah, though he had the necessary ability, would not think of writing out a large roll when there was a professional class who existed for this very purpose. There is a wide difference between inscribing a few words on a tablet and reproducing a long series of sermons. Whatever may be the true explanation of Jeremiah's action we may be certain that the suggestion of Stade, that he acted as he did 'because the repetition of the ecstasy was necessary for the reproduction of the sermons delivered on former occasions', is not needed as regards such a prophet as Jeremiah, though it might be true in the case of Elijah and the earlier prophets.

Dr Buttenwieser makes a great distinction between these earlier prophets and the later literary prophets, and indeed denies that the one grew out of the other. 'Literary prophecy', he says, 'is not the natural, lineal growth out of the older religious beliefs and usages . . . literary prophecy must be accounted the spontaneous creation of genius, the immediate product of the intuitive human mind.' To many scholars this statement will appear to be too sweeping. Doubtless between Amos and the sons of the prophets there was a great gulf, but it was not necessarily one which could not be bridged. The ideas which he expressed were the developement of those previously held by his countrymen; indeed at times he appears to be trying to recall them to an acceptance of forgotten truths. In Hosea, too, there are favourable references to the work of the earlier prophets (vi 5), and what are we to make of the prophecy included in Is. xv and xvi?

One great characteristic of men like Elijah and Elisha was that they had been advisers to the kings and rulers of their land. Dr Buttenwieser will allow no such function to the literary prophets and utterly denies that Isaiah, for example, 'succeeded in acquiring great political influence and a commanding position in the state under Hezekiah'. He will not allow to the prophet any change of attitude towards Jerusalem and rejects the narratives of his encouraging Hezekiah to resist Sennacherib. This attitude has the advantage of preserving the prophet's consistency. But did the prophets need to be consistent in any narrow sense? Did they not adapt their messages to the change of circum-

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stances? Before Hezekiah surrendered to Sennacherib the predominant party in the government was evidently anti-prophetic, but this surrender would discredit them in the eyes of the people; might not a fresh government with ideas more favourable to Isaiah's conception of religion obtain his support? There are not lacking other signs of his influence. We know that he had relations with the chief-priests for example (Is. viii 2), and his condemnation seems to have been effective in procuring the deposition of Shebna (Is. xxii 15–23; cf. xxxvi 3).

The Prophets of Israel is a book which no one can read without having his thoughts stimulated, and it is possible that those whose conclusions differ most from the theories put forward by Dr Buttenwieser will obtain not the least benefit from a consideration of them.

L. Elliott Binns.

THE JEWISH PRAYER BOOK.

Annotated Edition of the Authorised Daily Prayer Book, with historical and explanatory notes, and additional matter, compiled in accordance with the plans of the Rev. S. Singer. By Israel Abrahams, Reader in Rabbinic at the University of Cambridge, formerly senior tutor at Jews' College, London. (Eyre & Spottiswoode, Ltd., London, 5674—1914.)

The past few months have seen great progress in the preparation of means for the study of the Jewish Prayer Book. It was difficult to procure any book upon it that went beyond generalities, or contributed a serious examination of its contents. But lately we have had Elbogen's *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, issued by the 'Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums'—a society to which every student of Judaism should belong who desires to procure Jewish books at a greatly reduced price—and now we have this invaluable publication by Mr Israel Abrahams. Of all the debts we owe to Mr Abrahams this is the greatest. Elbogen is indispensable for history and rationale, but this is written for Englishmen, Jews or other, who have not necessarily any acquaintance with the subject. Half the volume is the ordinary Daily Prayer Book with Dr Singer's translation, itself always a delight to those who know the earlier attempts to render the Hebrew prayers into what was supposed to be English; the other half (271 pages) is by Mr Abrahams, and consists of much more than bare notes. For he always has the theology of the book in

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his mind and at the smallest excuse gives us little dissertations upon it. Thus he dwells on the mission of Israel, angelology, devotion in prayer, the good and the evil inclination, the kingdom of God, the Eighteen Benedictions (in particular the twelfth against the heretics), the name 'Jerusalem', the Book of Life, creeds in Judaism (this is especially good), and the world to come. It goes without saying that all the technical terms of the various parts of the Prayer Book are fully explained.

Mr Abrahams is to be congratulated on the completion of his very important task, and I would even venture to express the hope that now he will be free to devote himself more exclusively to his promised illustrations of the Gospel narratives from Jewish sources, which are to form the concluding volume of Mr Montefiore's Commentary.

A. LUKYN WILLIAMS.

Paganism and Christianity in Egypt. By P. D. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF. (Cambridge University Press, 1913.)

MR SCOTT-MONCRIEFF, of Christ's College, Cambridge, and the British Museum, died in 1911 at the age of twenty-eight, after accomplishing an amount of work in Oriental studies which an older scholar might well have envied. The present volume was found in manuscript among his papers, and has been published with the help of several friends, including Mr McLean, who has also contributed a preface.

The author begins with a description of the native Egyptian religion during the Roman period, pointing out that it was in a state of decadence, in spite of the splendour of the ritual and the popular esteem enjoyed by the priests. He insists on the importance of the distinction between the actual religion and the Platonizing interpretation put upon it in the philosophical circles of Alexandria. Chapters III, IV, and V deal with the beginnings of Christianity in Egypt. The skill of the writer's reconstructions cannot hide the fact that the evidence is very scanty. For instance, chapter III, which describes primitive Egyptian Christianity, is based on two hypotheses, namely, that the non-canonical gospels were in use before the canonical ones, and that the *Didache*, if not of Egyptian origin, may at least be taken as representing the earliest Egyptian church. Chapter IV discusses the *libelli* of the Decian persecution and other scanty remains of Christian papyri. Here again the writer is handicapped by the fragmentary nature of the evidence. (Wilcken is disposed to consider this a pure accident, which may at any time be remedied by new discoveries; see Mitteis-Wilcken *Papyruskunde*

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l. i 13.) The strongest part of the book is the section dealing with the archaeological evidence of Christian tombs. Some of these are on the border line between Christian and pagan, but enough is certain to warrant the conclusion that pagan burial customs lingered on into Christian times to a surprising extent. The last chapter gives an account of the rise of monasticism, which however leaves the impression that the writer's knowledge was not so first-hand in this division of the subject as elsewhere.

The book is written in a clear and attractive style, and shews us that in Mr Scott-Moncrieff historical science has lost not only an original investigator, but also a writer with a special gift for popularizing knowledge.

W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE.

The Puritans in Power. By G. B. TATHAM. (Cambridge University Press, 1913.)

MR TATHAM has followed his valuable study of Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* by a work which, when read together with that of Dr W. A. Shaw, goes far towards giving us a complete history of ecclesiastical affairs under the Commonwealth. He is well informed throughout and sound in his judgement, but one might wish that he did not end so abruptly, and that the two Universities were not treated with an amplitude which leaves an insufficient space for the parishes. But the University information is of great value and novelty; our regret rather is that the scale of the work has not allowed the author to treat the rest of the country as fully as Oxford and Cambridge. His statistics for the expulsions from them are so much larger than is the case of the counties that a suspicion rises of understatement in the latter case. To turn to one aspect of the history which Macaulay and Babington have associated with Cambridge, it is worth while to consider Mr Tatham's views concerning the status of the clergy during his period. In saying that they had been impoverished by the Reformation he seems to have overlooked Dr R. G. Usher's proof that Bancroft had succeeded in suppressing encroachment on parochial incomes. If they were not better they were not worse than they had been, and it would be interesting to know how far endowments had been augmented in recent years; whether, for instance, Lord Scudamore's restoration of Herefordshire tithes was an isolated act of benevolence. As to the extraction of the clergy, it should be borne in mind that the description 'pleb. fil.' at matriculation often means simply that the purse was ill-furnished.

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There was a scale of fees, and the cheapest way of entering the University was by a confession of humble birth. And Mr Tatham speaks too positively when he says that 'a wider gap separated the nobility and landed gentry from what would now be called the middle classes'. Surely, from the days of Elizabeth onwards, commercial men were steadily buying land, which was practically the sole investment for those who wished to retire from business. They were also buying coats of arms, and so raising themselves above the class of 'ignobiles omnes' of the heralds' visitations. Among these smaller gentry the clergy seem often to have found their wives; and there is no better evidence than marriage for the status of a class. There is another consideration that needs to be borne in mind. The distinction between an eldest son and his younger brothers was profound. The apprenticeship records of the City Companies of London are full of the names of younger sons of county families; the Osbaldeston brothers in *Rob Roy* has plenty of parallels in real life. It was equally customary for a younger son to be put into Orders; and altogether, though College records shew that plenty of sizars and the like (often of good birth) were ordained, there was a multitude also who belonged by birth and position to the higher, though not to the highest, rank. A topic on which Mr Tatham has touched very lightly is that of the secret ordinations under the Commonwealth. Bishop Brownrigg, among others, was active in this way. The late Bishop Collins was collecting evidence on the point, which needs further study. A kindred question is that of the proportion of the Commonwealth clergy who were in Orders. It must have been large. Another question of interest is that of the Anglican clergy who retained their benefices, sometimes through local influence, sometimes through the poverty of livings which no one envied; and again, that of men like Thomas Fuller, who obtained Waltham Abbey though he had been ejected from his Dorset benefice of Broad Windsor. We ought presently, from one source or another, to know how many such instances there were. The case is distinct from that of men like Stillingfleet, itself probably not uncommon. While holding a fellowship at St John's, Cambridge, he was secretly ordained. This ought legally to have forfeited his fellowship: was it known and condoned by his College? He vacated the fellowship by accepting from a Puritan patron the Bedfordshire rectory of Sutton. The patron would certainly not have presented him had he known of his ordination. The problem is moral as well as historical. If these points and others are omitted by Mr Tatham it is, we must hope, because he is planning further volumes that shall be as instructive as this.

E. W. WATSON.

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The Divine Right of Kings. Second edition with three additional essays. By J. N. FIGGIS, Litt.D., Hon. Fellow of St Catharine's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge University Press, 1914.)

THE second edition of Dr Figgis's admirable essay on the Divine Right of Kings is to be cordially welcomed. Scarcely any changes have been made, and the divergence in pagination between the editions is very slight.

Perhaps it was hardly possible that an essay which aimed at rehabilitating a much-misunderstood and maligned doctrine should not exhibit a certain tenderness for the exponents of it, and Dr Figgis is so zealous to vindicate the sanity of the believers in the theory of the Divine Right of Kings and the value of their services, that he appears sometimes to exaggerate their merits as political thinkers and to minimize those of their opponents. We should almost gather that Filmer was the superior of Locke, whereas while Locke based sound reasoning on false premises, Filmer based false reasoning on premises equally false. Other heretics on the sovereignty question—Milton and Sidney—are treated with a severity which is tempered to the believers in the Divine Right of Kings; but as Dr Figgis confesses that on the theory of sovereignty his 'opinions have undergone much change', criticism is disarmed. We merely regret that he has not found it possible to embody in the essay the altered views which he avows in his new preface.

Instead of revision Dr Figgis has given us three additional essays on *Jus Divinum in 1646*, *Erastus and Erastianism* (published in the *Journal of Theological Studies* in 1900), and *Bartolus and the Developement of European Political Ideas*. In the first two he reinforces, with the insight and lucidity which we have learnt to expect from him, views already expressed in the main essay, viz. that theories of divine right are essentially vindications of the naturalness of the state and that ecclesiastical claims to supremacy are the necessary antecedent to religious freedom. The third is a tentative study of Bartolus suggesting lines for a more thorough examination—a piece of work just accomplished by Mr Woolf.

It would have been an advantage if marginal notes had been supplied to the additional essays as to the main essay; and though the index has been expanded by references to the new material it remains most defective even within the limits of its very modest pretensions. Important names (e.g. Marsiglio, Knox, Prynne) are sought in vain; references to others (e.g. Hobbes, Filmer, Locke) are incomplete.

A. A. SEATON.

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CHRONICLE

OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

A WELCOME must be extended to the new edition of Prof. Lucien Gautier's *Introduction à l'Ancien Testament* (Fischbacher, Paris, 1914). The first edition, which appeared in 1905, has been carefully revised, and the work now consists of two large volumes covering nearly 1,100 pages. In several respects the work as a whole has no rival: Driver's *Introduction* is essentially a student's handbook, other recent works (e.g. Cornill's) are slighter, while Gautier appeals more especially to the ordinary reader who may be repelled by the more critical or technical treatises. The contents of each of the biblical books are carefully summarized, and the usual problems are fairly handled. The Pentateuch, as might be expected, is discussed pretty fully (vol. i pp. 43–214), but generally speaking the treatment elsewhere is more analytical than constructive. A brief introductory chapter is followed by some account of the languages of the Old Testament and of Hebrew writing. There is a useful though relatively short sketch of the apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature (ii 322–389), and the concluding chapters on the Canon, Text, and versions give a good introductory account. The volumes are likely to help those who desire a sound working knowledge of the Old Testament; they contain a great deal of matter and do not presuppose any technical knowledge on the part of the reader. The general position is that of 'moderate criticism': the treatment does not go very far, and it is literary and analytical rather than historical and synthetical. In common with most 'Introductions' it is scarcely interested in the developement of tradition; the Book of Jubilees is therefore almost ignored and the value of 1 Esdras hardly recognized. The bibliographical details are sometimes not so full as might be wished, and the supposition (vol. ii p. 439) that the 'final letters' in Hebrew arose by differentiation from the other forms overlooks the epigraphical evidence which shews that they really represent the earlier forms.

One has heard of the 'Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici', and there now comes to hand a bulky commentary on Genesis, *El Génesis, precedido de una Introducción al Pentateuco,* by L. Murillo, S.J., Professor at the Biblical Institute (Rome, 1914). This Spanish work of nearly 900 pages is evidently intended to rank as an authoritative exposition of the Roman Catholic standpoint, and the impression it

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made upon this reviewer had to be checked by reference to reviews in Roman Catholic journals. This is to be mentioned because the ponderous tome takes a thorough-going traditional position which seemed almost incredible, until the impression (based upon a very slight knowledge of Spanish) was confirmed by a lengthy review in a recent number of the *Revue Biblique*. The enormous volume is a valiant effort to uphold the authenticity of the Pentateuch—'le Cid Campeador ou don Quijote?', asks the Dominican journal, 'Ce n'est pas à nous d'en juger'. The usual difficulties are most easily and airily dismissed. Sarah's great age (Gen. xx) is trifling when we consider that her ninety years would correspond to fifty of ours, and that longevity was common (pp. 103, 346); and if one alleges conflicting data, the answer is simple: if they really conflicted the author would not have inserted them, and if they do not conflict, they must be reconciled. The author is evidently forgetful of the interesting conflicting details in Chronicles, and although there is much in his volume that is useful, it is hidden away, and the absence of an index makes itself felt.

A much-needed addition to the 'Cambridge Bible' series appears in the commentary on Genesis by the Dean of Westminster. Dr Ryle's book will add to the reputation this series is rapidly gaining and to his own reputation as a sound and thorough scholar. The book runs to over 500 pages, and is admirably complete; the commentary itself is supplemented by a number of longer important notes (e.g. on the sacrifice of Isaac) which, by the way, ought to have been specified in the list of contents, and the appendix contains useful excerpts from external Babylonian, Egyptian, and other sources, and short excursuses on critical matters. The ordinary moderate critical position is adopted, and while care is taken to elucidate the main difficulties, the book does not enter upon the newer problems which are attracting an increasing amount of attention: in other words, the literary-analytical rather than the historical-constructive questions are handled. Dr Ryle has made his commentary careful and interesting, there are useful maps and illustrations, and the book is really a marvel of cheapness (its price is only 4*s*. 6*d*.) and condensation.

To the work of Dr Joh. Dahse reference has already been made in *J. T. S.* vol. xiv 630. In *Studierstube*, July 1913, he outlines a new hypothesis of the Pentateuch in a paper reprinted under the title *Wie erklärt sich der gegenwärtige Zustand der Genesis?*; and he returns to the fray in another paper on *Die gegenwärtige Krisis in der alttest. Kritik* (Töpelmann, Giessen, 1914). Dahse puts textual criticism before literary and historical criticism, although, as experience proves, the progress of criticism depends upon the co-ordination of the different lines of enquiry. In spite of its faults, Dahse's work is at least familiarizing

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the laity with the fact that the starting-point of Pentateuchal criticism must be the latest, the post-exilic stage; that is to say, Genesis is post-exilic with indubitable earlier material. This is more methodical than the current criticism which seeks, for the earlier sources, dates as early as possible. Dahse thus unconsciously assists a criticism far more radical than that now current. The textual questions raised by Dahse have been ably dealt with by Dr Skinner, whose admirable series of articles in the *Expositor* (1913) have been reprinted: *The Divine Names in Genesis* (Hodder & Stoughton, London). Mr H. M. Weiner has published a reply, *The Pentateuchal Text* (Elliot Stock, London), where, together with some truly Rabbinical exegesis, the value of the Massoretic text is steadily undermined. By a strange irony of fate the strongest and most persistent of modern attacks upon the Old Testament, or rather upon the foundations of the Pentateuch, comes from an orthodox Jew!

Principles of textual criticism are also involved in the discussion by Mr S. Holmes of *Joshua, the Hebrew and Greek Texts* (University Press, Cambridge, 1914). He presents a strong case for the superiority of the Greek, and although he is inclined to strain points to support his view, this little monograph is well worthy of attention. But the problem cannot be settled by reference to Joshua alone. In 1 Sam. xvii, for example, in the account of David's introduction to Saul, the Vatican text omits *vv.* 12–31, and it is difficult to decide whether the shorter text is original or is due to the desire to remove some of the difficulties. Again, the LXX of Kings, and more especially a comparison of 1 Esdras with the parallel canonical passages, illustrate the difficulty of finding simple solutions and of deciding wholly in favour of the one text or the other. Mr Holmes's arguments need careful scrutiny. If in Josh. x 13 'a reviser would surely have written' הנוי for נוי, *v.* 24 is enough to suggest that 'surely' no reviser would write ההלכוא, as he seems to assume. Again, he is in excellent company when in xiv 15 he accepts an old correction and reads 'mother city' for 'man' (אם for אדם), but it is more likely that the text is right and that its information is wrong. For example, in Gen. xiv 13 Mamre, Eshcol, and Aner are said to be brethren, and elsewhere, from the ethnic 'Jebusite', Jebus was wrongly assumed to be the old name of Jerusalem. That is to say, in correcting the text we may be correcting the writer and may confuse what he wrote (whether rightly or wrongly) with what we think he ought to have written. Textual criticism cannot be settled by rule of thumb, and the effort to correct or adjust difficulties began early. How subtle the task of criticism becomes is obvious when we consider how, by the simplest textual emendation, Elijah is fed, not by ravens, but by Arabs!

Among recent contributions to Old Testament studies a premier

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place must be accorded to Dr Gustav Hölscher's admirable work, *Die Profeten* (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1914). It is important alike for the study of Hebrew religion and for the criticism of the prophets. The opening chapter (pp. 1–78) deals at length with 'ecstasy and vision'; it is a useful piece of investigation in religious psychology, and though one cannot follow Hölscher throughout, it is no longer possible to rest content with mere judgements of the value or reasonableness of ecstatic and mystical data. Three chapters are devoted to a discussion of magic and divination, of prophetic ecstasy in the ancient east, and prophecy in Israel before the time of the great prophets (pp. 79–188). Here Hölscher approaches the biblical evidence, treating it from a comparative point of view, and illustrating the fundamental relation between Hebrew and other prophetic tendencies. These valuable chapters are most open to criticism in their estimate of the developement of religion in general and of Hebrew religion in particular. Special attention may be called to ch. v (pp. 189–358), a careful discussion of the great prophets from Amos to the last of the old prophetical spirit; it is a most useful survey of the great figures, their work, their teaching, and the place of their teaching in the developement of the Old Testament. This is supplemented by a literary-critical survey of the composition and origin of all the prophetical books (pp. 359–452), and the book is rounded off with a short section on the redaction of the writings. All in all, the book is a valuable contribution to the study of Hebrew prophecy which no one ought to ignore.

The edition of *Jeremiah and Lamentations* in the 'Cambridge Bible' (1913) is by Dr Streane, who has very thoroughly revised and rewritten the earlier edition of over thirty years ago. Since that date a great deal of labour has been bestowed on the work of the prophets, and especially upon Jeremiah, and Dr Streane has diligently and quite independently paid attention to the best literature on the subject. The aim of the series does not make any detailed critical investigation necessary, but the leading points are very thoroughly handled, and the volume will be highly appreciated by English readers.

The 'Epistle of Jeremy' forms the subject of a little monograph by Dr Weigand Naumann, no. xxv of the *Beihefte* of the *ZATW* (Töpelmann, Giessen, 1913). The main question is whether this apocryphal work is directed against Egypt or Babylonia. The writer carefully considers in turn the evidence relating to the deities, priests, and cultus, an array of religious and archaeological evidence is marshalled, and it is shewn that everything points to Babylonia. The only exception is the reference to cats (*v.* 21), which however may be an addition. After a discussion of the Greek vocabulary and syntax, with

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the parallels in Hellenistic literature, Dr Naumann argues that the author must have been an eye-witness and not an Alexandrian. As against Geffcken, he holds that there is no dependence upon Greek philosophy.

Many perplexing questions are raised by the Greek text of the book of Proverbs, and one turns with interest to the new study by R. P. Giacomo Mezzacasa, *Il Libro dei Proverbi di Salomone* (Inst. Bibl. Pontif., Rome, 1913). The first part of the book is a useful sketch of the Hebrew Old Testament in the light of the versions; Hebrew orthography, script, &c., are touched upon, very much on the lines of Driver's introduction to his Notes on Samuel. Part II deals with the Alexandrian version, its general character and value. The text of Proverbs is handled in the third part, which gives a list of Septuagintal variations with critical apparatus and notes. This section is rather awkwardly arranged, and in the absence of complete texts it is often difficult to grasp the points; the Hebrew, too, is often indistinct, and the suggested restorations of the original text are in some cases rather risky. Useful though the book will be, it would have been helpful had the author observed, say, the divers versions of the Story of Ahikar where there are additions and variations, some *bona fide*, others apparently due to error or misunderstanding.

The significance of the post-exilic age for Old Testament criticism gives additional importance to the volume on Ezra and Nehemiah in the *International Critical Commentary* (Clark, Edinburgh, 1913). In it the author, Prof. Batten of New York, well maintains the solid reputation of this fine series. Of its special features the chief, perhaps, is the consistent attention paid to the text of Esdras. This is a necessary task, though the procedure easily admits of being carried to excess. In Ezra v 3 the author duly records that אשרנא (RV 'wall') is rendered χορηγίαν (Ez.) and στέγην (Esd.); but he fails to observe, with Torrey, that these point to a reading אגרא. As the next step it is tempting to suppose that the original word was אגנ(ו)רא, 'shrine, temple', and that because of its heathen associations it was replaced by אשרנא. As regards the historical criticism of the period covered by these books Prof. Batten seems to me rather hesitating. While, on the one hand, Torrey has emphasized the existence of the historical *theory* that a Median empire preceded the Persian, others aim immediately at recovering the authentic historical *facts*. This is analogous to the endeavour to correct a text instead of restoring it in the form in which it presumably left the writer's hand. There is a common tendency to forget the inaccuracy of some old historians. For example, it was wrongly thought by some that a Darius preceded a Cyrus, and consequently when we endeavour to reconstruct history it is easy to force

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into our records views which, even if correct, were not necessarily held by the writers themselves. It is essential to recognize the real difference between objective and subjective history, between what occurred and what was believed to have occurred. This recognition is exceedingly important for the progress of biblical criticism. Prof. Batten reads Ezra iv 4–24 after vi, and vii–x, Neh. viii–x after xiii. Apropos of this it is not unreasonable to complain that no effort is made to assist the reader to find his way easily; the references at the top of the pages are not sufficiently precise: 'Ezra 7–10' is the sole heading for fifty pages. As regards the transpositions, while there is good support for the view that Ezra's mission comes after the work of Nehemiah, the new place of Ezra iv 4–24 (now before Neh. i) is open to serious objection. Again, although he argues for a small return in the time of Cyrus (p. 33), and admits the presence of an indigenous population (p. 37), he does not consider the significance of the latter for the history of a period which has been written from the point of view of those who returned. He thus ignores both the fact (emphasized by Ed. Meyer) that this population was, partly at least, Calebite, and also the presence in the Old Testament of sources representing Calebite and related standpoints, a feature that may be ascribed to the circles through which certain portions of the Old Testament passed at some penultimate stage. Finally, far too much stress is laid upon a correction of Ezra iii 3 (pp. 109, 113 sqq.), though one may cordially agree with the general view that the main Samaritan opposition did not begin until the time of Artaxerxes (p. 24). Prof. Batten's commentary is a suggestive and helpful contribution to the understanding of an obscure period, and even those who cannot agree with some of his arguments will be the first to acknowledge the many merits of the work.

Extra-Biblical Sources for Hebrew and Jewish History, translated and edited by the Rev. S. A. B. Mercer, Ph.D. (Longmans, London, 1913). This is a useful compilation by a professor at Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, intended to introduce the reader to texts illustrating biblical history from the earliest times to the downfall of the Jews in the reign of Hadrian. The sources are Assyrian, Egyptian, Aramaic, Greek, and Latin; and a series of appendices furnishes tables of history, lists of kings and high-priests, and genealogies. There are also three maps illustrating the cuneiform, the Egyptian, and the classical sections of the book. Many will be glad to know of this handy collection of material.

Professor Cheyne in *Fresh Voyages on Unfrequented Waters* (Black, London, 1914) pursues his textual labours into the post-exilic period, dealing with the latest Old Testament books and with portions of the

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Apocrypha. For example, in Esther the atmosphere is held to be not Persian, but North Arabian; and the 'Song of Solomon (?)' becomes, elaborating Winckler's probable emendation in i 5, a song 'in the style of Salmah'. The latter part of the book extends the North Arabian theory into the New Testament.

Very remarkable is the attempt made by Maurice Vernes to prove the existence in the Old Testament of some 360 words borrowed from Greek and Latin (*Les Emprunts de la Bib. Héb. au Grec et au Latin.* Leroux, Paris, 1914). There is no doubt that a few Greek words can be found in the late sources, that some words are common to the Semitic and Indo-European languages, and that even in the second millennium B. C. Palestine could have received Indo-European words. From time to time foreign words have been pointed out, cf. e. g. *sĕrānīm* (the Philistine princes) and τύραννοι; *pillegesh* and παλλακίς. But although there is room for further cautious investigation, this book exceeds all reasonable limits. *Aššāph* (enchanter), in spite of its old Babylonian associations, is connected with σοφός; *ḥémr* (wine) is co-ordinated with the Latin *humor*; *zébaḥ* (sacrifice) with σφαγή; *'ūgāb* (a musical instrument) with ὄργανον; *ḥākām* (wise) with γιγνώσκω (through the root γιγν). One is glad to see that the author recognizes the difficulty of this and some of his other identifications, and can only regret that what would be a really helpful enquiry is spoilt by unphilological and unmethodical *fantaisie.*

Palestinian archaeology is a new subject which has come to the front through excavations in Palestine and the surrounding lands. The first synthetic account of the work was by the Dominican Father Vincent, whose *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* may be said to have laid the foundations of the study. A fresh stimulus is now afforded by Dr Peter Thomsen in his concise *Kompendium der Palästinischen Altertumskunde* (Mohr, Tübingen, 1913). Although only a small book of some 110 pages (with forty-two illustrations), it furnishes an excellent summary of the material with numerous bibliographical references. The author has for some years made a speciality of literature relating to Palestine and has a personal acquaintance with the land. He deals first with Palestinian archaeology in general, with the races, their cultural history, and their settlements. The material is then handled under the following headings: prehistoric monuments, dwellings, art, burial-places, writing and inscriptions, weights, measures, and coins. The conciseness of the work has often compelled a dogmatism and certainty which the state of the study certainly does not justify, but apart from this the little handbook will be found useful and trustworthy.

STANLEY A. COOK.

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PATRISTICA.

Die christliche griechische Litteratur, von OTTO STÄHLIN. (*Sonderabdruck aus* WILHELM VON CHRIST'S *Griechischer Litteraturgeschichte, 5. Aufl., II. Bd., 2. Hälfte, neubearbeitet von* W. SCHMID *u.* O. STÄHLIN.) (Beck, Munich, 1914.)

THE work of which the title is given is not obtainable separately. It is a portion (344 large octavo pages) of the second volume of the new edition of Wilhelm von Christ's well-known and highly valued history of Greek literature from the earliest times to A.D. 530.[1] Christian literature has claimed an increasing space in the successive editions of the book, and the publishers have done well to entrust this part to a scholar of the eminence of Professor Otto Stählin (now of Erlangen). His three-volume edition of the works of Clement of Alexandria in the great series of the Prussian Academy (see the JOURNAL, vol. vii, pp. 142 f, vol. ix pp. 138 ff) is recognized everywhere as a masterpiece. The same care and thoroughness are here displayed. It is, of course, no light task to give an account of five centuries of literary production, including the New Testament. Professor Stählin shews an astounding acquaintance with the bibliography of his subject, which includes works published in his own country and elsewhere down to the moment of going to press. His book ought to be particularly acceptable to English students, who have always shewn a much greater interest in the Greek than in the Latin Fathers. The general patristic student will still go to Bardenhewer's *Patrologie*, but there is no work on Greek Christian literature by itself to be compared for a moment with that of Stählin. I have given a fuller account of his book elsewhere.[2]

Syntax of the Participle in the Apostolic Fathers. By HENRY B. ROBISON. (*Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament: Second Series, Volume ii Part 5.*) (University of Chicago Press: British Agents, Cambridge University Press, 1914.)

THE author, a pupil of Professor Goodspeed, of Chicago, who has done so much for the study of early Christian literature (see the JOURNAL, vol. ix pp. 137 f, xiv p. 152), here essays a minute study of

[1] The price of this volume is M.14.50 (bound M.16.50).

[2] *Review of Theology and Philosophy* for April.

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the uses of the participle in the Apostolic Fathers. He began his literary career by collaborating in the *Index Patristicus* of Dr Goodspeed, and the present work is based on the most up-to-date grammatical classification, as might be expected. The method adopted is to quote an example and give references for the rest. Perhaps this procedure was due to want of space, but the work would have had more educational value if several examples had been quoted *in extenso* at the head of each section, instead of one. A bibliography and statistics add to the usefulness of the book. Of interesting results the following may be referred to: 'The martyrdom of Polycarp, which is one twenty-fifth of the whole volume of the Apostolic Fathers, has 31 of the 126 participles in the genitive absolute' (p. 39); 'The participle as a whole occurs not quite as frequently in the New Testament as in the Apostolic Fathers, but the periphrastic verb form occurs more frequently in the New Testament than in the Apostolic Fathers, and the present participle combined with the imperfect indicative occurs nearly four times as frequently in the New Testament as in the Apostolic Fathers' (p. 44); 'The difference from the New Testament, which consists largely of frequency of usage and emphasis, indicates that the Apostolic Fathers are freer from hebraistic influence than the New Testament' (p. 45). There are misprints on pp. 13, 14 (two), 21, 26, 35.

Eusèbe, Histoire ecclésiastique, livres IX–X, Sur les martyrs de Palestine, texte grec et traduction française avec un index général des deux ouvrages, par ÉMILE GRAPIN. (Picard, Paris, 1913.)

THIS is volume seventeen of the now well-known and valued series, 'Textes et documents pour l'étude historique du Christianisme, publiés sous la direction de Hippolyte Hemmer et Paul Lejay', and the concluding volume of the edition of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History* in that series. The character of the series in general and of the preceding volume of Eusebius in particular has been sufficiently described already in the JOURNAL (vol. xiii pp. 145–148). Two features of the concluding part of the edition must be specially singled out for mention. One is the valuable introduction, extending to eighty-six pages; and the other, the equally if not more valuable general index, which occupies just over two hundred pages, double columns. The classical article 'Eusebios von Caesarea' in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopädie*, by Eduard Schwartz, is not accessible to many students of Eusebius, and it is important that its results should be made known in an edition like the present. At the same time the editor is no slavish adherent of the opinions of Schwartz. One or two slight matters have been noted: on p. viii, l. 16 't. iv (Stuttgart, 1907)' should be 't. vi (Stuttgart, 1909)'

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or 'Halb-Band xi (Stuttgart, 1907)'; p. xv n. 2 'E. Burn' should be 'A. E. Burn'; p. 150, l. 7, wrong accentuation; on p. 318, why not give Prof. W. M. Calder the credit of his rediscovery of the epitaph of Eugenius, and why select for mention among the various articles to which the discovery has given rise the rather jejune one of Mgr Batiffol? The last decade has been singularly fruitful for the student of the *Ecclesiastical History*. For the critical student of the text there is the large three-volume edition by Schwartz (including Rufinus's translation edited by Mommsen) in the Berlin series of the Greek Fathers, for the student who desires a text merely with selected critical notes there is the smaller Schwartz, which has recently come out in a second edition, but for the vast majority of students the most useful edition is that of M. Grapin, three volumes at the price of fifteen francs, which ought to become the favourite in all theological seminaries.

Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae: Pars ii: Epistulae LXXI–CXX. Recensuit ISIDORUS HILBERG. [Corpus Scr. Eccl. Lat. vol. lv.] (F. Tempsky et G. Freytag, Vindobonae et Lipsiae, 1912.)

THE first volume of Jerome's letters in this new edition was reviewed at length in the JOURNAL (vol. xiii pp. 148–151), and the strong recommendation of it there given is equally, if not more, applicable to this volume. A notable external difference between the two at once strikes the eye. In the new volume, for the first time in the history of the Vienna series, which has now about reached its jubilee, a slightly smaller type is employed, and the words and the lines are printed more closely together. The result is, of course, that more is contained in the volume than in one of the same number of pages of the old style, and, as the price of a volume is still determined by the number of pages and not by the number of words it contains, purchasers gain by the change.

Without further ado, I may proceed to add some notes which have occurred to me on reading through the volume. The biblical allusions are much more exhaustively recorded than in the preceding volume, but some are naturally unnoticed. Page 2, l. 5, cf. Ps. ciii 26, &c.; p. 33, 23 *audaciter* (with some MSS), but p. 35, 15 *audacter* (with all MSS); p. 34, 16 give also 1 Pet. v 5; p. 38, 6 cf. Hor. *Carm.* iii 2, 20; p. 41, 22 *alius* I take as nominative, Jerome having written carelessly, or thought of the other name *Ninus*, or desired harmony with the other clauses; p. 43, 16 certainly *Eleazaro* (cf. JOURNAL vol. xiii p. 151, and add the title of a sermon of Augustine in a Petersburg MS referred to in Staerk's facsimiles); p. 44, 17 cf. Eccles. i 18; p. 45, 16 perhaps cf. Lucan viii 318–319; p. 48, 17 cf. Eph. vi 12; p. 92, 3 perhaps read ⟨*sit*⟩ *ista*; p. 93, 18 cf. Sap. 4, 13; p. 99, 1 cf. Gal. v 17; p. 99, 16 add

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the full stop; p. 106, 7 cf. Rom. ii 15, ix 1; p. 108, 11 cf. Hor. *Carm.* iv 2, 27–28; p. 111, 7 cf. Eph. vi 4; p. 112, 10 cf. 2 Tim. iii 15; p. 119, 5 cf. Matt. x 40; p. 121, 9 cf. 1 Pet. ii 23; p. 122, 11 cf. Tert. *Apol.* 21, p. 133, 3 O; p. 124, 1 cf. also Anecdota Maredsolana iii 3, 103 ff; p. 125, 14 read *synhodus*; p. 128, 7 possibly *emendemus* (intrans.); p. 148, 1 cf. Rom. xii 16; p. 149, 17 cf. Heb. ii 14; p. 153, 17 *suberrantes* should surely be *oberrantes*, as only one other example of *suberro* is known and that in a literal sense; p. 159, 3 cf. 1 Cor. ii 8; p. 160, 19 cf. Phil. ii 7; p. 167, 27 cf. 1 Pet. iii 18; p. 168, 21 probably read *Eseia* with the oldest MS; p. 171, 1 cf. Luc. i 2; p. 171, 15 cf. Hor. *Carm.* iii 2, 20 and 1 Tim. vi 20; p. 175, 16 cf. Eph. i 14; p. 177, 21 give the better spelling *futtilis*, which suits the MS tradition better also; p. 181, 17 cf. 1 Cor. xvi 20, 2 Cor. xiii 12, Phil. iv 21, &c.; p. 206, 10 cf. Iac. ii 20, &c.; p. 206, 16 cf. Matt. xii 36, Rom. ii 15; p. 208, 22 cf. Ioh. iii 11; p. 210, 25 cf. 1 Cor. xvi 20, 2 Cor. xiii 12, Phil. iv 21, &c.; p. 218, 19 cf. 2 Cor. iii 18; p. 224, 3 cf. Gal. i 4; p. 224, 19 cf. Phil. ii 7; p. 231, 21 cf. Matt. v 44 &c.; p. 232, 1 cf. 1 Cor. xvi 20, 2 Cor. xiii 12, Phil. iv 21, &c.; p. 232, 5 read *Apolline* and p. 232, 7 *Apellen*; p. 262, 8 in the references should be 262, 9; p. 291, 9–10 is from Tert. *Apol.* 18; p. 296, 9–10 cf. Matt. xiii 46; p. 296, 22 read *quo*, as there are other instances of this Ciceronian idiom in Jerome; p. 305, 10 read *balbuttientia* (cf. JOURNAL vol. xiii p. 151, and cf. p. 291, 3 of this volume); p. 312, 12 read *Hadriatico*; p. 315, 1 read *Hadriano*; p. 323, 21 cf. Heb. xi 32, &c.; p. 330, 2 cf. Act. v 41; p. 340, 4 correct a printer's error; p. 340, 14 read *cluderentur*; p. 345, 13 see note on p. 305, 10; p. 346, 10 compared with p. 431, 10 shews that *matulam* should be read; p. 393, 23 correct the printing; p. 394, 2 Apoc. xviii 2 should be added; p. 420, 15 παλινῳδίαν should undoubtedly be printed as Latin, whether with *-m* or *-n*, as in Ammian and Macrobius, though in Aug. *Epist.* 40, 7 it is possibly Greek; p. 428, 11 read *consobrina*, as *consubrina* is probably at best colloquial, even if it be not merely a perversion like the constant *subrius* for *sobrius*, under the influence of *sub*; p. 438, 6 read *sanitate*, as it is hardly credible that Jerome would use the accusative with *fruor*; p. 440, 15 cf. 1 Tim. ii 4; p. 441, 14 cf. Rom. xii 13; p. 441, 20 cf. Hor. *Carm.* iii 2, 20; p. 453, 10 cf. Apoc. xi 15 without which reference the passage is unintelligible; p. 456, 18 cf. 1 Joh. v 16; p. 465, 23 cf. Matt. xi 27, not Luc. vii 24; p. 467, 24 refer rather to Resch *Agrapha* 2. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1906) pp. 112 ff; p. 477, 16–17 cf. 1 Tim. v 4; p. 498, 6 read *quo*, comparing p. 296, 22; p. 499, 12 cf. Matt. xxviii 19; p. 500, 20 ff cf. Tert. *Apol.* 47; p. 509, 8 cf. 2 Cor. xi 23–27; p. 509, 13 ff cf. 2 Cor. ii 15; p. 509, 15 cf. Eccli. xv 14.

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Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi in Hieremiam Prophetam Libri Sex. Recensuit SIGOFREDUS REITER. [Corpus Scr. Eccl. Lat. vol. lix.] (F. Tempsky et G. Freytag, Vindobonae et Lipsiae, 1913.)

THE Commentary on Jeremiah, the latest of its author's works, left unfinished at his death, appears in the edition of Vallarsi to be one of the best parts of that editor's work. But it has not been difficult for the new editor, Prof. Siegfried Reiter, of Prague, to make a substantial improvement on the edition of his predecessor. He has had much better critical materials to work with, he has known how to classify the authorities at his disposal, and he has produced in consequence what one may call a final edition of the text. But he has done much more than this. In his prolegomena, covering about a hundred and twenty pages, he has discussed every possible topic connected with the commentary with a fullness and accuracy that leave nothing to be desired. The volume is moreover complete in itself, as it contains the list of scripture passages quoted, a copious list of parallel passages from other Fathers as well as from Jerome himself, of whose works the editor displays an entire mastery, and a considerable list of parallels from non-Christian writers. There are also the index of names and matters, and the index of words and expressions, which last forms at once a supplement and a valuable corrective to the monographs of Pancker and Goelzer.

The oldest and most important manuscript is at Lyons, numbered 468, and was written at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century in half-uncial script. This manuscript contains only the first three books and about half of the fourth, but by the greatest good fortune most of the rest of it turned up at the sale of a nobleman's library in 1895, and was secured for the Bibliothèque Nationale,[1] where it is numbered Nouv. acq. lat. 602. Its text is vitiated by the bad spellings of its time and locality, but when these and other slight errors are eliminated, we have the work substantially as Jerome wrote it. In nothing is the excellence of this copy more apparent than in the transcription of Greek words. In close relationship to this MS and next in value to it, is a Laud MS in the Bodleian (Misc. 417, saec. ix–x, formerly of Lorsch), which becomes the chief authority for the parts lost from the Lyons manuscript. The editor knows also five other manuscripts of the same family but of inferior value. Two of these, however, are available to supply a lacuna which exists in the other members of the best family, namely Lyons 448 (saec. ix) and Florence Laur. St. Mark's 607 (saec. xi). In addition to these seven representatives of the best family there are two other independent classes, one with five,

[1] I had the pleasure of pointing this fact out to the editor, till then unaware of it.

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and the other with two representatives. In the constitution of the text as a whole the editor follows especially the Lyons-Paris MS, an Orléans fragment 192 (169) (saec. vii), Paris *B.N.* 1820 (saec. viii), Valenciennes 59 (52) (saec. ix in.), Vercelli cix (55) (saec. x), Paris *B.N.* 9528 (saec. ix). With his judgement as to the relative value of his authorities I must express my entire concurrence.

The introduction is, as has been said, of the very highest value. Among the topics discussed in an illuminating fashion are the date and size of the work, the text of Jeremiah employed by Jerome as the basis of his comments, the use of the Septuagint and the old Latin version in the course of the commentary, as well as the references to the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, the citations from other parts of the Old Testament and from the New Testament, and finally the manuscripts and editions of the Commentary itself. It is not too much to say that each of these sections is epoch-making. No student of the text or ancient versions of Jeremiah dare neglect this work. To mention one point only, it was his own Vulgate that Jerome chose as the basis of his comments, and Reiter has shewn that the printed text of the Vulgate can be repeatedly corrected from the text provided by this commentary. One need only remember that the copy of the text used by Jerome can only have been at most a few years later than the archetype, to understand how simple this is. All points connected with the Greek and Latin texts of Jeremiah are treated with a fullness and insight that must have cost the editor immense labour, and will be greatly appreciated by the Biblical student. One can only hope that the editors of the other Jerome commentaries on the Prophets will take Reiter's work as the model to be followed.

A few notes may be added. On page xxxviii it would have been as well to refer to the confusion made possible by the citation of Hier. xxxi (xxxviii) 15 in Matt. ii 18. Other examples exist of the *sū* = sunt symbol referred to on p. lxv, cf. *C.S.E.L.* vol. 1 p. xxx (with n. 3), also *Codex Bezae* (Rendel Harris in *T.S* ii 1, 121 ff) and the archetype of Cassiodorus (Pseudo-Primasius) in Migne *P.L.* lxviii p. 587, ll. 44–45. A Grenoble (Grande Chartreuse) MS of the twelfth century, mentioned on p. cxiii, may have some connexion with the library of Cassiodorus, and might repay examination. The lacunae in L might have been indicated in the margin of the apparatus, as has been done in the case of some other volumes of the series. On page 67, 16 the citation from Acts is Vulgate, according to the text of Wordsworth and White, and should not be asterisked. So also with Luc. ii 34 on p. 188, 2. In fact all editors now ought to use Wordsworth and White's *editio minor*, and no longer the Sixto-Clementine, for the Vulgate New Testament. On page 384, 23 should be substituted for 22 among the references to

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passages quoted. In the index, *condicio* (*Menschenwerk*) should surely be *conditio* (from *condo*), which we find in Tertullian; the important sense of *infero* on page 402, 3 &c. should be added, in fact a special study of this use of the word is required. The orthographical index at the end of the volume might have included words like *absortus*, *idololatria*, *scisma*, &c.

Sancti Ambrosii Opera, Pars Quinta; Expositio Psalmi cxviii. Recensuit M. PETSCHENIG. [Corpus Scr. Eccl. Lat. lxii.] (F. Tempsky et G. Freytag, Vindobonae et Lipsiae, 1913.)

THIS, the latest product of the scholarly zeal of Prof. Petschenig, of Graz, and the seventh volume he has contributed to the Vienna Corpus, is concerned with one of the least read of the works of St Ambrose. The exposition, composed out of homilies, like the commentary on St Luke by the same author, is not, however, devoid of interest. Apart from its homiletical value, it contains a complete Old-Latin text of the psalm, with frequent indications as to the numbers and length of the lines in his copy, an almost complete Old-Latin text and exposition of the Song of Songs, which he saw fit to interweave with the other, and occasional references, probably derived from Origen's *Hexapla*, to the readings of Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion.[1] There are also Greek words quoted and various Latin renderings referred to on occasion. Of manuscripts containing the work more than a hundred have survived, but of these only one is as old as the ninth century (Arras 590). Fragments at Milan and Cambridge are older still, of date about A. D. 600 and 800 respectively. In addition to these, seven other manuscripts are cited throughout the apparatus, and three editions, the *editio princeps* (Basle 1492), the Benedictine, and the Ballerini (Milan 1876). Only a rough classification of authorities has been possible, and the editor's task has been one of great difficulty, as in the case of this work the authorities are inferior in value to the manuscripts of Latin patristic works in general.

He would be a bold man who would venture to criticize the textual work of Dr Petschenig, a master of the technique of modern editing and second to no living scholar in his knowledge of the later Latin. All that is left to be desired is a more complete indication of scripture passages quoted or alluded to. No great Latin Christian writer is so unsatisfactory as St Ambrose in his method of using the Bible. He too seldom indulges in a long quotation to give us the chance of classifying his Biblical texts. It is, therefore, perhaps all the more necessary to record

[1] With regard to Ambrose's psalter text the reader will find it interesting to consult *Le Texte du Psautier Latin en Afrique* par Paul Capelle (=Collectanea Biblica Latina, vol. iv, Rome 1913) pp. 216–221, reviewed on pages 130–132.

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every allusion to scripture. My notes may now follow. Page 6, line 10 cf. Ps. i 2; p. 7, 22 cf. 1 Tim. ii 9; p. 9, 26 cf. 2 Paral. xxxiv 2, &c.; p. 12, 12 cf. Apoc. iii 20; p. 13, 26 perhaps read *Beliab*, as there is a good deal of authority for this form (see my critical apparatus to 2 Cor. vi 15 and add Hier. *codd.* (*C.S.E.L.* liv p. 189, 2) &c.); p. 15, 22 cf. Iac. ii 10; p. 59, 2 cf. Luc. xii 18; p. 59, 13–14 cf. 1 Cor. vii 33, 40; p. 65, 7 cf. Act. v 41; p. 66, 5–6 cf. Ioh. xix 11; p. 67, 1 cf. Eph. vi 16; p. 73, 5 I prefer *coaceruare* (cf. 347, 1) to the doubtful word *coacerbare*, especially as it is followed by the synonym *exaggerare* (the note should be spaced); p. 85, 20 cf. Eph. i 10; p. 100, 1 cf. 1 Tim. iii 7, 2 Tim. ii 26; p. 104, 24 cf. Luc. xi 1; p. 111, 15 cf. Rom. v 17; p. 115, 21 cf. Rom. x 8; p. 139, 17 cf. Iob xiv 4, 5, Ioh. viii 7; p. 141, 11 cf. Prov. xviii 17: p. 144, 8 cf. Juvenal 10, 22; p. 150, 12 cf. 2 Tim. ii 4; Lucan ii 383; p. 154, 11 is scriptural; p. 154, 26 cf. Luke x 29; p. 154, 28 cf. Ps. xv 5 &c.; p. 155, 5–6 cf. Ps. xv 5, &c.; p. 167, 25 cf. Iob xiv 4, 5; p. 175, 19 cf. Matth. ix 6, &c.; p. 182, 21 cf. Eph. v 14; p. 185, 5 cf. 1 Cor. xii 15; p. 185, 7 cf. 1 Cor. xii 21; p. 185, 14 cf. 1 Cor. xii 27; p. 188, 26 cf. Luke xi 52; p. 193, 23 cr. n. misprint; p. 195, 18 cf. Hebr. xii 11; p. 198, 15 cf. Rom. xii 1; p. 199, 25 cf. Eph. vi 12: p. 203, 20 printer's error; p. 210, 7, 17, 18 cf. Gen. i 26; p. 214, 18 cf. Rom. xiv 18; p. 215, 21 cf. poet. ap. Cic. *Div.* ii 30; p. 241, 6 cf. Col. iii. 5; p. 241, 7 cf. 2 Cor. v 3; p. 242, 10 cf. 1 Cor. xv 49; p. 242, 21 cf. 2 Cor. iv 10; p. 242, 24 add 1 Cor. x 7; p. 244, 6 cf. Iob xiv 1 &c.; p. 248, 9 cf. Act. v 41; p. 249, 14 printer's error; p. 250, 15 cf. Eph. vi 12; p. 250, 28 cf. Rom. vi 2 &c.; p. 253, 9 cf. Resch *Agrapha* (2. Aufl.) (Leipzig, 1906) pp. 112 ff; p. 253, 24 cf. Matth. vi 19 &c.; p. 257, 10 cf. 1 Tim. iii 7, 2 Tim. ii 26; p. 257, 12 cf. Luc. x 18; p. 259, 10 cf. Apoc. iii 20; p. 263, 25 printer's error; p. 264, 1 cf. Matth. v 45; p. 264, 24 cf. Mal. iv 2; p. 265, 17 cf. Eph. v 14; p. 266, 11 cf. Mal. iv 2; p. 268, 11 cf. Eph. ii 2; p. 269, 12 cf. Ps. i 2; p. 276, 6 cf. Esai. v 8; p. 279, 15 cf. Matth. vii 14; p. 282, 23 error of printing; p. 283, 4 error of printing; p. 293, 11 cf. Eph. iv 9; p. 302, 22 read *toto*, *o* having disappeared through defective printing; p. 305, 1 cf. Eph. v 8; p. 306, 11 cf. Iac. i 24; p. 310, 1 cf. Eph. iv 14; p. 333, 25 cf. Rom. vii 2; p. 337, 10 cf. 1 Petr. ii 2; p. 345, 7–8, 10 cf. Luc. xxii 32; p. 345, 16 cf. Marc. iv 19 &c.; p. 353, 19 *retiam* should be substituted in both places, as the plural *retia* in this and in certain Old-Latin MSS of the Gospel is due to ignorance of the colloquial first declension form; p. 354, 17 cf. 2 Tim. iv 8; p. 359, 14 cf. Rom. x 4; p. 369, 12 cf. Iob xiv 4, 5, Ioh. viii 7; p. 370, 7 cf. Luc. xii 47; p. 376, 10 cf. 1 Petr. iv 8; p. 378, 14 cf. Eph. ii 13; p. 378, 21 read *degluttiuimus* as the better spelling (so p. 379, 6); p. 380, 5 cf. also Act. vii 3; p. 381, 5 cf.

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2 Tim. i 10; p. 390, 20 cf. 2 Cor. iii 13; p. 395, 24 cf. Hebr. vii 27; p. 412, 20–21 cf. Hebr. iii 16, 1 Cor. x 5; p. 417, 23 cf. Hebr. x 18; p. 436, 8 cf. Gen. i 26; p. 437, 4, 5 cf. Cant. viii 7; p. 437, 9 cf. Mal. iv 2 (so p. 442, 7); p. 446, 3 cf. Gen. i 26; p. 454, 22 cf. Phil. ii 6, 7; p. 458, 21–22 cf. Eph. ii 13; p. 462, 1 cf. 1 Petr. ii 23; p. 468, 9 cf. 1 Ioh. iv 2; p. 469, 8 cf. Matth. xi 22 &c.; p. 471, 22 cf. Phil. iv 18; p. 472, 1 cf. 2 Cor. iv 18; p. 479, 4 cf. Matth. xi 29; p. 480, 7 cf. 1 Cor. iii 10; p. 492, 15 cf. Ioh. xiv 6 ff; p. 493, 7 ff cf. poet. ap. Cic. *Div.* ii 30; p. 493, 27 cf. Matth. 19, 22; p. 499, 22 cf. Act. 5, 31; p. 502, 18 cf. Iob xiv. 4, 5; p. 503, 4 cf. Ioh. x 1; p. 505, 5 cf. Matth. xiii 52, Gen. i 26.

Sancti Aureli Augustini De Peccatorum Meritis et Remissione et de Baptismo Paruulorum ad Marcellinum libri tres, De Spiritu et Littera liber unus, De Natura et Gratia liber unus, De Natura et Origine Animae libri quattuor, Contra Duas Epistulas Pelagianorum libri quattuor. Recensuerunt CAROLUS F. VRBA et IOSEPHUS ZYCHA. [Corpus Scr. Eccl. Lat. lx.] (F. Tempsky et G. Freytag, Vindobonae et Lipsiae, 1913.)

THIS large volume of over seven hundred and fifty pages is worthy of comparison with the very best volumes in the series. If two points were selected for special mention more than any others, they would be the identification of scripture passages and the index of words and expressions. So far as the present chronicler is able to say, very few passages of Scripture have eluded identification, and the index of words, which has been tested in hundreds of places, seems practically faultless.

The manuscript tradition of the various treatises naturally varies, but of all really old manuscripts survive, and the text can be viewed with the greatest confidence. The only material overlooked by the editors appears to be a (sixth-century?) fragment of the *Contra Duas Epistulas Pelagianorum*, the existence of which was discovered by an eminent English scholar and communicated to me some years ago; and the numerous quotations from the same work quoted in the Cassiodorus (Pseudo-Primasius) commentary on the Epistles of St Paul. There are also portions of all the other treatises in this volume, except the *De Natura et Origine Animae*, borrowed by the same commentary, in every case without acknowledgement.[1] The critical apparatus of Vrba and Zycha has revealed the very interesting fact that the MS most nearly related to the Cassiodorian copy of the *Contra Duas Epistulas* is Grenoble 197 (formerly Grande Chartreuse?) (saec. xii). The whole subject requires investigation, but it would seem that (through Lyons?)

[1] I will not load this page with references; these places will be indicated in my Vienna edition of the commentary.

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the Cassiodorian tradition of various works came to Grande Chartreuse. I may perhaps be permitted to say that as a student of Pelagian texts I have found this volume a perfect Godsend.

Some notes may be added: On pages 4 and 6 add I in headline; page 11, line 15, printer's error; p. 50, 12 surely *adnuntiatur*; p. 87, 10 printer's error; p. 95, 4 Cassiodorus also omits *quoque*; p. 104, 9 *sanitantium* required an explanatory note, comparing it with *uanitantium*, so common in Aug.; p. 111, 7 &c. *Habrahae* should be read, as unquestionably the best Latin spelling, wherever it is attested; p. 121, 4 cf. 1 Thess. iv 17; p. 122, 23 printer's error; p. 128, 4, 5 cf. 1 Tim. 5, 21; p. 132, 9 the Reichenau MS of Pelagius also reads *accidit*; p. 136, 2 read *Kartagini*; p. 138, 2 cf. Col. ii 17; p. 140, 18 read *epistulam*; p. 141, 12 is Pelagius; p. 144, 1–2 are Pelagius; p. 148, 16 cf. Rom. viii 3; p. 155, 4 cf. Rom. viii 3; p. 155, 16 read *sescenta*; p. 157, 19, 20 printing defective; p. 158 insert II in headline; p. 158, 15 defect of printing; p. 158, 24 cf. Rom. v 5; p. 164, 8, 168, 9 printer's errors; p. 170, 8, 10 the MS tradition clearly shews that the Greek word should be written in Latin letters; p. 186, 29 add Hebr. viii 8–12; p. 193, 10 cf. Rom. ix 6; p. 238, 11 cf. Tit. iii 5; p. 241, 3 read *pedagogo*, is any other spelling ever found? ($\alpha\iota = \epsilon$); p. 263, 19 cf. Matth. i 18; p. 280, 19 cf. Rom. vii 15; p. 287, 18 cf. Matth. v 8; p. 292, 19 cf. Rom. v 5; p. 313, 9 cf. Tit. iii 5; p. 320 insert IV in headline; p. 320, 27 cf. 1 Cor. xv 37; p. 333, 1, 4 cf. Act. xvii 28; p. 333, 21. 351, 27. 375, 26 cf. Tit. iii 5; p. 369, 26 read *Silea*, the Old-Latin spelling; p. 377, 14 cf. 2 Cor. x 8; p. 381, 18 cf. 1 Cor. i 20; p. 397, 5, 12 read *futtilis*, the more correct spelling; p. 398, 2 read *umoris*, the more correct spelling, as on p. 409, 8; p. 401, 13 read *Eleazarum*, a form of the Old-Latin Bible (see above, page 150); p. 410, 11 cf. 1 Cor. xiii 13; p. 416, 22 a defect of printing; p. 433, 25 (below) defect of printing; p. 434, 29 *quia* is read also by Cassiod.; p. 436, 20 (crit. n.) defect of printing; p. 440, 27 printer's error. In the index, add 130, 26 for *bene quod*; under *habitudo* (and *substruo*) the words of Vincentius are not distinguished from those of Augustine as they ought to be; under *increpo*, a defect of printing; *perabsurdus* (tmesis) might have been inserted in its place (p. 272, 26, 27); it would be quite safe to omit *praeualesco*; *prode erit* (p. 25, 7) should have been indexed. Of the MSS *L* (Lugd. 603) has Spanish symptoms, *S* (Salisburg. S. Petri a. viii 29) and *O* (Oxon. Laud Misc. 134) had insular ancestors, while *C* (Casinensis 163) may have had some connexion with Cassiodorus, as it has in a subscription his favourite formula 'contuli ut potui'.

A. SOUTER.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, July 1914 (Vol. lxxviii, No. 156: Spottiswoode & Co.). E. WORDSWORTH Florence Nightingale—W. K. L. CLARKE Christian and Greek Miracle Stories—W. JENKINSON Old St Paul's in sixteenth and seventeenth century literature—R. VAUGHAN The influence of man upon nature—A. A. COCK The later poetry of Alice Meynell—S. A. McDOWALL Evolution and Atonement: the problem of continuity—E. M. SPEARING John Donne and his theology—C. F. ROGERS Affusion or submersion?—A. NAIRNE Versions of Holy Scripture—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, July 1914 (Vol. xii, No. 4: Williams & Norgate). A. D. McLAREN Creeds, Heresy-hunting, and Secession in German Protestantism to-day—J. M. THOMPSON Post-modernism—A. WEIR Criminous clerks—J. ADDERLEY 'Sacraments and Unity'—W. R. INGE Institutionalism and Mysticism—B. RUSSELL Mysticism and Logic—L. T. FARNELL The presence of savage elements in the religion of cultured races—F. H. JOHNSON The higher anthropology—J. A. BEET The hereafter in the Bible and in modern thought—J. CUNNISON On what principle are we taxed?—W. MONTGOMERY Schweitzer as missionary—C. J. KEYSER The significance of death—Discussions—Surveys—Reviews.

The Expositor, July 1914 (Eighth Series, No. 43: Hodder & Stoughton). M. JONES Dr Sanday and the Creeds—J. A. HUTTON The sense of sin in great literature: 1. Introductory—H. R. MACKINTOSH Studies in Christian Eschatology: 6. Future Judgment—A. E. GARVIE Notes on the Fourth Gospel: The raising of Lazarus and its result; the week before the Passion—J. T. DEAN A plea for the four trumpets—W. D. ALLEN Papias and the Gospels—A. SOUTER Interpretation of certain New Testament passages.

August 1914 (Eighth Series, No. 44). E. KÖNIG Old Testament and Babylonian language—J. A. HUTTON The sense of sin in great literature: 2. 'Peer Gynt'—H. R. MACKINTOSH Studies in Christian Eschatology: 7. Universal restoration—G. BALL The Epistle to the Philippians: a reply—A. E. GARVIE Notes on the Fourth Gospel:

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7. The upper room—H. T. ANDREWS The structure of the prologue to the Fourth Gospel—C. F. RUSSELL The Second Commandment—E. B. REDLICH Aristarchus—J. MOFFATT Exegetica.

September 1914 (Eighth Series, No. 45). E. KÖNIG Old Testament and Babylonian language—A. CARR Boldness in the day of judgment—N. J. D. WHITE The Creed and Dr Sanday—A. MINGANA A new document on Clement of Rome, his relations and his interview with Simon Peter—H. R. MACKINTOSH Studies in Christian Eschatology: 8. Conditionalism—J. A. HUTTON The sense of sin in great literature: 3. 'La Morte'—C. VAN GELDEREN Who was Nimrod?—A. A. DAUNCEY The two great refusals.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, July 1914 (Vol. xviii, No. 3: Chicago University Press). D. C. MACINTOSH The new Christianity and world-conversion—E. W. LYMAN Must Dogmatics forego ontology? D. S. SCHAFF The formulation of the fundamental articles of faith—E. D. BURTON Spirit, Soul, and Flesh: III πνεῦμα, ψυχή, and σάρξ in Greek writers from Epicurus to Arius Didymus—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, July 1914 (Vol. xii, No. 3: Princeton University Press). J. R. SMITH Genesis—B. B. WARFIELD Misconception of Jesus, and blasphemy of the Son of Man—R. D. WILSON The papyrus of Elephantine—W. P. ARMSTRONG Gospel history and criticism—G. JOHNSON The authority of Holy Scripture—J. D. DAVIS Samuel Rolles Driver—Reviews of recent literature.

(3) FRENCH AND BELGIAN.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien, April 1914 (N. S., Vol. ix, No. 2: Paris, 20 Rue du Regard). F. NAU Résumé de monographies syriaques: Barsauma, Abraham de la Haute Montagne, Siméon de Kefar 'Abdin, Yaret l'Alexandrin, Jacques le Reclus, Romanus, Talia, Asia, Pantaléon, Candida (*suite*)—E. PORCHER La première homélie cathédrale de Sévère d'Antioche (*fin*)—J. BABAKHAN Essai de vulgarisation des 'Homélies métriques' de Jacques de Saroug (*fin*)—F. C. CONYBEARE and O. WARDROP The Georgian version of the Liturgy of Saint-James (*fin*)—S. GRÉBAUT Les manuscrits éthiopiens de M. E. Delorme (*suite*)—J. FRANÇON La Didascalie éthiopienne (*suite*)—E. TISSERANT Note sur le manuscrit Borgia arménien 9—F. NAU L'homélie de Moyse bar Cépha sur les confesseurs du Vendredi—Mélanges: I S. GRÉBAUT Dix proverbes éthiopiens (*fin*): II S. GRÉBAUT Un fragment de ménologe éthiopien: III F. NAU Préceptes anonymes et histoire

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d'Ahiqar, d'après le ms. de Berlin Sachau 162 — Bibliographie — Courtes notices.

Analecta Bollandiana, July 1914 (Vol. xxxiii, No. 3: Brussels, 22 Boulevard de Saint-Michel). C. SEGVIČ Chronologie des évêques de Salone, suivie de la chronologie des archevêques de Spalato—H. BOSMANS Documents relatifs à la liturgie chinoise: Le mémoire de François de Rougemont à Jean Paul Oliva—P. PEETERS S. Ražden le Persan—F. VAN ORTROY La Compagnie de Jésus et son prochain centenaire—Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, April 1914 (Vol. xv, No. 2: Louvain, 40 Rue de Namur). L. GOUGAUD La danse dans les églises (*suite et fin*) —G. KURTH Sainte Radegonde et Samuel—A. DEBIL La première distinction du 'De paenitentia' de Gratien (*à suivre*)—A. DUFOURQ Vue générale de l'histoire de l'Église en Occident à l'époque individualiste (1303–1527)—M. DUBRUEL Le pape Alexandre VIII et les affaires de France (*à suivre*)—Comptes rendus—Chronique—Bibliographie.

Revue Bénédictine, July 1914 (Vol. xxxi, No. 3: Abbaye de Maredsous). DE BRUYNE Une nouvelle préface de la traduction hexaplaire de saint Jérôme—G. MORIN I Une compilation antiarienne inédite sous le nom de S. Augustin, issue du milieu de Cassiodore: II Un traité inédit de S. Guillaume Firmat sur l'amour du cloître et les saintes lectures—A. MERCATI L' autore della *Expositio in VII Ps. Penitentiales* fra le opere di S. Gregorio Magno—A. WILMART Le commentaire sur les Psaumes imprimés sous le nom de Rufin—U. BERLIÈRE Les évêques auxiliaires de Liége (*suite*)—G. MORIN I Le dragon du forum romain: sa légende et son histoire: II D'où provient le missel de Bobbio?—A. WILMART Un manuscrit oublié de l'office de S. Victrice —Comptes rendus et notes bibliographiques.

(4) GERMAN.

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The Journal of Theological Studies

JANUARY, 1915

DOCUMENTS

AN ANCIENT HOMILIARY: I.

(*Sermons for Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, Innocents' Day, St John Baptist, St Stephen, SS. Peter and Paul, St Cyprian, All Martyrs: the Introduction will follow the completed text*)

FROM COD. VERON. LI foll. 1 *a b*, 40 *a*–77 *b*: saec. vi

I. SERMON FOR CHRISTMAS DAY

(*The beginning of the Christmas sermon is lost*)

[*fol.* 1 *a*] Genuit Christum illa in senectute aetatis, ista in senectute temporis: Isaac personam portabat Domini Christi; Isaac interpretatur 'gaudium', et Dominus noster Christus gaudium magnum adnuntiatus est, sic enim DICEBAT ANGELUS ADNUNTIO VOBIS GAUDIUM MAGNUM QUOD ERIT OMNI PLEBI, QUIA NATUS EST VOBIS HODIE SALVATOR SAECULI, QUI EST CHRISTUS DOMINUS. ergo hodie Dominus nascitur in Betlhem Iudeae, sicut dictum fuerat a propheta ET TU BETLHEM NON ES MINIMA IN MILIBUS IUDAE, EX TE ENIM EXIET REX QUI REGAT POPULUM MEUM ISRAHEL. Betlhem interpretatur 'civitas panis', quia ibi DESCENDIT PANIS caelestis qui DAT SAECULO VITAM.

ET VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST ET HABITAVIT IN NOBIS. Deus homo factus EMMANUHEL, QUOD INTERPRETATUR NOBISCUM DEUS. o res mirabilis! pro nobis Dominus omnium castae virginis ubera suxit et de sancto matris pectore lactei fontis dulcia fluenta potavit, ut nos pietatis suae fontibus et caelestis doctrinae fluminibus inrigaret. pascitur ab ancilla sua, [*fol.* 1 *b*] cuius ipsa beneficio pascebatur. IN PRESEPIO PONITUR, PANNIS INVOLVITUR; sed illud presepium sepulturae eius imaginem designabat, panni autem nostra erant peccata, PRO NOBIS enim PAUPER FACTUS EST, UT ILLIUS INOPIA NOS DITAREMUR. nascitur ergo Dominus,

13. caste *cod* 17. involbitur *cod*

4. Lk. ii 10 7. Mt. ii 6 9. Jn. vi 33 11. Jn. i 14 12. Mt. i 23 16. Lk. ii 12 18. 2 Cor. viii 9

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et parvulus adque humilis ingreditur mundum, ut iacenti populo medicinam et captivato homini quam pridem perdiderat in melius restitueret libertatem. MYSTERIUM MAGNUM QUOD FUIT OCCULTUM A SAECULIS ET A GENERATIONIBUS, NUNC MANIFESTUM EST IN CARNE, ut vere PER quem FACTA SUNT OMNIA ipse redimeret universa.

Ergo nascitur de virgine homo propter hominem, et filius Dei efficitur filius hominis ut filios hominum faceret filios Dei. portat virgo mater parvulum in manibus, cuius omnis mundus virtute sustinebatur; et quae non noverat nuptias nec coniunctionem viri didicerat, didicit generare, amplectitur, osculatur, adorat potentem Dominum. [*fol.* 40 *a*] ab angelo audierat et ex ipso partu didicerat quia talem sibi, ut diximus, partum nonnisi solus efficeret unigenitus in caelis unigenitus in terris, Deus ex Deo partus ex virgine, Deus sine matre homo sine patre, quia Deum habet patrem, virginem matrem, ex patre ante saecula ex matre in saeculo.

Veniunt magi, qui gentium diversarum similitudinem designabant, OFFERUNT MUNERA AURUM TUS ET MIRRAM. quidam de hoc exposuerunt dicentes 'aurum ut regi, tus ut Deo, murram ad sepulturam'. isti ergo magi, ut diximus, gentium IMAGINEM PORTANT: offerunt aurum, id est fidem PRETIOSAM SPLENDIDAM ET ELECTAM; tus, incensum orationum BONAE SUAVITATIS ACCEPTISSIMUM DOMINO; murram, futurae Domini sepulturae signum, quod et seipsos prae amore eius Domini usque ad mortem perventuros ostendant.

Ergo omnia in misterio gerebantur, quia et ipsum Verbum Dei MISTERIUM fuit ABSCONSUM A SAECULIS quod venit in carnem. [*fol.* 40 *b*] ET VERBUM CARO FACTUM EST ET HABITAVIT IN NOBIS EMMANUHEL, ut dictum est, QUOD EST INTERPRETATUM NOBISCUM DEUS. ergo Verbum Dei venit in carne; quid ergo tibi dicit Christus, o aeclesia? quid? noli me SECUNDUM CARNEM sapere tantum: 'quia enim FORMAM SERVI ACCEPI propter te, intellege quia Dominus sum angelorum'; 'natus sum de Maria' dicit tibi 'sed Mariam matrem meam ego ipse formavi'; 'si enim PER me FACTA SUNT OMNIA' dicit tibi 'et mater mea per me facta est', mater est enim carnis, sed opus divinitatis.

Audite, fratres; qui fecit angelos, ipse fecit et homines: qui fecit caelum, ipse fecit et terram: qui fecit solem et lunam et stellas, ipse fecit omnia animalia et OMNEM CARNEM SUPER TERRAM, magna et minora, superiora et inferiora. ipse est qui INCLINAVIT CAELOS ET

27. parbulum *cod* virtute sustinebatur *scripsi*, *cum cod* ut conicio*: virtutis sue regebatur *cod*^{2} 28. dedicit *cod* 36. quidam . . . sepulturam: *comma hoc pro glossemate ut videtur habendum est* 40. bone suabitatis *cod* 41. quod . . . ostendant: *fortasse legendum vel* quo . . . ostendant *vel* quod . . . ostendat pre *cod* eius *cod*: *fortasse legendum* eiusdem

22. Col. i 26; 1 Tim. iii 16 23. Jn. i 3 27. Heb. i 3? 36. Mt. ii 11 38. Cf. 1 Cor. xv 49 39. Is. xxviii 16 40. Apoc. v 8?; Phil. iv 18 44. Col. i 26 45. Jn. i 14 46. Mt. i 23 48. 2 Cor. v 17; Phil. ii 7 51. Jn. i 3 55. Cf. Gen. vi 12 56. Ps. xvii (xviii) 10

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DESCENDIT, ut eius descensus nobis fieret ascensus. DESCENDIT, secundum propheticum dictum, QUEMADMODUM PLUVIA IN VELLUS. [*fol.* 41 *a*] vide mysterium: 'ut pluvia' dicitur 'in vellus', sic Dominus descensurus in carne. pluvia veniens in vellus tacite venit, non vis eius resonat virtutibus; ita Dominus veniens in corpore sub silentio humilitatis ex sancta virgine carnem sibi adsumit humanam, et velut sponsus procedit de thalamo suo, sic enim scribtum est SICUT SPONSUS PROCEDENS DE THALAMO SUO. de quo putamus thalamo? de utero scilicet virginali. uterus virginis thalamus Christi: ibi iungitur sponsus et sponsa, ibi iungitur verbum et caro, verbum sponsus, caro sponsa. PROCEDIT DE THALAMO SUO, ut cetera membra sponsae colligat et in una gaudeat aeclesia.

Quid ergo, fratres mei? antequam Dominus Iesus in thalamo, id est in utero virginali, iungeretur sponsae, nonne VERBUM ERAT APUT DEUM ET DEUS ERAT VERBUM? ergo quando coepit esse in utero virginis, non erat aput Deum? unde ergo gaudebant angeli, unde caeli regebantur? ergo quando in utero [*fol.* 41 *b*] virginali erat, verbum non fuit aput patrem? immo aput patrem et in utero virginis, immo totus aput patrem et totus in utero virginis; quia Dominus noster verbum Deus totus est aput patrem, totus in caelis, totus in angelis, totus in utero, totus in aeclesia, totus in carne. de ipso quodam in loco scribtura dicebat FRATERNUS MEUS CANDIDUS ET RUBEUS, CANDIDUS quia Verbum est Dei, RUBEUS quia partus est virginis.

Ergo hodie parvolus et humilis ingressus est mundum, et hodie quidem secundum hominem homo natus est ex virgine, sed 'ante omnia saecula genitus ex patre', qui matrem corpore, virtute referat patrem, unigenitus in terra unigenitus in caelo, Deus ex Deo, partus ex virgine. ergo huic Domino et redemtori nostro Christo, qui carnem pro nobis ex Adae origine venientem suscepit ut DE PECCATO DAMNARET PECCATUM IN CARNE et cunctis purificationis et sanctificationis suae munera [*fol.* 42 *a*] contulisset, ipsi gratias referamus et per ipsum Deo patri laudes dicamus, CUI EST GLORIA IN SAECULA. AMEN.

II. SERMON FOR THE EPIPHANY

In sancta epiphania

Desideratus votis omnium christianorum felicissimus dies advenit: Dominus noster Iesus Christus, pro nobis natus, pro nobis hodie bapti-

57. descendit 2°: *fortasse legendum* descendet *cum Psalm. et* descensurus *l.* 59 60. plubia *cod** 67, 70. sponse *cod* 74. immo totus: immotus *primis curis cod** 75. noster: nō (*ad finem lineae*) *cod* 76. dš, *scilicet* deus, *cod*: *fortasse legendum* dī *scilicet* dei, *cf. l.* 79 78. robeus . . . robeus *cod* 82. quimmatrem *cod*

57. Ps. lxxi (lxxii) 6 60. Cf. Wisd. xviii 14 sq. 63. Ps. xviii (xix) 6 70. Jn. i 1 78. Cant v 10 85. Rom. viii 3 88. Rom. xi 36; Gal. i 5 &c.

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zatus est. ecce iam secunda eius pietate salvamur. pro nobis dudum descendit ad terram, ut captivitatis nostrae vincla disrumperet et peccatorum nostrorum no*d*os propria virtute confrangeret cunctorumque periculis clementissimus subveniret: non dedignatur adhuc suae bonitatis et liberationis sacramenta demonstrans LA*V*ACRO REGENERATIONIS corpus abluere omnis Dominus creaturae. per semet ipsum sanctificat aquas, qui et eas initio suae maiestatis Spiritu gubernabat. videns ergo sanctissimus Iohannes venientem istum Dominum et salvatorem nostrum Iesum Christum ad baptisma suum suplex adorat et dicit, sicut eius verba [*fol.* 42 *b*] declarant, TU inquid VENIS AD ME CUM A TE EGO DE*B*EAM BAPTIDIARI? consideremus, fratres, verba huius Baptist*a*e venerabilis et vide ordinem rerum.

Venit prior sancta Maria ad Helisabeth, et nunc Dominus venit ad sanctum Iohannem. TU inquid VENIS AD ME. 'tu' inquid 'venis ad me', prout dicat 'tu Dominus caeli et terrae, UNIGENITUS DEUS PER QUEM FACTA SUNT OMNIA ET SINE QUO FACTUM EST NIHIL, verbum patris, LUMEN VERUM, ad me venis, ad me, CUIUS NON SUM DIGNUS CALCIAMENTA PORTARE, qui votis et praecibus parentum meorum clementissimus adnuisti ut me sterilis mater conciperet et Zaccarias pater meus in tuo nomine l*a*etaretur, quando in mea nativitate dicebat ET TU, PUER, PROPHETA ALTISSIMI VOCA*B*ERIS, PR*A*EIBIS ENIM ANTE FACIEM EIUS AD DANDAM SCIENTIAM SALUTIS PLE*B*I EIUS: tu ergo venis ad me, qui me formasti in utero, qui me nasci voluisti et mihi incrementa aetatis donasti, qui me honorasti, TU VENIS AD ME, CUM A TE [*fol.* 43 *a*] EGO DEBEAM BAPTID*A*RI, quia ego magis beneficiorum tuorum ope indigeo?'

Cui Dominus ait SINE MODO, SIC ENIM OPORTET NOS IMPLERE OMNEM IUSTITIAM. SINE MODO, desine, adquiesce, permitte, noli timere. sed ratione cuncta geruntur: Adam enim anti*q*um inter aquas in paradisso peccantem, nunc per aquas eundem cupio reparare, SIC ENIM OPORTET NOS IMPLERE OMNEM IUSTITIAM. sed dicis 'Quod habes peccatum, ut ad baptismum venias?' et ego dico tibi 'Non habeo peccatum ullum, sed MULTORUM PORTO PECCATA. oportet nos inplere omnem IUSTITIAM; quia iustum est ut et ego veniam ad te ut tibi sacri baptismatis testimonium perhibeam et gratiam quam indulsi omnibus manifestem, et quia humilitatem magis diligo quam super*b*iam amo. SIC ENIM OPORTET

II. 5. nodos *scripsi cum cod* ut conicio, cf.* serm. III. *l.* 56 'catenarum nodos propria virtute confringeret': nobis *cod*^{2} 7. labacro *cod* 8. omnis (*sc.* creaturae) *cod**: omnium *cod*^{2} 11. supplex *cod*^{2}, *sed cf. l.* 44 13. deueam *cod* baptiste *cod* 22. letaretur *cod* 23. uocaueris *cod* preibis *cod* 24. pleui *cod* 27. baptidari *cod* 30. temere *cod** 31. anticum *cod* 38. superuiam *cod*

II. 7. Tit. iii 5 9. Gen. i 3 12. Mt. iii 14 17. Jn. i 18, i 3, i 10 19. Mt. iii 11 23. Lk. i 76 29. Mt. iii 15 35. Is. liii 12

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NOS IMPLERE OMNEM IUSTITIAM. accedit quia tu maior natu es et me oportet venire ad te, nam et mater mea ad tuam venerat matrem. volo adhuc per me et cunctis principibus demonstrare [*fol.* 43 *b*] ut ad baptidiantium manus cuncti capita sua inclinare non differant et ad caeleste donum sine mora percurrant'. quod audiens beatus Iohannes suplex suscipit Dominum.

Veniente igitur ad se ipsum Domino salvatore gaudebat et ipse fluminis alveus, obsequentibus undis circa vestigia Domini, Iordannesque sese cum suis fluctibus humiliabat. ibant aquae leni meatu currentes et dulce quiddam suis vocibus resonantes. aderat sine dubio angelorum omnium chorus, et ad mirifica Domini sacramenta magnifice laetabantur. baptidiatur itaque Dominus noster et mergitur in aquis ut nos levaret in caelis: AGNUS INMACULATUS, AGNUS DEI QUI TOLLIT PECCATA MUNDI, purissimi fontis liquoribus lavabatur ut nos a peccatis ablueret et regnis caelestibus sociaret, sicut ipse postea in sancto aevangelio tradidit dicens NISI QUIS RENATUS FUERIT EX AQUA ET SPIRITU SANCTO NON POTERIT INTROIRE IN REGNUM DEI.

Adhuc audi mysterium. Moyses [*fol.* 44 *a*] mare ingressus Faraonem cum suo mersit exercitu; et Christus baptidiatus et per aquas digrediens diabolum cum sua caterva damnavit. Iesus quoque filius Nave ad debellandam Hiericho civitatem profectus, in qua hostilis habebatur exercitus, per Iordannis fluenta transgreditur; et Christus Dominus et salvator noster ad expugnandas mundi huius insidias adque ad SPIRITALES NEQUITIAS destruendas ad Iordannis fontem accedit. audi adhuc. ter decies annorum circulis constitutis ad baptismum Dominus venit, ut per trium decadarum mysterium et nobis preterita peccata donaret, et presentia beneficia conferret, et de futuris bonis securiores efficeret. hic est Dominus Deus noster, cuius hodie sacri baptismatis, ut dixi, sollemnia celebramus.

De quo refert sanctum aevangelium, ut ipsius lectionis ordinem prosequamur, CUM BAPTIDIATUS ESSET inquid OMNIS POPULUS ET IESU BAPTIDIATO ET ORANTE APERTUM EST CAELUM, ET ECCE SPIRITUS SANCTUS CORPORALI SPECIE [*fol.* 44 *b*] SICUT COLUMBA VENIT SUPER EUM ET VOX DE CAELO FACTA EST HIC EST FILIUS MEUS DILECTISSIMUS IN QUO BENE CONPLACUI, IPSUM AUDITE. IESU inquid BAPTIDIATO ET ORANTE. orabat non pro se (quid enim pro se innocens precaretur?), sed pro

45. venientem ... dūm salvatorem *cod* 46. albeus *cod* 50. lebaret *cod* 52. labababatur *cod** 63. circulis constitutis *cod*^{2}: circulus constitutus *cod**; *fortasse legendum* circiter constitutus

43. Mt. iii 15 *b* 51. 1 Pet. i 19; Jn. i 29 54. Jn. iii 5 56. Exod. xiv 27, 28 59. Ios. iii 15, 16 61. Eph. vi 12 63. Cf. Lk. iii 23 69. Lk. iii 21, 22 73. (Mt. xvii 5 &c.)

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nobis orabat quos suae piaetatis remedio a patre gu*b*ernandos acceperat, orabat patrem: quid putamus orabat Dominus patrem, nisi *ut* illud propter quod venerat disceremus, ut nobis pater manifestaret ipsum esse filium suum dilectissimum. unde statim ORANTE ipso VOX DE CAELO FACTA EST HIC EST FILIUS MEUS DILECTISSIMUS IN QUO BENE COMPLACUI, IPSUM AUDITE. pater, qui nunc dicit IPSUM AUDITE, ipse etiam ante plurimas generationes ad Moysen locutus est dicens PROPHETAM SUSCITABO ILLIS DE FRATRIBUS EORUM SICUT TE, ET DABO VERBUM MEUM IN OS EIUS ET LOQUETUR AD EOS OMNIA QUAECUMQUE DIXERO EI, ET QUI NON AUDIERIT PROPHETAM ILLUM [*fol.* 45 *a*] INTERIET DE POPULO SUO. ergo ipse et nunc ait IPSUM AUDITE.

Venit et Spiritus sanctus CORPORALI SPECIE SICUT COLUMBA ut Christum ostenderet. hoc est quod Dominus per prophetam antea dixerat SPIRITUS DOMINI SUPER ME. sed ne dicat aliquis quia qui SUPER ipsum venit superior est illo. non est superior a Christo Spiritus sanctus, qui a Christo ACCIPIT quod ANNUNTIET, et post Christum nominatur, et a Christo missus probatur: sicut filius a patre mittitur, ita et Spiritus sanctus a filio. non ergo, quod SUPER ipsum videbatur, superior est ipso. nam et STELLA SUPER Dominum venit, et caelum super Dominum fuit, et tectum domus super Dominum habebatur, et aquae in baptismo super Dominum fluebant; et omnium Christus est Dominus, quia, ut fidelis testatur scribtura, OMNIA PER Christum FACTA SUNT ET SINE ILLO FACTUM EST NIHIL. sed forte adhuc requirit aliquis ubi remanserit vel ubi abierit illud corpus columb*ae* quod adsumpserat Spiritus sanctus. eadem ratione interceptum est qua et editum fuerat: si vidisses [*fol.* 45 *b*] cum de nihilo proferebatur, scisses et cum in nihilum subducebatur: si non fuit initium visibile, nec finis, tamen corporis soliditas erat quo momento corpus videbatur.

Est ergo unus unigenitus aput ingenitum patrem, quem ipse Spiritus sanctus veneratur, quem omnis adorat creatura, CUI EST GLORIA et imperium IN SAECULA. AMEN.

III. SERMON FOR EASTER

In sancto pascha

Desiderat*ae* solemnitatis gaudia celebrantes, fratres dilectissimi, in trihumfis Domini nostri Iesu Christi tota mentis alacritate laetemur, sicuti hodie cantavimus dicentes ISTE DIES QUEM FECIT DOMINUS,

75. guvernandos *cod* 76. ut *supplevi*: *om. cod* 81. propheta *primis curis cod* 89. superor *primis curis cod* 98. columbe *cod*
III. 1. desiderate *cod*

81. Deut. xviii 18, 19 (Act. iii 22, 23) 88. Is. lxi 1 90. Jn. xvi 15 93. Mt. ii 9 95. Cf. Act. x 36 96. Jn. i 3
III. 3. Ps. cxvii (cxviii) 24

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EXULTEMUS ET LAETEMUR IN EO; quia in 'isto die' et istos dies fecit Dominus. quid est quod diximus 'In isto die et istos dies fecit Dominus'? et non solum istos dies, sed et IN Christo CREATA SUNT OMNIA QUAE SUNT IN CAELIS ET QUAE SUNT IN TERRA, VISIBILIA ET INVISIBILIA. ipse est dies aeternus, dies cui numquam nox succedit. iste dies [*fol.* 46 *a*] sibi duodecim horas constituit, id est duodecim discipulos, quorum unus infelix Iuda Scariotes novissimus velut duodecima hora diem nocti tradidit, id est Christum tenebrosis Iudaeis.

Dominus tamen, etsi morti traditus est, disrupit tamen vincula mortis. AD VESPERUM QUIDEM DEMORATUS EST FLETUS ET IN MATUTINUM NOBIS OBORTA EST LAETITIA. tergeamus lacrimas nostras, quamvis eas iam deterserit Christus, et plaudentes manibus nostris, id est bonis operibus exultantes, dicamus clara voce cum beato apostolo Paulo VBI EST, MORS, ACULEUS TUUS? UBI EST, INFERI, VICTORIA TUA? ACULEUS QUIDEM MORTIS PECCATUM, VIRTUS AUTEM PECCATI LEX: DEO AUTEM GRATIAS QUI DEDIT NOBIS VICTORIAM PER DOMINUM NOSTRUM IESUM CHRISTUM. merito ergo trihumphali gaudio gloriamur, qui peccatorum nostrorum nexibus resoluti in libertate vitae perpetuae donata indulgentia respiramus.

Natalis nunc, fratres, geritur totius mundi, annua orbis [*fol.* 46 *b*] est consecrata solemnitas. vicit omnibus Deus, qui causas omnium in semet ipso susceperat et suae virtutis auxilio lugubres aliquando vultus et diuturno maerore contractos inaenarrabili letitiae suae splendore perfudit. ergo, sicut scribtum est, HIEMS TRANSIIT, ABIIT SIBI; FLORES APPARUERUNT IN TERRAM NOSTRAM, hoc est in terra animae nostrae vel corporis nostri, quia refloruit COR NOSTRUM ET CARO NOSTRA IN Dominum DEUM nostrum.

Mortuus est et resurrexit Christus pro nobis, ut nos et mori et resurgere in semet ipso monstraret, quia PER HOMINEM MORS ET PER HOMINEM RESURRECTIO MORTUORUM; SICUT IN ADAM OMNES MORIUNTUR, ITA IN CHRISTO OMNES VIVIFICANTUR. unde Dominus in sua passione et resurrectione dicebat NISI GRANUM TRITICI CECIDERIT PRIMUM IN TERRA, NON ADFERT COPIOSIOREM FRUCTUM; quia utique in sua resurrectione nostrae restaurationis [*fol.* 47 *a*] gloriam designabat. cecidit illud tritici granum in terram, et toto orbe surrexit fidelium seges.

Nam ut per ordinem preterita omnia consideremus et in hac

12. disrupit *cf.* II. 4 *supra*: dirrupit *ut vid cod* 16. exultates *primis curis cod* clare voce *cod* 23. est consecrata *scripsi*: et consecrata *cod* 26. merore *cod* 35. resurretione *primis curis cod* 36. cupiosiorem *cod*

6. Col. i 16 9. Cf. Jn. xi 9 13. Ps. xxix 6 (xxx 5) 16. 1 Cor. xv 55–57 27. Cant. ii 11 29. Cf. Ps. lxxxiii 3 (lxxxiv 2) 32. 1 Cor. xv 21, 22 35. Jn. xii 24

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gratulatione positi antiquas non sileamus angustias (quia scribtum est IN DIE BONORUM NE INMEMOR SIS MALORUM), audite, fratres, causas antiquas omnium nostrum. tenebatur antea humani generis captivitas peccato tamquam bello superata : in praeda ducti fuerant omnes quos aut vitia saeculi aut ignorantiae culpa aut varius diversarum rerum et criminum error involverat : iacebant singuli, peccatorum iaculis fixi et male datis vulneribus sauciati : praedonis super*bi*, id est diaboli, inmania vincula sustinebant. depravata fuerat humani generis forma delictorum foeditatibus inquinata : lugebat casus nostros et ipsa natura. PATIENTIA vero DEI omnipotentis haec diutius tacite SUSTINEBAT, quia causas mortis [*fol.* 47 *b*] ipse sibi homo effecerat, qui libero arbitrio factus et in deliciarum paradisso constitutus maluit diabolo magis oboedire quam Deo. sed clementissimus Dominus miserationes suas diutius differre non passus est: misit itaque salvatorem omnium Christum qui suo adventu suaque passione et resurrectione vincula durae servitutis abrumperet et catenarum nodos propria virtute confringeret, tantorumque vulneribus potentis medicinae suae auxilio subveniret.

Adveniens itaque idem Dominus et 'de illa sublimitate caelesti' ut ait sanctus Cyprianus 'ad terrena descendens non est dedignatus filius Dei carnem hominis induere, et cum peccator ipse non esset aliena peccata portare': multis mirabilibus gestis a super*bo* et ingrato populo contumeliis adficitur, conspuitur, flagellatur, adhuc etiam cruci adfigitur. pendens itaque in crucem orabat patrem pro interfectoribus [*fol.* 48 *a*] suis dicens PATER DIMITTE ILLIS, NESCIUNT ENIM QUOD FACIUNT. non irascitur, non commovetur; ibi enim ira locum omnino habere non poterat, ubi pietas omnia patientissime tolerabat. deinde conmendat suum spiritum patri, ut se ostenderet patri semper esse subiectum, ut bonum a bono genitum, pium a pio, benignu*m* a benigno. sepellitur corpus eius; et ponitur in monumento, in modica petra, in angusto foramine, cuius potentia et visibilia et invisibilia continet universa.

It deinde et per infernas sedes et usque ad ipsius Erebi profunda pertendit. terribili visu et aspectu Domini conruerunt contrariae potestates et tenebrosi illi inferni ianitores intra sua viscera timuerunt. aeternae lucis fulgore perculsa dira facies mortis expavit et duplicato in sese pallore contremuit. Dominus vero propositum suae maiestatis opus perficiens pr*a*edam de infernis sedibus rapuit, Adam quoque illum nimio iam et antiquo labore sordentem et usquequaque deformem

47. supervi *cod* 52. paradisso *cod*, *ut supra* l. 31 55. suaque *cod*^{a}: sua *cod** 61. supervo *cod* 68. benignum : benignus *cod* 71. herebi *cod* 73. ianitores : *om. cod** 75. sse *primis curis cod* 76. predam *cod*

42. Ecclus. xi 25 50. 1 Pet. iii 20 58. Cypr. *de bon. pat.* 6 61. Cf. Lk. xviii 33, Mt. xx 19 64. Lk. xxiii 34 67. Lk. xxiii 46

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[*fol.* 48 *b*] in novo gloriae suae splendore restituit, omnibusque credentibus plenissimam gratiam propriae maiestatis indulsit.

Ergo exultemus, carissimi, et gloriemur in Domino nostro Iesu Christo et istum diem laeti ducentes et per ipsum Deo patri semper gratias agamus, CUI EST GLORIA IN SAECULA. AMEN.

IV. SERMON FOR ASCENSION DAY

De ascensione Domini in quadragesima

Exoptatus votis omnium Christi*a*norum dies advenit: salvator saeculi Christus filius Dei, qui altus humilis factus est pro nobis et de caelestibus regnis ad terrenas habitationes advenit, passusque insidias perfidorum et cruci fixus mortis vincla dissolvit et die tertia resurgens a mortuis quadraginta diebus cum discipulis conmoratus est, hodie in isto quadragesimo die ascendit in caelis. noluit Dominus statim post resurrectionem suam in caelis ascendere, ne non in veritate resurrexisse sed fantasma fuisse potius putaretur; [*fol.* 49 *a*] ideo quadraginta diebus, ut dictum est, cum discipulis conmoratus est, frequenter apparens eis ut eos ad vitalia precepta instrueret et discerent quae docerent.

Ascendit hodie in caelis ut etiam aeternas illas sedes in suo resuscitato ac vivificato corpore visitaret, unde in introitu eius et in habitu corporis veniente caelestes virtutes adtonit*a*e interrogant alias potestates dicentes QUIS EST ISTE REX GLORIAE? et dicitur eis DOMINUS FORTIS ET POTENS, DOMINUS POTENS IN PROELIO, qui fortissimum tyrannum diabolum qui dictus est FORTIS ARMATUS captivum tenuit et VASA EIUS quae possidebat DIRIPUIT, ipsumque devinctum cruci suae adfixit, cunctosque credentes salutaribus titulis in fronte signavit, ut ille adversarius videns signum fortis semper timeat et pavescat.

Audivimus namque hodie angelos exclamantes ad populum et dicentes VIRI GALILEI, QUID STATIS ASPICIENTES IN CAELUM? HIC IESUS, QUI RECEPTUS EST [*fol.* 49 *b*] HODIE A VOBIS IN CAELUM, SIC VENIET ITERUM QUEMADMODUM VIDISTIS EUM EUNTEM IN CAELUM. gaudeat ergo aeclesia Christi: Dominus noster caput nostrum iam nos precessit in caelum, secuturis membris viam ad sedes caelestes ostendens. ubi est caput, ibi erunt et membra, si tamen ab omni se f*a*ece terrenae cupiditatis aliena servaverint.

ASCENDIT Dominus ergo IN ALTUM, CAPTIVAM DUXIT CAPTIVITATEM,

80, 81. et . . . et: *fortasse omittendum* et *vel unum vel alterum*
IV. 1. xp̄inorum *cod* 13. venientem *cod* adtonite *cod*, *sed cf.* V. 33 *infra* 26. fece *cod*

IV. 14. Ps. xxiii (xxiv) 8 16. Lk. xi 21, 22 17. Cf. Col. ii 14 18. Cf. Apoc. vii 3 21. Act. i 11 25. Cf. Jn. xiv 3, xvii 24 26. Eph. v 23, 30 28. Eph. iv 8, 10 (Ps. lxvii [lxviii] 18)

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quia QUI DESCENDIT IPSE EST QUI ASCENDIT sicut dicit apostolus SUPER OMNES CAELOS UT ADINPLERET OMNIA. ASCENDIT, bene dictum est, IN ALTUM ; quia antea ad humilia altus descenderat, nunc de humilibus altus ad alta conscendit, Spiritus sancti DONUM suis suplicibus redditurus. sic enim dixerat discipulis suis in sancto aevangelio EXPEDIT VOBIS UT EGO EAM : SI EGO NON ABIERO, ADVOCATUS NON VENIET AD VOS ; SI AUTEM ABIERO, MITTAM ILLUM AD VOS. rogemus ipsum Dominum nostrum [*fol.* 50 *a*] Iesum Christum, ut nobis omnibus donum Spiritus sancti dare dignetur, ipsoque Spiritu sancto inluminemur, ab ipso instruamur et doceamur ut Christi precepta servemus, ipsique ut PALMITES VITI inhaereamus, IUGUM eius SUPER nos semper GESTANTES. ergo ASCENDIT IN ALTUM, CAPTIVAM DUXIT CAPTIVITATEM ; etiam, Dominus noster ASCENDIT IN ALTUM.

De huius descensu et ascensu audite, fratres. iam hoc per mysterium et in scala illa figurabatur quam vidit Iacob per somnium, ut scribtura dicit, DE TERRA AD CAELUM PERTINGENTEM. illa ergo scala quam vidit Iacob DE TERRA ut dictum est PERTINGENTEM AD CAELUM descensum et ascensum Domini significabat, quia scala et descensum et ascensum habet ; et lapis ad caput Iacob fuit, hoc est ipse Christus qui LAPIS dictus est, quem etiam et uncxit Iacob, quia ipse est unctus Dei ; duo trabes scalae duo sunt testamenta, gradus praecepta divina ; quia + ipsa duo testamenta et quia sancta +, Christi descensus et ascensus [*fol.* 50 *b*] significatus est.

Ergo istius sancti diei solemnia celebrantes, semper Deo patri per Christum eius gratias referamus, CUI EST GLORIA IN SAECULA. AMEN.

V. ANOTHER SERMON FOR ASCENSION DAY

In gloria Domini : item de quadragesim*a*

Presentis diei festi, donante Domino, sollemnia celebrantes, fratres dilectissimi, exultemus et laetemur in Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui primitus de caelis adveniens pro nobis hominem suscepit adque DEUS ille AMBULANS SUPER TERRAM multa operatus est in partibus Iudeae circa benignos et bonos, circa perfidos et ingratos, ut consolaretur humiles, ut laetificaret tristes, ut super*b*os leniret. mortuos suscitavit, infirmos curavit, demonas effugavit, caecos inluminavit, clodos currere fecit, multa mirabilia gessit ; qui PRO *V*OBIS PAUPER FACTUS EST CUM

34. habiero *cod* (*sed l.* 35 abiero) 50. sancta *ut vid cod* : *fortasse legendum* scala

V. *Title.* quadragesimo *ut vid cod* 6. supervos *cod* 7. glodos *ut vid cod* 8. vobis *scripsi*, *collato* vos ditaremini : nobis *cod*, *cf.* I. 18 *supra*

33. Jn. xvi 7 39. Jn. xv 5 Mt. xi 29 43. Gen. xxviii 12 47. 1 Pet. ii 4, 6 V. 3. Bar. iii 36, 38 8. 2 Cor. viii 9

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DIVES ESSET, UT ILLIUS INOPIA VOS DITAREMINI; cuius inopia ditat, sanat fimbria, fames satiat, mors vivificat, resuscitat sepultura. ad crucem etiam et passionem pro nobis veniens, [*fol.* 51 *a*] multas contumelias iniuriasque perpessus, occisus est et sepultus, tertio die a mortuis resurrexit, quadraginta diebus cum discipulis conmoratus hodie ascendit in caelis, ut hominem ipsum quem induit, quem dilexit, quem a morte protexit, ad patrem victor inponeret.

De huius ascensu Domini iam antea propheta David in psalmo *p*recanuerat dicens ASCENDIT DEUS IN STREPITU, DOMINUS IN VOCE TUBAE; et iterum ASCENDIT IN ALTUM, CAPTIVAM DUXIT CAPTIVITATEM, DEDIT DONA IN HOMINIBUS. unde et apostolus ad*d*ebat QUI DESCENDIT IPSE EST ET QUI ASCENDIT SUPER OMNES CAELOS UT ADIMPLERET OMNIA. DESCENDIT ut iacentes erigeret, ASCENDIT ut DONA credentibus exhiberet. sic enim promiserat in sancto aevangelio dicens EXPEDIT VOBIS UT EGO EAM: SI EGO NON ABIERO, ADVOCATUS NON VENIET AD VOS; SI AUTEM ABIERO, MITTAM ILLUM AD VOS. et iterum ait ROGABO PATREM ET ALIUM ADVOCATUM DABIT VOBIS. ergo ascendit Dominus SUPER OMNES CAELOS UT ADINPLERET OMNIA [*fol.* 51 *b*] *recu*peravit auctoritas promissio continebat.

Ascendit ergo hodie in caelis. claman*tes angelos* ad populum et dice*ntes audimus* VIRI GALILEI QUID STATIS ASPICIENTES IN CAELUM? HIC IESUS QUI RECEPTUS EST A VOBIS, SIC VENIET ITERUM QUEMADMODUM VIDISTIS EUM EUNTEM IN CAELUM, id est in eodem corpore in quo ascendit, ut Deus in templo, ut sacerdos in agno, ut pastor in ove. unde in eius ascensu adtonitae et obstupescentes caelestes virtutes clamant ad invicem dicentes QUIS EST ISTE REX GLORIAE? videbant enim ante eum in obsequio precurrentes angelicas potestates, daturque ad interrogantes caeleste responsum DOMINUS FORTIS ET POTENS, DOMINUS POTENS IN PROELIO. ipse est DOMINUS POTENS IN PROELIO qui FORTEM ARMATUM diabolum conligavit et VASA EIUS DIRIPUIT, hoc est, homines quos ille antea in sua potestate tenebat ab eo diripuit adque suae dicioni subiecit. ideo et dictum est CAPTIVAM DUXIT [*fol.* 52 *a*] CAPTIVITATEM, quia omnes captivos *ipse* superato tyranno *adquisivit*; *et quia* ipso nunc corpore in quo *ascendit*, *in ip*so etiam veniet in fine mundi iudicare vivos et mortuos, *a propheta* dictum est VIDEBUNT IN QUEM CONPUNXERUNT.

Ecce iam caput nostrum Dominus noster nos precessit in caelum,

16. precanuerat *scripsi*: recanuerat *ut vid cod* 19. addebat *scripsi*: adiebat *ut vid cod*, *cf.* VI. 36 *infra*: *malis forte* aiebat 29. quid: qui *ut vid cod*

17. Ps. xlvi (xlvii) 5 18. Ps. lxvii (lxviii) 18 19. Eph. iv 10 22. Jn. xvi 7 26. Jn xiv 16 29. Act. i 11 34. Cf. Is. vi 3 36. Ps. xxiii (xxiv) 8 38. Lk. xi 21, 22 43. Zech. xii 10 (Jn. xix 37)

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secuturis membris, id est aeclesiae suae, regna caelestia paraturus. unde ex persona ipsorum membrorum, id est totius aeclesiae, cantatur in psalmo et dicitur MIHI AUTEM ADIUNGI DEO BONUM EST, PONERE IN DOMINO SPEM MEAM, adiungi Domino, sociari capiti meo, Domino meo qui me DILEXIT ET TRADIDIT SEMET IPSUM PRO me, ut me ad caelestes perduceret sedes. CARITAS ergo PERFECTA Domin*us* et Deus noster Christus ascendit in caelis, caritatis pluviam suis fidelibus largiturus, sanctum scilicet Spiritum missurus, qui flammeo imbre descendens pectoribus sanctis munera virtutum infundat, carismatum dona distribuat.

Et consideremus quia quadraginta diebus [*fol.* 52*b*] completis Dominus ascendit in caelis. quadraginta diebus ieiunium celebravit, quadraginta diebus cum *epu*lantibus discipulis fuit, frequenter EIS APPARENS ET DOCENS DE REGNO DEI. quadraginta ist*i* dies vel quattuor decadas indicare videntur, id est quattuor aevangeliorum sacrata mysteria, quibus credentium populus de terrenis ad caelestia perveniret et sequerentur caput suum Christum.

Adtende adhuc et illud. datur primo statim post resurrectionem discipulis Spiritus sanctus, et nunc mittendus e caelis. primo quidem Dominus ait cum INSPIRARET in facie discipulis, ACCIPITE inquid SPIRITUM SANCTUM, SI CUI REMISERITIS PECCATA REMITTENTUR ILLI, SI CUIUS TENUERITIS TENEBUNTUR: et in pentecoste iterum mittit Spiritum sanctum: duo data diversis vicibus, sed UNUS SPIRITUS. haec duo data, ut arbitror, ideo Dominus ordinavit, ut permaneant in nobis illa mandata, dilectio Dei et proximi; quod inplere in nobis poterit Spiritus sanctus, [*fol.* 53*a*] quem Christus Dominus ad haec in nobis firmanda de caelestibus destinavit, ut sic spiritaliter proficiamus et per infinitam *eius bonitatem adsequi mereamur* vitam aeternam, semper Deo patri per filium eius gratias agentes, CUI EST GLORIA IN SAECULA. AMEN.

VI. A THIRD SERMON FOR ASCENSION DAY

(*without title*)

Adhuc de quadragesima dicendum. ascendens Dominus in caelum primitias obtulit corpus suum pro humano genere, non omne genus humanum sed se unum pro omnibus; sicuti de campo toto non omnis

51. dn̄s *cod**: dn̄o *cod*^{2} 58. epulantibus *scripsi* (*cf.* Act. i 4 συναλισκόμενος) *quod indiciis scripturae codicis bene videtur respondere* 59. isti *scripsi*: istos *cod* 65. faciae *cod*

46. Cf. Jn. xiv 2, 3 48. Ps. lxxii (lxxiii) 28 50. Eph. v 25 51. 1 Jn. v 18 58. Act. i 3, 4 65. Jn. xx 22, 23 68. Eph. iv 4

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messis sed pars aliqua inde primo offertur, ita et Christus primitias corporis sui pro omni humano obtulit genere.

Condisce et in isto die gaudium caelestium potestatum, quando Dominus noster Iesus Christus [*fol.* 53 *b*] secundum carnem natus est, cum reconciliatorem viderent; nec enim *alias* descenderent cum summa gratulatione in terra. clamabant GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO ET IN TERRA PAX HOMINIBUS BONAE VOLUMTATIS; ut discas quod ideo GLORIA DEO quia terra ea quae bona sunt recepisse laetatur, declarant et causam dicentes IN TERRA PAX HOMINIBUS BONAE VOLUNTATIS, hominibus qui debellati inimici fuerunt, qui alienati erant, qui contumaces iudicati sunt. vides quemadmodum in alienis gratulantur—inmo in suis, nam nostra bona suas utilitates arbitrantur. ideo et DESCENDEBANT ET ASCENDEBANT ad Dominum festino ardore amoris, novum et incredibile spectaculum videre cupientes: ideo et quando nascebatur Dominus noster et quando resurgebat exultabant angeli.

Et hodie etiam [*fol.* 54 *a*] quando ascendit ad caelum ECCE *VIRI* DUO IN ALBA VESTE (ut ex ipsis indumentis gratulatio monstraretur) dixerunt ad discipulos VIRI GALILEI, ISTE IESUS QUI ASCENDIT A VOBIS IN CAELUM SIC VENIET QUEMADMODUM VIDISTIS EUM EUNTEM IN CAELUM. hic auditum mihi cum omni diligentia adconmodate. *c*ur haec dicta sunt? numquid oculos discipuli non habebant? numquid non videbant quod gerebatur? numquid non dixit aevangelista quia VIDENTIBUS EIS ascendit ad caelum? *c*ur igitur angeli eis dicebant quod factum est? quid eis monstrabant quod ascendit ad caelum? propter has scilicet duas causas: unam, quia dolebant Iesu discessione desolati, et quia dolebant audi quid ad eos loquitur; NEMO ME INTERROGAT VBI VADIS, SED QUIA ISTA DIXI TRISTITIA REPLEVIT COR VESTRUM. et si amicorum seu cognatorum separatione tristamur, quanto magis salvatorem, magistrum, Dominum, misericordem, mansuaetum cum a se viderent [*fol.* 54 *b*] separari, non omnino cum dolore tristarentur? ideo stabant angeli et ascensionis tristitiam regressionis conmemoratione consolabantur et separationis dolorem adventus futuri pollicitatione sedabant. nam ad*d*unt ISTE IESUS QUI ASCENDIT A VOBIS SIC VENIET. 'doluistis' inquid 'quia ascendit, sed dolere desinite, nam iterum veniet. et ne hoc faciant quod Heliseus fecisse edocetur conscindens vestimentum cum magistrum suum vidisset elevatum ad caelum, non enim habuit presentem angelum qui ei Heliam promitteret advenire

VI. 6. diae *cod* 10. bone *cod* 10–12. ut discas . . . voluntatis : *bis scriptum in codice* 23, 26. quur *cod* 28. Iesu (ihū) *scripsi*: Iesum (ihm̄) *cod* dicessione *primis curis cod* 34. stabant *cod*, *cf. l.* 41 *inf.*: *forte legendum* adstabant 36. addunt : adiunt *cod*, *cf.* V. 19 *supra*; *nisi malis* aiunt 37. dolore *manu recenti*

VI. 9. **Lk.** ii 14 15. Jn. i 51 19. Act. i 10, 11 26. Act. i 9 29. Jn. xvi 5, 6 38. 4 Kings ii 12

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—ne igitur isti hoc faciant, ideo angeli stabant animi eorum tristitiam solacio relevantes.

Et haec quidem una causa est praesentiae angelorum. est et alia causa non minoris rationis: nam addiderunt quia ascendit ad caelum. et quia longum spatium de terra tendebatur ad caelum, et oculorum acies portatum corpus ad illam altitudinem minime poterat [*fol.* 55 *a*] pervidere, sed sicut avem cum altiora postulat deficit aspectus inspicere et noster oculus volatu vincitur celsiore, sic et illud corpus, quanto ferebatur ad summa, tanto oculis videntium aspectus in*b*ecillitate celabatur, deficiente natura altiora conspicere, ideo stabant angeli iter caeleste monstrantes, ne quis arbitraretur quia tamquam in caelum ascendit sicut Helias, sed in caelum ascendit qui ELEVATUS EST A VOBIS AD CAELUM.

VII. SERMON FOR WHITSUNDAY

In pentecoste

Hodie donante Domino huius felicissimi diei solemnia celebramus. hic conpletur quinta festivitas; et ut per ordinem festivitatum ipsarum insignia numeremus, est nativitatis dominicae prima sollemnitas, quando Verbum Dei carne vestitum PROCESSIT IN HUNC MUNDUM, et Deus homo humano generi iunctus INTER HOMINES CONVERSATUS EST. secunda sollemnitas sanctae Epifaniae, quando, ut a patribus accepimus, [*fol.* 55 *b*] Dominus Christus a servo suo baptidiatur Iohanne *ut nobis* omnibus per semet ips*um* bapti*smo obtempera*ndum ostenderet *et* necessarium demonstrare. tertiaque et magna *celebra*tur solemnitas passionis et resurrectionis eiusdem Domini Salvatoris: hoc sanctum Pasca nominatur. quarta sollemnitas ascensionis eius in caelis, quando cum carne ipsa qua resurrexit aeternas et caelestes sedes intravit. quinta huius presentis diei, ut dixi, est pentecostes consecrata sollemnitas, in qua Dominus amplissimum suae promissionis munus caelesti dignatione concessit.

Desiderium enim suum hodie fidelis turba suscepit. sic enim antea dixerat Dominus discentibus suis VOS AUTEM SEDETE IN CIVITATEM Hierusalem QUOADUSQUE INDUAMINI VIRTUTE AB ALTO. EXPECTANS EXPECTAVIT DOMINUM turba sanctorum, et respectu divinae clementiae

47. aspectus *scripsi*: aspectu *ut vid cod* 48. caelsiore *cod* 49. invecillitatem *cod* 52. sed *cod*: *legendum fortasse* sic
VII. 19. expectavit *cod*^{2}: expecuit *cod**

52. Act. i 11
VII. 4. Jn. xvi 28 5. Bar. iii 38 17. Lk. xxiv 49 18. Ps. xxxix (xl) 1

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diffusum mentibus Spiritum sanctum salubri animae *h*austu potavit. [*fol.* 56 *a*] discipulis Dominus tutorem et idoneum advocatum hodie de*dit qui ill*os omni diligentia custodiret *a malo et* doceret ut CARITATEM *Dei per ipsum di*LATAM SUIS MENTIBUS conservarent et preceptorum eius semper meminissent adque regni caelestis *aeternum* premium sustinerent, et *ipse sicut* quidam precipuus animarum colonus agrum pectoris eorum excoleret ne aliquid in eis incultum aut asperum videretur, ne aut SPINIS saecularium vitiorum *h*orrescerent aut PETROSA stultitiae congerie desertarent aut qualibet neglegentiae solitudine laborarent: ideo Dominus eis Spiritum sanctum, ut diximus, destinavit, qui in eis et spinas exureret, et terram mentis eorum caelesti fecunditate incenderet adque ditaret, et totum circa eos bene ornateque disponeret.

Ergo diffusa est in eis flamma Spiritus sancti, ut tam vitali et salubri incendio salv*a*rentur ceterosque salv*a*rent. nam ut per ignis huius terreni similitudinem consideremus [*fol.* 56 *b*] quantum prosit ignis iste caelestis, dixit quidam non incongrue sed necessarie, quia saepius

> steriles incendere profuit agros
> adque levem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis,
> sive inde occultas vires et pabula terrae
> pinguia concipiunt, sive illis omne per ignem
> excoquitur vitium adque ex*u*dat inutilis humor,
> seu plures calor ille vias et ceca relaxat
> spiramenta novas veniat qua sucus in herbas,
> seu durat magis et venas adstringit hiant*e*s.

Si hoc ad utilitatem multam operatur ignis iste terrenus adque corporeus, multo magis ignis ille caelestis, id est Spiritus sanctus, adveniens in apostolis totum vitium ab eis VETUSTI HOMINIS abolevit, novumque in eis sensum fecundi germinis adimplevit, ita ut fructus uberrimos felici partu producerent. FRUCTUS inquid apostolus SPIRITUS EST CARITAS GAUDIUM PAX et cetera: isti sunt fructus quos producit Spiritus sanctus ex terra fideli pectoris nostri, [*fol.* 57 *a*] istis fructibus semper exuberat aeclesia Dei in sanctis apostolis, in beatis martyribus, in omnibus fidelibus cristianis.

Ergo ista est, ut diximus, quinta sollemnitas, in qua datur vel mittitur Spiritus sanctus, sicut scribtum est, SPIRITU SANCTO MISSO DE CAELIS, IN QUO CONCUPISCUNT ANGELI PROSPICERE. et vide qualis quantusque

20. animae *ut vid cod*^{1}: animam *ut vid cod*^{2} austu *cod* 27. orrescerent *cod* 28. congeriae *cod* 33. salbarentur . . . salbarent *cod* 40. exudat : excidat *fortasse cod* inhutilis *cod* 43. hiantis *cod* 46. abholevit *cod*

22. Rom. v 5 27. Mt. xiii 5, 7 37. Verg. *Georgica* i 84 sqq. 46. Eph. iv 22 &c. 48. Gal. v 22 54. 1 Pet. i 12

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sit Spiritus sanctus, cuius splendoris magnitudine delectantur omnes caelestes virtutes, cuius intuitu angeli gloriantur.

Istius adventum iam tunc in quinquagesimo psalmo propter et quinquagesimum diem precabatur sanctus David propheta dicens REDDE MIHI LAETITIAM SALUTARIS TUI ET SPIRITU PRINCIPALI CONFIRMA ME. quinquagenarius numerus indulgentiae tenet sacramentum. nam et quinquagesimus annus est qui iobeleus dicitur apud Hebreos, in quo et possessionum et servitutis et debiti fit remissio; et Dominus in aevangelio, cum parabolam remissionis doceret et indulgentiae, DEBITORES [*fol.* 57 *b*] in QUINQUAGINTA et QUINGENTIS posuit; nam et Abrahām, cum de ind*ulg*en*tia* Sodomorum ad Dominum loqueretur, sciens *hui*us numeri sacramentum, a quinquaginta interr*ogar*e exorsus est dicens DOMINE, SI FUERINT QUINQUAGINTA IN CIVITATE, NON SALVABIS PROPTER QUINQUAGINTA CIVITATEM?

Ergo iste dies beatus et ad indulgentiam designatus est, ad caeleste munus concessus, in quo mittitur Spiritus sanctus ut Trinitatis ordo noscatur: primo mittitur a patre filius, a filio nunc mittitur Spiritus sanctus, et TERTIA ORA venit ut vere sese tertium et tertiam gerentem personam et tertiam habentem substantiam demonstraret. exultemus igitur et laetemur, fratres, in Domino Deo nostro, et ipsi solo ingenito per unigenitum gratias agamus adorantes in Spiritu sancto inluminatore et sanctificatore nostro per omnia saecula saeculorum. amen.

74. et tertiam habentem substantiam : *delet cod*^{2} 75. solo : *sic cod*

A. SPAGNOLO.
C. H. TURNER.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE SONG OF HANNAH AND OTHER LESSONS AND PSALMS FOR THE JEWISH NEW YEAR'S DAY.

I PROPOSE in this paper to put together some notes on the passages of Scripture which, in the primitive Jewish services, were (or seem to have been) associated, whether as lessons or as Psalms, with the New Year festival, in Jewish terminology *Rosh Hashanah*, or the Feast of Trumpets, which was observed on the first day of the sacred autumnal month of Tisri, the opening of the civil year.[1] I shall, in the first place, attempt to reconstruct the history of the evolution of the first and second lessons for that day, appointed to be read respectively from the Law and the Prophets. I shall then append some notes on the Psalms which tradition assigns to the same day, indicating points of connexion with the lessons. I shall conclude by considering some other Psalms which, though not definitely allocated to *Rosh Hashanah*, may from their contents and position be conjectured to have been at one time associated with it. In this connexion I shall shew reason for believing that the Psalter was arranged for a triennial cycle. In research of this kind much must remain obscure, but there is sufficient evidence to justify the general conclusion that Lessons and Psalms for any particular festival reacted on each other, and that the text of both was liable to be affected by the ritual for the day. The Scriptures began to be used for worship before their text was finally fixed, and passages selected for special occasions cannot be fully interpreted without regard to their setting in the order of the services. In this way, I venture to think, we may account for the divergent forms in which the Song of Hannah has been transmitted.

Our oldest authority for the lessons appointed for *Rosh Hashanah*, as for other festivals in the Jewish calendar, is the tractate *Megillah* in the Babylonian Talmud. The Mishna in that treatise mentions only the lessons from the Law, and not more than one for each feast. These are in general taken from Lev. xxiii, which consists of a catalogue of

[1] I am not primarily concerned here with the ecclesiastical or spring New Year (1 Nisan), though some traditions came to be transferred from 1 Tisri to 1 Nisan.

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feasts with directions as to ritual. From that chapter all the primitive lessons were apparently taken.[1] For our feast the Mishna prescribes :—

'On *Rosh Hashanah* "In the seventh month on the first day of the month"' (i. e. Lev. xxiii 24).[2]

The Gemara gives us fuller information, naming three first or Torah lessons, and two second or prophetical lessons (*Haphtaroth*).[3]

'On *Rosh Hashanah* [the Torah lesson is] "In the seventh month"[4] and the Haphtarah "Is Ephraim my dear son?"[5]; and according to others "And the Lord visited Sarah"[6] and the Haphtarah is in "Hannah".[7] And now, when there are two days [for the feast], we adopt on the first day the latter alternative, and on the second we read "And God did prove Abraham"[8] and for Haphtarah "Is he a dear son?"'[9]

New Year Lessons from the Torah.

(1) The *primitive special lesson* for *Rosh Hashanah* was then Lev. xxiii 24 f, which runs :—

'In the seventh month, in the first day of the month, shall be a solemn rest unto you, a memorial of blowing-of-trumpets, an holy convocation.[9] Ye shall do no servile work; and ye shall offer an offering made by fire unto the LORD.'

The distinctive feature of the festival as here described is the blowing of trumpets (or rather rams' horns), which is to serve as a 'memorial' or 'reminder'. The trumpet-blowing on this and other occasions was, according to the explanation in Num. x 9 f (P), intended to arouse the attention of God, to keep Him in remembrance of Israel.[10] It may be

[1] See Dr Büchler's articles in the *J.Q.R.* v 420, vi 1, with an article by the present writer, 'Primitive Lectionary Notes in the Psalm of Habakkuk', in *J.T.S.* xii 191.

[2] בראש השנה 'בחדש השביעי באחד לחדש'.

[3] בראש השנה 'בחדש השביעי' ומפטירין 'הבן יקיר לי אפרים' ויש אומרים 'ויהוה פקד את שרה' ומפטירין בחנה והאירנא דאיכה תרי יומי יומא קמא כיש אומרים למחר 'והאלהים נסה את אברהם' ומפטירין 'הבן יקיר'.

[4] Lev. xxiii 24.

[5] Jer. xxxi 19 (E.V. 20; LXX xxxviii 20).

[6] Gen. xxi 1.

[7] Some portion of 1 Sam. i or ii, not necessarily Hannah's Song.

[8] Gen. xxii 1.

[9] שַׁבָּתוֹן זִכְרוֹן תְּרוּעָה מִקְרָא־קֹדֶשׁ׃

LXX *ἀνάπαυσις, μνημόσυνον σαλπίγγων, κλητὴ ἁγία.* Cf. Num. xxix 1, where the word 'blowing-of-trumpets' is rendered in the LXX by *σημασία* 'signalling'.

[10] See Dr G. B. Gray's note *in loc.* (*Int. Crit. Comm.*).

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idle to attempt to go behind this explanation, but trumpet-blowing was specially associated with the beginnings of the months (*ibid.*), that of the seventh month in particular, and it is tempting to enquire whether it may not originally have been the signal (σημασία Num. xxix 1, LXX) by which the first appearance of the new moon was proclaimed throughout the country.[1] The 'reminder', again, might be regarded as a reminder to the individual of the near approach of the Day of Atonement which followed ten days later, the trumpet-blast being a solemn advent call to repentance, bidding the Israelite put his house in order before the day of assize on which he must finally make his peace with God. Some such explanation is in fact given by modern Jews, but it seems clearly to be of secondary origin.[2] The earlier conception was that the trumpet-call penetrated the ears of Jahweh; 'ye shall be remembered before the LORD your God'. Other New Year lessons will shew how this idea of 'remembrance' was developed in the case of particular individuals. God's answering trumpet-note to His people's call was heard in the thunder.

These two primitive ideas of New Year's Day as a Feast of Trumpets and a day of remembrance, together with a third, also ancient, namely that it is a day of celebration of God as King of the Universe, figure prominently in the modern synagogue service for the day. 'The special Benedictions . . . constitute three paragraphs known as *kingdoms* (*Malkiyyôth*), *remembrances* (*Zikrōnôth*), and *horn-blowings* (*Shôfarôth*), after each of which the *Shôfār* is blown. *Kingdoms* is so called because it contains verses of Scriptural passages in which God is recognized as King. . . . *Remembrances* is similarly made up of verses in which God is shown to be mindful of mankind, and especially of Israel. . . . *Shôfārôth* is made up of verses in which the *Shôfār* is named literally, or metaphorically, in passages where, as it were, God sounds, in thunder-notes, a call to Israel or mankind.'[3]

(2) *Two alternative lessons from Genesis.*

The primitive festival lessons taken from Lev. xxiii were before long superseded or supplemented by others, when the practice was introduced of continuous sabbatical readings from the Torah. The Law was now recited, not merely on the festivals, but on every sabbath. It was, moreover, broken up into prescribed portions of such length as would

[1] Fire-signals were employed for this purpose right down into our era.

[2] 'The festival has been spiritualized into a solemn day of self-introspection, and the *shōphār* is regarded as a signal, calling to inner and outward repentance.' I. Abrahams, s.v. 'Trumpet', Hastings's *D.B.* iv 815 b.

[3] Oesterley and Box *Religion and Worship of Synagogue* (ed. 2) 417.

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permit of its being read through in its entirety in about three years. For the reconstruction of the Triennial Cycle, as in use in and before the time of Christ, I need only refer to the classical articles of Dr Büchler in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*[1] and to the diagram in the article 'Triennial Cycle' by Mr Jacobs in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*. Suffice it to say that Dr Büchler has demonstrated that the starting-point of the Cycle was the first of Nisan, and that the general scheme has been in large measure restored, though some details in the proposed arrangement remain uncertain. The diagram of Mr Jacobs differs in some particulars from Dr Büchler's scheme and, being unfortunately unsupported by a full statement of the authorities on which it is based, has to be used with caution.

In the Cycle arrangement the festivals, like ordinary sabbaths, appear to have had lessons allotted to them according to their place in the calendar. The lesson was not selected as containing ideas appropriate to the festival, but in accordance with the more or less haphazard divisions into which the whole Law was parcelled out. By a natural process, however, the dominant ideas of the lesson which chance had selected came to be regarded as having a special fitness for the particular occasion. The Triennial Cycle enriched the festivals with new associations.

Tradition indicates as the Genesis lesson for New Year's Day two alternative passages with a common subject, viz. the birth of a child to a woman long sterile and jealous of the offspring of a rival, her husband's second wife. We will place first that which appears to be chronologically the older of the two, though the less widely supported by tradition.

(i) *The birth of Joseph* (Gen. xxx 22 ff).

There is reason for thinking that the original cycle lesson from Genesis for New Year's Day was taken from the passage (xxx 22 ff) which describes the birth of Joseph and begins with the words

'And God remembered Rachel'.

Dr Büchler and Mr Jacobs are agreed that that passage would be reached on the first sabbath of Tisri in the first year of a triennial cycle of which the starting-point was the first sabbath of Nisan; and their opinion is corroborated by the Talmudic statement that Rachel was remembered on New Year's Day.[2] Further evidence for believing that the birth of Joseph was the original Genesis lesson will be adduced when we come to consider the Prophetical lessons and Psalms for *Rosh Hashanah*. The 'remembrance' of Rachel here recorded linked on to and gave

[1] Vols. v 420-468, vi 1-73. Cf. *J.T.S.* xii 193 f.

[2] *T.B. Rosh. Hash.* 10 b cited in *J.Q.R.* v 443.

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a new connotation to the already existing conception of New Year's Day as 'a day of memorial'; the birth of a first-born son, on the other hand, was a new importation into the group of ideas associated with the festival.

(ii) *The birth of Isaac* (Gen. xxi).

This lesson appears, however, to have been before long displaced by another with a kindred topic, since Genesis xxi, which describes the birth of Isaac and begins with the words

'And the LORD visited Sarah',

has widespread ancient authority as the New Year reading, being named along with the primitive lesson from Leviticus.[1] Moreover, the Babylonian Jews, when the feast was extended to a second day, read on that day the following chapter (Gen. xxii) relating to the offering of Isaac, and in modern times the 'binding of Isaac on the altar plays in the liturgy of the synagogue for the New Year a rôle in some, though not in the most characteristic, aspects not unlike that of the Crucifixion in the theology and liturgy of the Christian Church'.[2] The substitution for the story of the birth of Joseph of that of the birth of Isaac as the proper lesson was doubtless, as Dr Büchler suggests, due to analogy. 'When once it was assumed that one of the matriarchs was remembered on this day by God in respect to the blessing of children, the idea broadened to include Rebecca and Sarah as well.'[3] It is possible that the birth of Joseph was still retained for use on the first *sabbath* in the New Year, while the kindred story of the son of the greater patriarch, the father of the race, was appropriated to New Year's Day itself.[4]

New Year Prophetical Lessons (*Haphtaroth*).

Whatever may be the precise explanation of the divergence of practice as regards the Genesis lesson, the association of New Year's Day with the birth of 'a son of many tears' was now firmly fixed. There would also be linked with either of the Genesis lessons the further thought of the arrogance of a rival mother. Henceforth there were two new mottoes for the New Year, 'Unto us a son is born' and 'Don't boast'.

[1] Besides the passage in *T.B. Meg.* 31 a cited above, Dr Büchler quotes the Jerusalem Talmud and both Pesiktas, *J.Q.R.* v 430.

[2] I. Abrahams, art. 'Trumpet', Hastings's *D.B.* iv 816 a.

[3] *J.Q.R.* v 443. But is there any evidence for connecting *Rebekah* and her children with *Rosh Hashanah*?

[4] When Gen. xxii came to be read on the 2nd Tisri a link of association with the Feast of Trumpets (or rams' horns) was found in ver. 13, 'a ram caught in the thicket by his horns': art. 'Trumpet', Hastings's *D.B.* iv 815 b.

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The Prophetical books, unlike the Torah, were not read through in their entirety in the Jewish services, but only in selections. Analogy with some dominant thought in the Torah lesson for the day was the general principle on which the selection was made. For New Year's Day the birth of a child was the obvious *motif* for which illustration had to be found. Here again, as in the Torah lessons from Genesis, we find mention of two alternatives.

(i) '*The dear son Ephraim*' (Jer. xxxi 20).

The older of the two was undoubtedly Jer. xxxi 20 with perhaps a verse or two more:—

> 'Is Ephraim my dear son? is he a pleasant child? for as often as I speak against him, I do earnestly remember him still: therefore my bowels sound for him; I will surely have mercy upon him, saith the LORD.'

This is the first *Haphtarah* named, along with the primitive Leviticus lesson, in our main authority cited at the beginning of this paper; 'Hannah' appears there only in a secondary position as the lesson adopted by 'others'. We note that this short reading from Jeremiah was obviously selected as a pendant to the narrative of the birth of Joseph, not to that of the birth of Isaac. Ephraim is Joseph's son, and the selected verse occurs in the same context with the mention of Rachel weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted (Jer. xxxi 15). Moreover, the words 'I do earnestly remember him'[1] befit the New Year as 'a day of remembrance' and recall the opening of the Torah lesson 'And God remembered Rachel'.

(ii) *The birth of Samuel* (1 Sam. i, ii).

But the earlier prophetical books offered a closer analogy to the account of the birth of Joseph, and an alternative to the Jeremiah lesson must very soon have been found in the opening chapter or chapters of the first book of Samuel. The story of the rivalry of Leah and Rachel repeats itself in the narrative of Peninnah and Hannah. Rachel 'envied' Leah and 'wrestled' with her sister 'with wrestlings of God'.[2] Peninnah, Hannah's rival, 'provoked her sore for to make her fret'.[3] In both instances the sterile wife was the best beloved of her husband and at the last presented him with a son. And so the birth of the patriarch now found its proper counterpart in the New Year service in the birth of the first of the Prophets. As regards the particular portion of Scripture originally selected, our oldest authorities

[1] זָכֹר אֶזְכְּרֶנּוּ. [2] Gen. xxx 1, 8. [3] 1 Sam. i 6.

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merely tell us vaguely that the lesson was 'in [the section about] Hannah'.[1] Ultimately the song of Hannah (1 Sam. ii 1–10) became or was included in the stereotyped lesson; but at the first it seems to have consisted of the prose narrative of the birth. The exact extent of what was doubtless the original lesson may be inferred from an eighth-century Oxford MS, containing a list of sabbath lessons from the first half of the Pentateuch with the corresponding prophetical readings.[2] That MS informs us that the passage which was read as the sequel to Gen. xxx 22 ('And God remembered Rachel') extended from 1 Sam. i 11 to verse 22, beginning:—

> 'And she vowed a vow, and said, O LORD of hosts, if thou wilt indeed look on the affliction of thine handmaid, and remember me, and not forget thine handmaid', &c.

Our R.V. quite obscures the fact that this passage actually contains a statement that Samuel was born at the New Year. 'And it came to pass', we read in *v.* 20, '*when the time was come about*, that Hannah conceived and bare a son.' But the phrase לִתְקֻפוֹת הַיָּמִים means (to quote Dr Driver[3]) '*at the comings round of the days*, i. e. . . . at the coming round of the new year when the Feast of Ingathering was held, which is no doubt the occasion of the pilgrimage alluded to in *v.* 21'.

The idea of 'remembrance', which was from the first associated with the New Year, is, it will be observed, common to the older Genesis lesson and to both the alternative second lessons from Jeremiah and Samuel.

The Song of Hannah.

The song or 'prayer' of Hannah (1 Sam. ii 1–10) provokes enquiry. Several considerations indicate that it formed no part of the original narrative, but that it is a late interpolation which has been, erroneously, it seems, put into the mouth of Hannah. (1) It has often been observed that the clause which in the Massoretic text precedes the Song (i 28 'And he worshipped the LORD there') probably corresponds to the words which in the LXX stand at its close (ii 11 καὶ κατέλιπεν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐνώπιον Κυρίου). If these are merely variant readings 'it will follow that Hannah's Song is inserted in MT and LXX in a different place',[3] and we may add with Dr Swete that 'it seems to be a reasonable inference that it was not in the original draft of the book'.[4] (2) The

[1] בחנה.

[2] *J.Q.R.* vi 38 ff. The Haphtarah to Gen. xxi ('And the LORD visited Sarah'), read two months earlier, was 1 Sam. ii 21–28 ('And the LORD visited Hannah').

[3] Driver, *Notes on Heb. text of Samuel, in loc.*

[4] *Introd. to O.T. in Greek* 245.

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wide divergence in the latter part of the Song between the text of the LXX and that of the MT points in the same direction. Interpolations notoriously take various forms. (3) Lastly, as all commentators remark, the Song is in general singularly inappropriate to the occasion. It resembles a paean of a victorious warrior rather than a mother's jubilation over her first-born son. One half-verse alone (5 b) is not wholly irrelevant to the circumstances: 'Yea, the barren hath borne seven, and she that hath many children languisheth.' This half-verse, which in its context is merely one of several instances of reversal of fortune, seems to be largely responsible for the ascription of the Song to Hannah.[1]

What, then, was the original history of the Song, and how did it find its way into its present position? The explanation which I venture to suggest is that an ancient Psalm commemorating some signal victory in battle has been worked over and transformed into a lesson or canticle for New Year's Day. The Song naturally falls into two parts (1–8 b, 8 c–10), the break coming at the point where the wide discrepancy between the Greek and Hebrew texts begins. I suggest that the ancient Psalm of victory forms the basis of Part I (1–8 b); this has been but slightly adapted for liturgical purposes. Part II (8 c–10), on the other hand, is mainly liturgical amplification, which has taken different forms in the two texts. A line or more of the ancient poem possibly underlies this portion also; but the editors have used far greater liberties in these verses.

That the groundwork of the Song was a paean of victory is suggested by the resemblances which it presents to another Psalm which has also been incorporated in, and at the other end of, the originally undivided book of Samuel. I refer to the 'song' of David which he 'spake unto the LORD in the day that the LORD delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies and out of the hand of Saul' (2 Sam. xxii = Ps. xviii). The main parallels are as follows:—[2]

1 Sam. ii.	2 Sam. xxii.
1 Mine *horn* is exalted in the LORD . . . I rejoice in thy *salvation.*	3 The *horn of my salvation.*
2 There is none holy as the LORD; For there is none beside thee; Neither is there any *rock* like our God.	2 The LORD is my *rock* 32 For who is God, save the LORD? And who is a *rock* save our God?

[1] But see on *v.* 10 b below.

[2] I quote the R.V., neglecting the LXX variants.

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1 Sam. ii.	2 Sam. xxii.
7 He bringeth low (ταπεινοῖ), he also lifteth up.	28 And the afflicted (πτωχόν) people thou wilt save:
8 He raiseth up the poor out of the dust,	But thine eyes are upon the haughty, that thou mayest bring them down (ταπεινώσεις).
He lifteth up the needy (πτωχόν) from the dunghill.	
10 Against them shall he *thunder in heaven.*	14 The LORD *thundered from heaven*, and the Most High uttered his voice.
10 He shall give strength unto *his king*,	51 Great deliverance giveth he to *his king*,
And exalt the horn of *his anointed.*	And sheweth lovingkindness to *his anointed.*

It is, of course, impossible to reconstruct the earlier history of 'Hannah's Song', and it may be idle to speculate what particular victory it was originally designed to commemorate; yet I will hazard a further suggestion. Verse 10 contains a sentence which is common to the two texts and therefore probably stood in the original poem:—

R.V.	LXX.
Against them (עליו) shall he thunder in heaven.	Κύριος ἀνέβη (עלה) εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ἐβρόντησεν.

The metaphor, as we have just seen, is not peculiar to this Psalm; yet there is one incident in the life of Samuel to which the words would appear specially appropriate. I refer to the decisive victory near Mizpah which the Israelites, after long subjection, obtained over the Philistines, and which Samuel signalized by setting up the stone Eben-ezer (1 Sam. vii 5 ff).[1] On that occasion we read (9 f) that

> 'Samuel cried unto the LORD for Israel; and the LORD answered him. And as Samuel was offering up the burnt offering, the Philistines drew near to battle against Israel: but the LORD thundered with a great[2] thunder on that day upon the Philistines, and discomfited them; and they were smitten down before Israel.'

It is conceivable that the paean of victory which underlies Hannah's Song was originally referred to this occasion and bore as title simply the word שמואל or לשמואל. Like the 'prayer of Habakkuk', the 'prayer' entitled 'Samuel' was not incorporated in the final Psalter,

[1] See Prof. Macalister's *The Philistines*, Schweich Lectures for 1911, 48 f, in defence of the credibility of the narrative.

[2] Heb. *voice.*

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but escaped oblivion and was made available for use as a *Haphtarah* by being attached to one of the prophetical books. The title, however, was not explicit, and the Psalm was inserted not in the seventh chapter of 1 Samuel but in the second. It was assumed to refer not to the victory gained through the prophet's intercession, but to his birth, and put into the mouth of his mother. Two features seemed to make it appropriate to her, the contrast in *v.* 5 b between the barren mother and the prolific, and the denunciation of arrogance in *v.* 3, such as was displayed by Peninnah and in similar circumstances by Hagar and Leah.[1]

Reconstruction of this sort must necessarily be conjectural. But, whatever the exact details of the early history may have been, I think there can be little doubt that (1) the Song is an interpolation in its present context, (2) in its final form it has undergone, especially in the last verses, modification to adapt it for liturgical use on New Year's Day. Parallels for this procedure are not lacking. As the *Haphtarah* for *Rosh Hashanah* was, according to our oldest authority, 'in Hannah', so that for Pentecost was 'in Habakkuk', and we know that that meant, or came to mean, the 'prayer' or song of Habakkuk (Hab. iii). The title and colophon to that 'prayer' suggest that it has been transferred to the prophetical book from a collection of poems. The closing verses with reference to harvest seem to have been appended to adapt the prayer for use at Pentecost.[2] The *Haphtarah* for the Day of Atonement was 'in Jonah', and, though in the modern synagogue the whole book is read, the original lesson was probably confined to the 'prayer' of Jonah (ii 2–9), which is recognized to be a later interpolation. These instances indicate a preference for a poetical *Haphtarah*[3] for the great Festivals.

I will now proceed to examine the latter part of the Song of Hannah, setting out the two texts in parallel columns. The texts shew little divergence until after the first portion of *v.* 8, which runs in the R. V. :—

> He raiseth up the poor out of the dust,
> He lifteth up the needy from the dunghill,
> To make them sit with princes,[4]
> And inherit the throne of glory.

[1] A slight indication of the influence of 1 Sam. vii as well as 1 Sam. ii on a 'New Year' Psalm (xcix) will be noticed below.

[2] See *J. T. S.* xii 209. But see, on the other hand, Prof. Burkitt's article, *ibid.* xvi 62 ff. I have read that article with great interest, but cannot bring myself to believe that the practice of reading a Prophetical lesson goes so far back as the days of Josiah.

[3] Or should we say Canticle?

[4] +λαῶν LXX *ex* Ps. cxiii (cxii) 8.

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Then the texts bifurcate:—

R.V.	LXX.
8 c For the pillars of the earth are the LORD'S, And he hath set the world upon them.	διδοὺς εὐχὴν τῷ εὐχομένῳ, καὶ εὐλόγησεν ἔτη δικαίου.
9 a He will keep the feet of his holy ones, But the wicked shall be put to silence in darkness;	
b For by strength shall no man prevail.	ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ἰσχύι δυνατὸς ἀνήρ·
10 a They that strive with the LORD shall be broken to pieces;	Κύριος ἀσθενῆ ποιήσει ἀντίδικον αὐτοῦ.
b	Κύριος ἅγιος. μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ φρόνιμος ἐν τῇ φρονήσει αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ δυνατὸς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω ὁ καυχώμενος, συνίειν καὶ γινώσκειν τὸν κύριον, καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς.
c Against them (עלו; Qri עליו) shall he thunder in heaven: The LORD shall judge the ends of the earth;	Κύριος ἀνέβη (= עלה) εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ἐβρόντησεν· αὐτὸς κρινεῖ ἄκρα γῆς.[1]
d And he shall give strength unto his king, And exalt the horn of his anointed.	καὶ δίδωσιν ἰσχὺν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑψώσει κέρας χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

8 c (Hebrew) *The pillars of the earth.* The word translated 'pillar' מְצוּק occurs here only in the O. T. with the exception of a doubtful

[1] Many MSS and VSS add *δίκαιος ὤν*, representing an original צַדִּיק הוּא or more probably (cf. *v.* 2 LXX) צוּר הוּא 'He is a Rock': a refrain or response similar to *Κύριος ἅγιος* above.

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instance in 1 Sam. xiv 5. From the verb צוּק 'melt', it is interpreted, doubtless correctly, as a molten support. Commentators all take the clause in its literal sense to refer to creation, and cite passages like Job ix 6 where the pillars (עַמּוּדִים) of earth are mentioned. This, again, is probably correct. That primitive conceptions of cosmogony are in the writer's mind seems clear; but the 'New Year' Psalms, to which we must look for illustration, leave open the possibility that *the pillars* here have a metaphorical and, as in St Paul,[1] a *personal* sense. Under 'New Year' Psalms I include, as explained below, not merely those traditionally allocated to *Rosh Hashanah*, but a few others which from the 'New Year' ideas contained in them and their position in the Psalter appear at one time to have been used on or about either the spring or the autumn New Year (1 Nisan or 1 Tisri).

The creation of the world, here probably referred to, is eminently a New Year thought. That the world was created on New Year's day was universally believed, though opinions differed as to whether the spring or the autumn New Year was thus honoured. According to R. Eleazar the creation took place on 1 Tisri, according to R. Joshua on 1 Nisan[2]; R. Joshua's view doubtless implies that on the latter date the Triennial Cycle commenced and Genesis i was read; R. Eleazar's opinion perhaps indicates a variety of lectionary practice. The allusion to creation is therefore natural in a *gloss* appended by an editor adapting the Song for New Year use; it does not fit on very naturally to the preceding verses enumerating various vicissitudes of fortune due to God's *governance* of the world. In the 'New Year' Psalms we note the following parallels[3]:—

lxxv 4 (3) When the earth and all the inhabitants thereof are melted away,
I adjust the pillars of it (עַמּוּדֶיהָ).[4]

xxiv 1 The earth is the LORD's (ליהוה הארץ) . . .
2 For he hath founded it upon the seas
and he maketh it fast upon the streams.

xciii 1 The LORD reigneth . . .
Yea the world is established that it cannot be moved.

On the other hand, the *form* of the clause in Hannah's Song

For the pillars of the earth are the LORD'S
כי ליהוה מצקי ארץ

[1] Gal. ii 9. [2] T.B. *Rosh Hash.* 10b, 11a.

[3] I have availed myself of the late Dr Driver's version in *The Parallel Psalter* (ed. 2, 1904).

[4] Dr Briggs regards the second line as a gloss. The Psalm bears obvious marks of the influence of the song of Hannah.

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must be compared with the following passages in the two Psalms allocated by our oldest tradition to the New Year:—

xlvii 10 (9) *For the shields of the earth are God's;*
He is greatly exalted.
כי לאלהים מגני ארץ מאד נעלה
ὅτι τοῦ θεοῦ οἱ κραταιοὶ τῆς γῆς σφόδρα ἐπήρθησαν.

The clause in the Psalm, as in Hannah's Song, is preceded by a mention of 'the nobles' (נדיבים), and in the LXX of the Song the insertion of the word λαῶν produces closer assimilation to the Psalm. In the Psalm the LXX gives a personal interpretation to the word 'shields' (οἱ κραταιοί), and that this interpretation is correct is evident from the parallelism between 'shield' and 'king' in:—

lxxxix 19 (18) *For our shield belongeth unto the* LORD
and our king to the Holy One of Israel.
כי ליהוה מגננו ולקדוש ישראל מלכנו

The thought of God as 'King of the Universe' is prominent in the Jewish New Year ceremonial; with that is linked the idea of Him as protector of the kings of the earth (cp. the conclusion of Hannah's Song).[1] It is therefore conceivable that 'the pillars of the earth' are equivalent to 'the shields of the earth', or indeed that the rendering 'pillars', 'molten (supports)' should rather be replaced by 'molten (shields)'. Such an interpretation suits the context: '... To make them sit with nobles and inherit the throne of glory. For the rulers of earth belong to and are appointed by God.' But it is doubtful whether a Hebrew writer would so magnify the office of earthly sovereigns as to say that 'He hath set the world upon them'.[2] On the whole, therefore, the reference to creation is to be preferred.

8 c (Greek). The LXX has quite a different text. The first line about the answer to prayer or vow may be 'an attempt to accommodate the Song more nearly to Hannah's position' (Driver). The second,

And he blesseth the *years* of the just,

is perhaps influenced by some form of New Year felicitation. We are not told that Samuel's parents were advanced in years.

9 a (Hebrew: no Greek equivalent). With

He will preserve the feet of his godly ones
רגלי [3]חסידיו יִשְׁמֹר

[1] And cp. the postscript at the end of this article.

[2] Yet cf. Ps. xlvii (xlvi) 10 LXX οἱ κραταιοὶ τῆς γῆς σφόδρα ἐπήρθησαν. 'Highly exalted is he', which the LXX here misinterprets, is a liturgical insertion like Κύριος ἅγιος in the LXX of Hannah's song (*v.* 10 *a*).

[3] So Qri; Kt. חסידו.

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we should compare Ps. xcvii 10 (one of a little group of Psalms[1] beginning 'the LORD reigneth' and containing 'New Year' thoughts):—

He preserveth the souls of his godly ones

שֹׁמֵר נַפְשׁוֹת חֲסִידָיו

Rosh Hashanah is a preliminary day of judgement, and the contrast of saints and sinners recalls the thought that all men's actions come up before God on that day. 'According to Jewish tradition, the great books of judgement are opened on the first day of Tisri, and closed ten days afterwards on the day of Atonement.'[2] In the words of the modern service, which are based on the Jerusalem Talmud, 'Thereon also sentence is pronounced upon countries—which of them is destined to the sword and which to peace, which to famine and which to plenty; and each separate creature is visited thereon, and recorded for life or for death'.[3]

9 b and 10 a, which are practically identical in the two texts, may be part of the original poem, and do not call for remark.

In 10 b the LXX has two insertions peculiar to itself. First, the liturgical refrain or response, Κύριος ἅγιος. This, with the two instances in *v.* 2 (οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος ὡς Κύριος . . . οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος πλὴν σοῦ), forms the third *Sanctus* in the Greek text. This *Trisagion* is paralleled by the triple *Sanctus* (Holy is he . . . Holy is he . . . For the LORD our God is holy) in *vv.* 3, 5, and 9 of the 'New Year' Ps. xcix, which has other links with Hannah's Song. Compare in the modern New Year Service: 'Holy art thou, and dreaded is thy name, and there is no God beside thee, as it is written, And the Lord of hosts is exalted in judgment, and the holy God is sanctified in righteousness. Blessed art thou, O Lord, the holy King.'[4]

The LXX then adds two verses on the subject of arrogance and the only proper subject for 'glorying', taken, with variant readings, from Jer. ix 23 f. Here we have the μὴ καυχᾶσθε of 'Hannah' illustrated by a short *Haphtarah* (μὴ καυχάσθω κτλ.) from another prophetical book, just as the main *Haphtarah* was selected on account of the similarity of its topic to that of the Torah lesson. These verses of Jeremiah were, according to the diagram in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* (art. 'Triennial Cycle'), the *Haphtarah* for the *fourth* sabbath in this same month of Tisri in the third year of the cycle. The passage had thus another association with the New Year month, and I cannot help

[1] Or rather the *disiecta membra* of what was once a single Psalm celebrating the advent of the universal king for judgement, afterwards broken up for liturgical purposes into six portions (Briggs).

[2] Oesterley and Box *Religion and Worship of Synagogue* (ed. 2) p. 417.

[3] *Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, transl. Singer (ed. 9) p. 250.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 240.

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thinking that Mr Jacobs may here be slightly in error in his restoration of the cycle system, and that the Jeremiah verses were actually read on the *first* sabbath in Tisri. It is noticeable that the illustration is drawn from the prophetical book which furnished the original *Haphtarah* for the festival (see above). It is curious too that *v.* 5 b ὅτι στεῖρα ἔτεκεν ἑπτά finds a parallel in Jer. xv 9 ἐκενώθη ἡ τίκτουσα ἑπτά,[1] a chapter which opens with a mention of Samuel and Moses as typical intercessors with God. Did the editor of the Song in supplanting the older lesson from Jeremiah make compensation, as it were, for his innovation by inserting in the new *Haphtarah* patches from the prophetical book which supplied the original and now superseded lesson?

10 c, d. In the final stanza the two texts reunite, except for a few variant readings. Here we may have a fragment of the old paean of victory, but it has probably not escaped liturgical modification. All three conceptions contained in it are, as has been shewn, specially associated with the New Year: the thunder which is God's trumpet-note, universal judgement, and the protection and exaltation afforded by the King of Kings to his earthly vicegerents. In particular, the LXX form of the first line should be compared with the New Year Psalm:—

'Hannah' LXX.	Ps. xlvii 6 (5).
Κύριος ἀνέβη (=עלה) εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ἐβρόντησεν.	God is gone up (עלה) with a shout, the LORD with the voice of the horn.

The Psalm represents Yahweh as ascending the hill of Zion and entering the temple in triumphal procession, with singers and musicians, on the Feast of Trumpets (Briggs). Under the influence of this conception an editor has altered the original reference to the defeat of the foe in a thunderstorm:—

Against them (עלו or עליו) *shall he thunder in heaven,*

a defeat of which the prose account is, I venture to think, contained in 1 Sam. vii 10:—

But the LORD *thundered with a great voice on that day upon* (על) *the Philistines.*

Some Greek MSS and Versions append at the end of 10 c an interjectory response analogous to Κύριος ἅγιος above. In 10 d the generalizing plural in the LXX ('our kings', cf. Ps. lxxxix 19 (18) 'our king') also points to liturgical use. It is not necessary to infer from it that this liturgical use goes back to the times of the Monarchy. The 'shields', that is the kings, 'of the (whole) earth are God's' (Ps. xlvii 10),

[1] The Torah lesson should also be compared. Leah was the mother of seven children when Rachel gave birth to Joseph.

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and 'our kings' might conceivably refer to the world-monarchs who befriended Israel.

New Year Psalms.

I have already dealt with some of these incidentally in connexion with the Song of Hannah, and will try to be brief in what remains to be said. I will take first the Psalms assigned by ancient authority to New Year's Day, and secondly those which, though tradition is lacking, appear from internal evidence to have been similarly used.

Traditional New Year Psalms.

The New Year Psalms for which we have direct ancient attestation are :—

xxix 8. The voice of the LORD shaketh the wilderness.[1]
xlvii. O clap your hands, all ye peoples.[2]
lxxxi. Sing aloud unto God our strength.[1]

To these we may add from indirect hints in Rabbinical writings, supported by modern practice,

lxxxix 16 (15)–19 (18). Blessed is the people that know the trumpet-sound.[3]

The use of three of these Psalms (xlvii, lxxxi, lxxxix 16 (15)) is still retained in the modern (Ashkenazic) ritual.[4]

Psalm xxix is assigned to several festivals; it was never *the* New Year Psalm *par excellence* and was only sung at the afternoon service of that feast. From the title which it bears in the LXX (ἐξοδίου σκηνῆς) we learn that it was used on the eighth day of the Feast of Tabernacles some weeks after the New Year. Again, it was assigned to Pentecost.[5]

[1] T.B. *Rosh Hash.* 30 b. Ps. lxxxi is named first as that used in connexion with the 'additional prayer' (*Musaf*); xxix 8 is for afternoon prayer (*Minchah*). When New Year's Day fell on a Thursday, on which Ps. lxxxi was sung in the ordinary course, the Psalm was not repeated in full; the New Year Psalm then began at *v.* 7 (6), 'I removed his shoulder from the burden'. In lxxxi 4 (3) the Targum has 'Sound the horn on the new moon *of Tisri*'.

[2] *Sopherim* xix 2 (ed. J. Müller, 1878).

[3] *Midrash Tehillim* (ed. A. Wünsche, 1893) on Ps. lxxxi comments thus on lxxxix 16 (15). '"Blessed the people that know the trumpet-sound", for they settle the intercalary year and fix the day of the trumpet-sound on its (right) day. . . . "They walk, Eternal one, in the light of Thy countenance". That refers to the ten days intervening between the New Year and the Day of Atonement.'

[4] Oesterley *Psalms in the Jewish Church* (1910) p. 166.

[5] *Sopherim* xviii 3.

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'The voice of the LORD' (i.e. the thunder or God's trumpet-call) was of course a theme appropriate to the Feast of Trumpets.

Ps. xlvii 'was probably composed for the procession in the temple at the Feast of Trumpets' (Briggs), for which it is wholly appropriate. I have already commented on its close connexion with, and the influence which it has exercised upon, the Song of Hannah. We note the triple reference to God as King of the Universe. 'The excellency (or "pride") of Jacob', *v.* 5 (4), is probably a reminiscence of Nahum ii 3 (2), which, according to the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, was the Haphtarah for the fourth[1] Sabbath in Tisri in the first year of the cycle.

Ps. lxxxi is 'composite' (Briggs) or at least consists of two distinct parts: (1) a call to keep festival in the style of Ps. xlvii, (2) a divine utterance, mainly dependent on three chapters of Deuteronomy (v, xxxii Moses' song, and xxxiii Moses' blessing), and consisting of a reminder of God's mercies to Israel at the time of and subsequent to their liberation from Egypt and of the fundamental principle of the covenant of Sinai, ending in a strain of pleading and protest against Israel's defection. In the first part *v.* 4 (3) contains an invitation to celebrate *two* festivals, one on the new moon, and the other on the full moon of the same month:—

Blow the horn on the new moon,
On the full moon, on our feast day,

or, as Dr Briggs would read,

On the full moon (is) our feast day.

The two feasts intended are almost certainly that of the New Year on 1 Tisri and that of Tabernacles on 15 Tisri. 'We find that from ancient times this Psalm has been the New Year's Day Psalm of the Jewish Church, and that by an apparently unanimous Jewish tradition it is connected with the Feast of Tabernacles. It is unreasonable to disregard the evidence of practice and tradition' (Kirkpatrick). Some modern commentators, however, e.g. Dr Briggs, identify the full moon festival as the Passover on 15 Nisan, on account of the supposed reference to the Exodus in *v.* 6 (5). But in the Massoretic form of that verse there is no reference to the Exodus, whereas there is a clear allusion to a passage in Genesis, which commentators as a rule[2] have strangely overlooked together with the Jewish tradition founded upon it. In the M.T. the verse runs:—

[1] Or possibly the first? See above on the LXX addition from Jeremiah in *v.* 10 b of Hannah's Song.

[2] Dr E. G. King is an exception.

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A testimony in Joseph he appointed it[1]
when he went forth upon the land of Egypt.
עדות ביהוסף שמו
בצאתו על ארץ מצרים

The reading 'upon' is supported by Aquila and Symmachus ('into'), but the LXX reads ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου and so Jerome (*de*). The M.T., whether original or not, is an obvious citation from Gen. xli 45 f :—

And Joseph went out over the land of Egypt (ויצא יוסף על ארץ מצרים).
46And Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh king of Egypt. *And Joseph went out* from the presence of Pharaoh, and went *throughout all the land of Egypt.*

On this passage of Genesis, together with the New Year Torah lesson (Gen. xxx 22), the tradition was based that 'On *Rosh Hashanah* Joseph went out of the prison-house', to which was added 'On *Rosh Hashanah* the service of our fathers in Egypt ceased'.[2] Joseph was born on New Year's Day and was (just) thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh; he was therefore liberated on New Year's Day. Such apparently was the Rabbinical reasoning. That there is a direct connexion between the Genesis passage and the Psalm in its M.T. form there can be no doubt. The exact history of the text of both passages is obscure, and whether the Psalm in its original form contained any reference to the Rabbinic tradition and, in the manner of the *Book of Jubilees*, dated the institution of the Jewish festivals as far back as the times of the patriarchs is very questionable. It will be observed that in the Genesis passage *vv.* '45 b and 46 b are doublets' (Skinner) and the former clause, which is more closely allied to the phrase in the Psalm, is absent from the LXX. I am inclined to think that in the Psalm as well the words 'when he went out upon the land of Egypt' are an interpolation. They are omitted by cod. 142 of the LXX, a MS described by Holmes and Parsons as 'pervetustus et optimae notae'. Moreover, in the 'Asaph' Psalter Joseph and Jacob are gentilic, not personal, names: cp. Ps. lxxx 2 (1) (Joseph || Israel), lxxviii 5 (Jacob || Israel).

In the second part of the Psalm, the main point of interest is the dependence on Deut. v 1–vi 3, which was (according to the article in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* previously cited) *the Parashah for the first sabbath in Tisri in the third year of the Triennial Cycle.* This not only furnishes further evidence that the new moon of *v.* 4 (3) refers to the autumn New Year, but indicates that the Triennial Cycle of Torah

[1] i. e. the (New Year) Feast.

[2] T.B. *Rosh Hash.* 11 *a.*

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readings already existed when the Psalm was edited in its present form. The main parallels are as follows:—

Ps. lxxxi.	Deuteronomy.
9 (8) Hear, O my people.[1]	v 1 Hear, O Israel, the statutes and the judgements.
	vi 3 Hear therefore, O Israel.
	(vi 4 Hear, O Israel: the LORD our God is one LORD.)
10 (9) There shall no strange god be in thee; neither shalt thou worship any strange god.	v 7 Thou shalt have none other gods before me (*or* beside me).
11a (10a) I am the LORD thy God, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt.[2]	v 6 I am the LORD thy God, which brought thee out of the land of Egypt.
14 (13) Oh that my people would hearken unto me, That Israel would walk in my ways!	v 26 (29) Oh that there were such an heart in them, that they would fear me (&c.)!

I must not dwell longer on the affinities of this Psalm to other Scriptures, merely remarking that Jer. vii 24, on which *v.* 13 (12) 'So I let them go' &c. is dependent, was read (according to the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* article) in the first year of the Cycle on the last Sabbath in Elul, immediately preceding 1 Tisri, and that I suspect, though I cannot prove, that the Song of Moses or as it was called[3] the Canticle of the Levites (Deut. xxxii), which forms with Deut. v the background of the whole of the second part of the Psalm, was the Canticle, as Deut. v was one of the lessons, for the autumn New Year.

In *v.* 7 (6) 'His hands were freed from the pot (*or* basket)', the Midrash,[4] expounding the words of Joseph's liberation from the service of Pharaoh's head-cook, illustrates the (cooking) 'pot' (דוד) from the

[1] The following words, 'and I will testify unto thee', are no doubt (Briggs) a gloss from Ps. l 7. In the LXX the gloss is carried a little further: καὶ λαλήσω σοι, Ἰσραήλ, καὶ διαμαρτύρομαί σοι. Ps. l was probably used at the spring New Year (1 Nisan), see below.

[2] A gloss from Deut. l.c. (Briggs).

[3] Jerusalem Talmud (transl. Schwab) *Megillah* cap. iii *sub fin.*

[4] Transl. Wünsche.

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story of Eli's sons which immediately follows the Song of Hannah: 'And he struck it into the pan or pot' (דוד) 1 Sam. ii 14.

In *v.* 8 (7) 'I answered thee in the hiding-place of thunder', the primary reference is doubtless to the pillar of cloud, but the peculiar paraphrase recalls associations of the thunder-peal with the Feast of Trumpets and the fact that the Lord 'answered' Samuel with the 'great voice' of his thunder on the day of Mizpah (1 Sam. vii 9 f) and on a later occasion (*ib.* xii 17 f).

Ps. lxxxix is apparently another composite Psalm (Briggs). An older Psalm, beginning at or about *v.* 20 (19) 'Then thou spakest in vision unto thy godly ones', and containing a paraphrase of the Davidic Covenant of 2 Sam. vii, has been embedded by a late editor in another in which God is celebrated as creator and governor of the universe. The editor has further adapted the Psalm for liturgical use on *Rosh hashanah.* Verse 16 (15) is recited in the modern New Year service,[1] and in this and the following verses we have what is probably a liturgical addition, replete with New Year thoughts :—

16 (15) Happy are the people that know the trumpet-sound;
they walk, O LORD, in the light of thy countenance.

. . . . . .

18 (17) For thou art the glory of their strength;
and in thy favour thou liftest up our horns.
19 (18) For our shield belongeth unto the LORD,
And our king to the Holy One of Israel.

Other noteworthy points are as follows :—

2 (1) The *Midrash Tehillim* begins its comment by citing Jeremiah ix 23 (24), 'But let him that glorieth glory in this' &c., the passage which has been interpolated into the LXX version of Hannah's Song. There is no obvious connexion between Psalm and Prophet, except that the latter is probably a New Year lesson (see above on 'Hannah').

12 (11) The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine,
the world and the fulness thereof thou hast founded them.

Compare the two 'New Year' Psalms :—

xxiv 1 The earth is the LORD's and the fulness thereof.
l 12 For the world is mine and the fulness thereof.

15 a (14 a) is cited in the 'New Year' Ps. xcvii 2.
(27) 26 'The rock of my salvation' comes from the Song of Moses,

[1] Oesterley and Box *op. cit.* 414.

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Deut. xxxii 15; for the association of the latter with *Rosh Hashanah* see above on Ps. lxxxi.

28 (27) I also will make him my first-born,
high above the kings of the earth.

New Year was pre-eminently the birthday of patriarch and prophet, the first-born of Rachel and Hannah. It is also a memorial, *inter alia*, of the long-expected coming of the Messiah.[1] Cf. the (? 'New Year') Ps. ii 7.

Thou art my son: this day have I begotten thee.

48 (47) The reflexion on the short duration of life befits the New Year.

Further conjectural 'New Year' Psalms.

Besides the four traditional Psalms for *Rosh Hashanah* above mentioned, there remain some half a dozen others which from their position in the Psalter and from their contents, and in particular their relation to the Song of Hannah, may be presumed to have associations with the Jewish New Year. Under 'New Year' I here include the beginning of the ecclesiastical year (1 Nisan) as well as that of the civil year (1 Tisri); by a natural process, as we have seen, conceptions and traditions proper to the one date came to be attached also to the other.

Recent study of the Psalter has more and more convinced me of the correctness of the suggestion put forward by Dr E. G. King some years ago[2] that the Psalter, like the Pentateuch, was arranged for continuous use in a triennial cycle. According to this theory the 150 Psalms were, roughly speaking, divided into three fifties for the three years, one psalm being allotted to each Sabbath. The arrangement ante-dated the division into five books which was undoubtedly made in imitation of the Pentateuch. It is no objection to this theory that there are only 150, not 156 Psalms, since the Jewish months were lunar months and a year of twelve lunar months comprises only fifty complete weeks. To bring this year into conformity with the solar year an intercalary month seems to have been inserted every two or three years; on those occasions special arrangements, such as the repetition of the Psalms for the previous month, are likely to have been made. We have further to remember that the dividing-line between psalm and psalm was not absolutely rigid, and traditions vary as to the total number.[3]

[1] Oesterley and Box *op. cit.* 419.

[2] 'The Influence of the Triennial Cycle upon the Psalter', *J.T.S.* v 203.

[3] e.g. 'There are 147 Psalms according to the number of the years of Jacob', Jerusalem Talmud, *Sabbath* (trans. Schwab), tom. iv p. 162.

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I cannot here discuss in detail the grounds on which my belief in this theory is based. I need only state that my investigations began with the collection of the oldest traditions as to the proper psalm or psalms for each festival and the observation that, where alternatives were named, the specified psalms were in several cases separated by an interval of about fifty-two. Thus, to take the traditional New Year Psalms, Ps. lxxxi is the fifty-second Psalm after xxix. For Passover the two alternatives named in the tractate *Sopherim*, viz. lxxxiii and cxxxv, are the same distance apart. An interval of fifty-three separates three of the Psalms allocated by different authorities to the Feast of Tabernacles or the 'eighth day feast' which followed it, viz. xii, lxv, cxviii 25. These traditions, I admit, cannot all be made to fit into a single consistent system; but they do for the most part accommodate or nearly accommodate themselves to one of two systems, viz. a cycle beginning on the 1st of Nisan and a cycle beginning on the 1st of the fourth month (Ab). I cannot account for a commencement on the 1st Ab, if such there ever was; but there is a great deal of indirect evidence pointing to the existence of a cycle beginning on 1st Nisan, and to that, in so far as the New Year is concerned, I will confine myself.

Dividing the Psalter into six nearly equal portions, we find that Psalms with 'New Year' ideas or linked by external evidence to the New Year occur at the beginning of each portion as follows:—

[First Year.	Nisan]	Psalm i	*Beatus vir*
		or ii	*Quare fremuerunt gentes?*
	[Tisri]	xxiv	*Domini est terra*
[Second Year.	Nisan]	l	*Deus deorum*
	[Tisri]	lxxv	*Confitebimur tibi*[1]
[Third Year.	Nisan]	xcix	*Dominus regnavit*[2]
	[Tisri]	(?)cxxviii	*Beati omnes*

Ps. i [Nisan], contrasting righteous and wicked (cf. 'Hannah') and with the probable allusion[3] in *v.* 3 to the streams of Eden in the second chapter of Genesis, the reading of which book began in Nisan, is a suitable introduction alike to a new year, and to the Psalter as a whole.

Ps. ii 'refers to a birthday, a time of the installation of the king on Zion' (Briggs). As in the traditional New Year Psalm lxxxix (*q.v. supra*) a decree is cited based on the Davidic covenant of 2 Sam. vii. 'Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee'; it is the day of the adoption by Yahweh of His anointed one. Messiah's appearance was expected by some to take place in Nisan, by others in Tisri.

[1] Or (?) lxxiii *Quam bonus Israel!*

[2] Or (?) ci *Misericordiam et iudicium.*

[3] So Briggs.

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Ps. xxiv [Tisri] is probably, like many festival Psalms, composite, though the two portions, 'The earth is the LORD'S' and 'Lift up your heads', have a common theme, viz. entrance into the holy temple and city. In Dr Briggs's opinion 'the combination was made in order to make a Psalm appropriate to some special occasion in the late Greek or the Maccabean period'; that occasion was doubtless the autumn New Year. The thought in the first portion of Yahweh, the Universal King, as owner and founder of earth finds its nearest parallels in the 'New Year' Psalms, l 12, lxxxix 12 (11), and in the Hebrew appendix to Hannah's Song (1 Sam. ii 8 c). The second part of the Psalm refers, as commentators are agreed, to the bringing up of the ark by King David into Jerusalem; the chapter in which that event is described, 2 Sam. vi, is entered in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* diagram as an alternative Haphtarah for the third Sabbath in Tisri in the Triennial Cycle (second year). I have ventured already to question the arrangement of the lessons for the month of Tisri as there indicated, and it is possible that the chapter was read on the first, not the third, Sabbath of the month.

Ps. l [Nisan], beginning 'The God of gods, the LORD, hath spoken, and called the earth from the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof' is 'a solemn vision of judgement' (Kirkpatrick). Heaven and earth and the 'godly ones' are summoned to attend at God's judgement of His people for infidelity to the covenant at Horeb. The same protest against infidelity with the same dependence as here on the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii) was found in Ps. lxxxi, which has, as noted above, received a gloss from Ps. l. The contrast of 'godly' and 'wicked' recalls Ps. i. 'From the rising of the sun unto the going down thereof' (*v.* 1) is repeated in Ps. cxiii 3 (see below). The parallels to *v.* 12 'The world is mine and the fulness thereof' have been noted above. 'Ps. xcvii... is based upon reminiscences of this Psalm together with Pss. xlvii, xlviii' (Kirkpatrick); xcvii and xlvii are both 'New Year' Psalms. These mutual relations of Psalm and Psalm can only be satisfactorily explained by reference to the calendar arrangement with which the final editor of the Psalter must have been familiar. The Midrash expatiates on the creation.

Moreover, this 'Asaph' Psalm, standing apart from its fellows, must have been placed where it is for a definite purpose; the remaining eleven Psalms of Asaph all stand together in Book III.

Ps. lxxv [Tisri]. Another judgement scene. 'The author was evidently familiar with the Song of Hannah' (Briggs). There is the same reference to the divine support of 'the pillars' of earth, the same topics in the subsequent verses:—

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5 (4) 'I say unto the boasters "Be not boastful",
'and to the wicked "Lift not up the horn".'
6 (5) Lift not up your horn on high;
speak not arrogancy (against the Rock).[1]
. . . . .
8 (7) For God is judge:
he putteth down one and lifteth up another.
. . . . .
11 (10) All the horns of the wicked also will I cut off;
but the horns of the righteous shall be lifted up.

On *v.* 5 (4) the Midrash, after a reference to creation, which appears quite irrelevant until we remember that the world was created on New Year's Day, has the following remarkable statement. '"I say to the boasters, Boast not." Our Rabbis have said: That refers to Elisheba, the daughter of Amminadab. She experienced on one day four joys: she saw her brother-in-law Moses a king, her husband Aaron high priest, her brother Nahshon a prince (*Nasi*), Eleazar and Ithamar deputies of the high priest; and her sons went in (to the Holy of Holies) to make offerings and were burnt, as it is said: "And there came forth fire from before the LORD" (Lev. x 2), and further on "After the death of the two sons of Aaron" (*ib.* xvi 1). Her joy was thus changed on the same day into tribulation.' We are at a loss to understand why the Rabbis should identify 'the boasters' of the Psalm with the obscure Elisheba,[2] until we observe that the passage describing the death of her sons, Nadab and Abihu, formed part of the lesson (Lev. ix–xi) which was read at the season of *Rosh Hashanah* in the second year of the cycle, the season and year on which Ps. lxxv would likewise, according to the theory here advocated, be employed. It is another case of reaction of lesson on Psalm; the Psalm is interpreted by the Lesson, under the influence of the old New Year *motif* of the arrogant mother—and her punishment. For a similar Jewish tradition as to Peninnah's bereavement we are indebted to Jerome. Commenting on *v.* 5 of 'Hannah' ('She that hath many children languisheth') he writes: 'Iudaei hunc locum ita intelligunt, quod nato Samuele mortuus est filius primogenitus Phenennae, et ita, ortis filiis Annae, Phenennae filii mortui sunt. Sed quaerendum est quomodo hoc stare possit. . . . Duos filios Samuelis cum filiis Annae annumerant.'[3] The Leviticus lesson is actually assigned by Mr Jacobs in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* to the *third*, not the first, Sabbath in Tisri, but once again we are

[1] M.T. 'with neck' (בצואר). The correction בצוּר (Briggs) is undoubtedly right and furnishes a further link with 'Hannah'; the LXX κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ supports it.

[2] Only mentioned in Ex. vi 23.

[3] *Quaest. Hebr. in Lib. I Regum*, Migne *P. L.* 23.

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tempted to think that he is slightly in error in his distribution of the lessons at this part of the calendar.[1]

Ps. lxxvi which follows is one of the appointed Psalms for the Feast of Tabernacles, and thus falls into place in the cycle, except that no provision is made for the intervening Day of Atonement.

Ps. xcix [Nisan]. The first fifty Psalms closed, as we saw, with a picture of the advent of God as judge of the universe (Ps. l). The second fifty close with a *group* of poems (Ps. xciii with xcvi–c) with the same theme; the key-note is *Dominus regnavit*, with which three of them open. Dr Briggs is doubtless right in holding that the six Psalms 'originally' formed a single 'song of praise, celebrating the advent of Yahweh, the universal king, for judgement', and that this great 'royal Psalm' was broken up into smaller units 'for liturgical purposes'; the immediate purpose, we may add, was to fit the Psalter to a triennial cycle. Naturally 'New Year' thoughts permeate the whole group; I have already noted some parallels in Ps. xcvii to the Song of Hannah. But the particular section which has the greatest claim to be considered the Psalm for the first Sabbath in Nisan in the third year of the cycle is Ps. xcix. The solitary mention in the Psalter of Samuel at once rivets attention. Strictly Samuel's day was the autumn New Year, but that he should become patron-saint also of the spring New Year is not surprising.

The Psalm consists of three stanzas, each ending with a *Sanctus*: 'Holy is he' (3), 'Holy is he' (6), 'The LORD our God is holy'. I have already noted the parallel presented with the *ter sanctus* in the Greek form of the Song of Hannah: 'There is none holy as the LORD', 'There is none holy beside thee', 'The LORD is holy'.

v. 1 in its Greek form, Κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, ὀργιζέσθωσαν λαοί, recalls the 'New Year' Ps. ii.

v. 4 'And the king's strength loveth judgement', is an unnatural phrase. For וְעֹז read, with E. G. King, יַעַז, translating 'May the king be strong that loveth justice', and compare in 'Hannah' (1 Sam. ii 10) וְיִתֵּן עֹז לְמַלְכּוֹ 'And he shall give strength unto his king'.

6 ff. *Moses and Aaron among his priests, and Samuel among them that call upon his name, &c.*

Dr Briggs regards the whole of this final stanza as 'material of a more

[1] See above on Ps. xxiv. On the other hand Ps. lxxiii also deals with 'the boasters' (3 ff) and has other, though not such striking, parallels with 'Hannah', and lxxiv has a few New Year thoughts. Cp. the 'New Year' group preceding Ps. c.

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particularistic character' added by 'a later editor'.[1] The Midrash, written when the Triennial Cycle had passed into desuetude, asks why Samuel is named along with Moses and Aaron. Samuel is named because it is the Psalm for the New Year Sabbath. Moses and Aaron appear in a priestly function in the Torah lesson for the first Sabbath in Nisan in the third year (Num. vi 22 to vii end). That lesson ends with a mention of Moses entering the tent of meeting and hearing the Voice speaking to him from between the cherubim (cf. *v.* 1 of the Psalm 'thou that sittest upon the cherubim').

7. 'He spake unto them in the pillar of cloud.' Samuel apparently is included. 'The pillar of cloud' in his case seems synonymous with 'the hiding-place of thunder' of another New Year Psalm (lxxxi 8 (7)); on two occasions God heard and answered Samuel with the voice of the thunder-cloud (1 Sam. vii 9 f, xii 17 f).

As the Psalm is dependent on Hannah's Song, conversely this clause is imported by pseudo-Philo into his version of the Song:—

> Exurge et tu, Elchana, et praecinge lumbos tuos,
> hymniza super signa domini,
> quoniam pro filio tuo prophetavit Asaph in eremo, dicens:
> 'Moses et Aaron in sacerdotibus eius
> et Samuel inter eos':
> Ecce perfectum est verbum et convenit prophetia.[2]

But we are not left merely to internal evidence, however strong, in assigning this Psalm to the first Sabbath in Nisan. The LXX title of a neighbouring Psalm opportunely furnishes us with a precise date. The LXX prefixes to Ps. xcvi (xcv LXX) the title:—

Ὅτε ὁ οἶκος οἰκοδομεῖται μετὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν· ᾠδὴ τῷ Δαυείδ.

What was the date of the completion of the building of the second temple? We are not left in ignorance. In Ezra vi 15 we read:—

> And this house was finished *on the third day of the month Adar*, which was in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king.

The Greek Ezra, however, whose text is so often superior to that of the M. T., names a slightly later date, viz. the 23rd, not the 3rd, of Adar (Esd. A vii 5):—

συνετελέσθη ὁ οἶκος ἕως τρίτης καὶ εἰκάδος μηνὸς Ἀδὰρ κτλ.

Assuming that the reading of the Greek Ezra is original, the inference from the LXX title is that Ps. xcvi was sung on or about the 23rd day,

[1] The line καὶ Σαμουὴλ ἐν τοῖς ἐπικαλ. τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ is omitted by cod. 202 of LXX, but probably through *homoioteleuton*.

[2] *Mikropresbutikon*, 'Philonis Iudaei Antiquitatum Biblicarum incerto interprete', Basle, 1550.

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say on the third Sabbath, in the twelfth month of the Jewish year. If two further Sabbaths followed in Adar, Ps. xcix would fall on the first Sabbath in Nisan. The reading '3rd Adar' in Ezra vi 15 may imply a variety in the calendar arrangement of the Psalter; this would make Ps. ci the initial Psalm in the third year of the cycle. This LXX title (which has not to my knowledge been previously explained), supported as it is by the contents of Ps. xcix considered above, furnishes to my mind one of the strongest arguments that such a cycle did actually exist.

We observe that under this arrangement the second, like the first, year of the cycle comprised, not as we might expect 50, but 49, Psalms. The third division must at one time have contained the same number. Tradition had it that the Psalms were 147 (= 49 × 3) in number, like the years of Jacob's life.[1]

Ps. cxxviii [Tisri]. We have seen that the four Psalms in the series (xxiv, l, lxxv, xcix), in which the interval is practically constant, are marked out by internal and by some external evidence as appropriate for the beginning of a year or half-year. The initial Psalm for the last half-year in the hypothetical cycle cannot be determined with the same degree of certainty. I am inclined to select this little 'song of degrees' because (1) its opening 'Happy is (*or* be) every one that feareth the LORD, that walketh in his ways' recalls the opening of Ps. i; (2) it is as it were a greeting of 'A happy new year' to the family of the God-fearing man; (3) Ps. cxxx *De profundis*, which is one of the two Psalms assigned by our earliest authority to the Day of Atonement (10 Tisri), then falls into its place. But the evidence is slight; Ps. cxxv, which ends with the same prayer as Ps. cxxviii, 'Peace be upon Israel', would by its position in the Psalter be more suitable.

It does seem to me remarkable that the parallels to 'Hannah' should appear just in these particular Psalms and with one exception in no others. The exception is *Ps. cxiii*, which at its close incorporates some verses from the Song of Hannah: 'He taketh up the simple out of the dust', &c. This is the first Psalm of the Hallel, and the Hallel was sung not only at the great festivals, but at the ordinary new moons. Dependence on the *Haphtarah* for the principal new moon of the year is therefore natural.

It would be interesting to proceed to consider whether any acquaintance with the Jewish New Year ritual is shewn in the Christian adaptation of the Song of Hannah, I mean the *Magnificat*, the birthday Psalm of a greater than Samuel, inaugurating not a New Year only, but a new era. This paper has, however, already run to an inordinate length.

H. ST J. THACKERAY.

[1] See above, p. 197 n. 3.

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PS.—*The Babylonian and the Jewish New Year Festivals.*

SINCE writing this paper I have found that the Babylonian influence on rabbinical ideas associated with the New Year was considerable. The Babylonian New Year Festival dates from far back in the ages, and in the epic of the Flood is represented as *the* great national feast. It was held, apparently during the first eleven days of the spring month of Nisan, in honour of Marduk, the god of the spring sun, who triumphed over Tiamat, the goddess of primaeval chaos and the wet winter season. The eighth and eleventh days were invested with special sanctity. On these days all the gods were assembled in 'the chamber of destiny' in Marduk's temple. Marduk, 'the God of the Universe', 'King of the gods', 'King of heaven and earth', &c., sits on his throne, and the gods stand in humble submission before him while he decrees the fates of mankind for the coming year. In particular, the fate of the king's life is determined. The king annually renewed his regal power by grasping the hands of the image of Marduk.[1]

Compare this with the rabbinical ideas about the autumn Festival of *Rosh Hashanah*. God sits on His throne to judge the world. The angels shudder before Him, for His very ministers are not pure in His sight. The day is the anniversary of creation and on it 'is fixed the lot of each country, which shall see war, which shall have peace, which shall suffer from famine, which shall enjoy abundance. On this day every creature is judged and destined to life or death'.[2] Nine days of probation are allowed; on the tenth day, the Day of Atonement, the fates are sealed. That the day was associated with the king's destiny is suggested by the Song of Hannah (1 Sam. ii 10 d) and the 'New Year' Psalms, xlvii 9, lxxxix 18, xcix 4 reading 'May the king be strong' &c., together with references to the establishment of David as king on Mount Zion. The nearest parallel to the assembly of gods appears in the Psalm immediately following one of the traditional New Year Psalms, viz. Ps. lxxxii: 'God standeth in the congregation of princes: He is a Judge among gods.'

H. ST J. T.

[1] See e. g. Schrader *Keilinschriften*[3] 370 f, 514 f; Jeremias *Das alte Testament im Lichte d. alten Orients* 43.

[2] Talmud of Jerusalem *Rosh Hash.* i 9 (trans. M. Schwab).

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THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE NICENE CREED.

THE problem with which this paper deals is that of the origin of the longer creed recited in the fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon, and commonly known as C.

It is generally agreed that the attribution of this creed to the Council of Constantinople is mistaken, or at least that the 150 fathers were not responsible for its composition in the sense in which the 318 were responsible for the Nicene Creed, N. Accordingly the first question presented is how to account for this error. But further, the Greek MSS of the Acts of Chalcedon give in the fifth session a creed enlarged from N and concluding with the Nicene anathemas, styling it the Creed of the 318. Is the reading of the Greek MSS to be preferred to that of the Latin MSS which here give N, and if so what account are we to give of this intermediate creed which, for convenience of reference, I shall call E?[1]

The solution proposed is that E is an enlargement of N made by the Council of Constantinople in 381, and C is the baptismal creed of Constantinople founded on E and most probably composed in the following year.

The obvious impediment in the way of this hypothesis is the occurrence of C in a slightly differing form in the *Ancoratus* of Epiphanius; but, as I shall endeavour to shew, there is very strong reason to think that the present text of the *Ancoratus* is corrupt and originally had N, where we now read C.

This is the first point with which I shall deal, and having thus cleared the ground I shall try to prove that the 150 fathers did make some enlargement of N, an enlargement which is in one part definitely known, and in other parts determinable by well-grounded conjecture. I shall then compare this partly hypothetical reconstruction with E, and finally E with C. Of course if my theory is established, that of Dr Hort breaks down; but in any case Dr Hort's theory has to contend with difficulties which seem to have been generally under-estimated. Lastly, as a question germane to the whole argument, I shall give reasons for supposing that Leo in his Tome would be thought by the

[1] The text of E may be found in Heurtley *de Fide et Symbolo* p. 25.

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fathers of Chalcedon to be quoting from E rather than R, the baptismal creed of his own see, and, with some modifications, of the Western Church—a supposition which explains some facts in the history of that Council, and moreover is probably true.

The Original Text of the Creed in Epiphanius's Ancoratus ch. cxx.

The text of Epiphanius is derived from a single MS, and consequently corruption is far more possible than if it involved the same alteration in a large number.

The proof of corruption is established by six independent arguments, each shewing that the original reading was N instead of C.

(1) Turning first to ch. cxxi we find a creed identical in its earlier clauses with N and in its later confessedly based upon it. But at the beginning of this chapter this creed is said to be in accordance with the creed of the holy fathers before set forth. The creed therefore in ch. cxx ought to be N.

(2) At the conclusion of ch. cxx comes the sentence *καὶ αὕτη ἡ πίστις παρεδόθη ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων ἐπισκόπων ὑπὲρ τριακοσίων δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν.*

It is obvious that some emendation is required. Kattenbusch holds that *τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει* is an interpolation, but perhaps a more satisfactory change would be to read *ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων (ἐν) τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ πόλει καὶ ἀπό κτλ* and translate 'from the holy apostles to (or in) the Church in the holy city and from' &c. The first half of the sentence will then be a statement about the matter of the creed such as we find in Irenaeus, and would be in the line of a broad tradition, but the second with any reading is definitely fixed down to the Nicene Council. And the creed to which this description would be applied could only be N.

(3) Immediately preceding this come the Nicene anathemas. Now it is possible that these should follow an enlargement of N, as they do in the creed of Damasus and in E; what would be entirely contrary to all rules is that they should be appended to a baptismal creed, such as C. The original text of Epiphanius must, I think, have had a conciliar creed here, and we have no other knowledge of any conciliar enlargement of N at this date in the Eastern Church.

(4) At the end of the previous chapter, immediately before the creed, we find Epiphanius advising that the creed he is about to write should be diligently taught to all catechumens. This perhaps suggests that the creed which follows should be baptismal, though it may well be thought that so warm an adherent of the Nicene faith as Epiphanius might have considered it eminently wise that catechumens should be taught N as part of their instruction. But the matter is set at rest by his saying that they are to be taught *ῥητῶς ὡς πάντων ἡ αὐτὴ μήτηρ ὑμῶν τε καὶ*

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ἡμῶν (διδάσκει). It is difficult to see how this could apply to anything except the Nicene formula.

(5) And moreover in the *Panarion*, which is later than the *Ancoratus*, the only creed cited is that of Nicaea.

(6) It has been pointed out in a previous[1] number of this Journal that the slight variations between the text of C given in Epiphanius and that recited at Chalcedon support the same conclusion. But however that may be, I regard the arguments I have adduced as already sufficient for proof.

The Enlargement of N at Constantinople in 381.

Neglecting the evidence to be derived from the Fifth Session of Chalcedon, there is a substantial and interwoven chain of testimony that the Council of Constantinople did enlarge N. This testimony may conveniently be set out under three heads.

(1) There are those who attribute to the 150 fathers an exposition of the creed which is placed on almost the same level of authority as the original creed of Nicaea.

(2) Next there are those who assert that the successors of the 318 (οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα) added to N, and in some cases the actual additions, or some of them, are given, and the purpose of the enlargement is stated.

(3) These additions or parts of them are quoted as from the Nicene Creed; that is, there was an authoritatively enlarged version of it.

Taking the evidence in inverse chronological order:—

We have at the close of the First Session of the Council of Chalcedon a definite assertion by the imperial commissioners that their master and they themselves believed in accordance with the exposition of the 318 and of the 150 who succeeded them, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, and this statement is anticipated in a letter of Flavian to Theodosius II in 449,[2] who ascribes exposition to both Councils. This testimony not only assigns an exposition of faith to the Council of Constantinople but treats it as equally authoritative with N. Earlier in the same session in the reading of the minutes of the later Council of Ephesus (the Latrocinium), Eutyches was represented as endeavouring to cover himself for refusing to go beyond the wording of N by pleading the canon of the earlier Council of Ephesus (431). When the reader came to this point Eusebius of Dorylaeum and Diogenes of Cyzicus interrupted. The decision of Ephesus was being strained; it had no such intention. Putting forward the Council of Nicaea was a mere piece of hypocrisy. The creed had received additions from the holy fathers on account of the corruptions of Apollinarius and Valentinus and Macedonius and

[1] Vol. iv no. 14 p. 289.

[2] Hahn *Bibliothek* pp. 320-321.

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others like them, and there has been added to the creed of the holy fathers τὸν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, and Eutyches only left them out because he was an Apollinarian. For the holy fathers who succeeded them (οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα) explained the ἐσαρκώθη of the holy fathers in Nicæa by saying ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου. This plea, however, was not accepted by the Egyptian party who at once cried out against any addition to N, adding that Eutyches had quoted it correctly.

This evidence furnishes some of the actual additions; it implies that the creed thus enlarged had for those under Constantinopolitan influence equal authority with N, and was not barred by the canon of the Council of Ephesus, and thus recognizes the ecumenicity of the Council which composed it. The reference to the Apollinarians and Macedonians fixes this Council as that of the 150 and thus gives a technical meaning to οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα in this kind of connexion.

In the year 430 Nestorius, at the Council of Ephesus, quoted the words σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου as from N, and in his letter to Pope Celestine he quotes the same sentence, 'from the words of the holy Fathers of Nicæa'; and Cyril corrects his error in *Adv. Nest.* i 8.[1] But this was not all that Nestorius's version of N contained, for in ch. 6 we find also τὸν σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα and τὸν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν δι' ἡμᾶς.[2]

It is, I think, clear that in 430 there was an authoritative enlargement of N of such importance that its acceptance by an ecumenical council could naturally be expected.

Going back again before the rise of the Nestorian controversy we have a dialogue falsely attributed to Athanasius,[3] in which the orthodox champion is compelled to allow that the Catholics had made additions

[1] Cyril *adv. Nestorium* i 8. Ἴθι δὴ οὖν, ὦ γενναῖε, ποῦ τεθείκασιν, εἰπέ, περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγιόυ καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου;

[2] *Ibid.* i 6. Οὐκ εἶπαν, Εἷς ἕνα Θεὸν Λόγον· ἀλλ' ἔλαβον τὸ ὄνομα τὸ σημαῖνον ἀμφότερα, ἵνα ὅταν ὑποκαταβαίνων ἀκούσῃς θάνατον, μὴ ξενίζῃ· ἵνα τὸν σταυρωθέντα, καὶ ταφέντα, μὴ πλήττῃ τὴν ἀκοήν. . . . Εἶτα τούτοις ἐπιφέρει· Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν, τὸν Υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα· τὸν ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί· τὸν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν δι' ἡμᾶς, καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου.

[3] *De Sancta Trinitate*, Dial. III § 1 (Migne *P.G.* xxviii 1205):

Ὀρθ. Τί γὰρ κατέγνως τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν τιη' πατέρων ἁγίων ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῆς Βιθυνίας ἐκτεθείσης, ἵνα καὶ ἄλλην περιβλέψῃ;

Μακ. Σὺ γὰρ τί κατέγνως τοῦ Λουκιανοῦ;

Ὀρθ. Κατέγνων τῆς προσθήκης ἣς προσεθήκατε, καὶ ἔχω δεῖξαι ὅτι προσεθήκατε ἐναντία αὐτῆς.

Μακ. Ὑμεῖς γὰρ οὐ προσεθήκατε τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ;

Ὀρθ. Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐναντία αὐτῇ.

Μακ. Ὅλως προσεθήκατε.

Ὀρθ. Τὰ τότε μὴ ζητηθντέα ἃ καὶ νῦν ἡρμήνευσαν οἱ πατέρες εὐσεβῶς κτλ.

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to N, and defends the additions by saying that the things which the fathers had now piously explained were not formerly in question.

We may then, I think, take it for all but certain that the Council of Constantinople enlarged N against Apollinarianism by certain additions which we find most fully reported by Nestorius.

We have next to decide what general form N so enlarged would take.

There is, first, no reason whatever for supposing that the action of the Council of 381 would form an exception to the general rule, that only doctrines attacked were formally defined. This means that the creed would contain no clauses after those dealing with the Holy Spirit. We should expect, secondly, that the alterations from N would be not only confined to the points at issue but would be couched in scriptural language, and, if possible, drawn from previously existing baptismal creeds. After the immense difficulties in the way of acceptance which non-scriptural language in N had aroused, no council, we may be sure, would be so unwise as to frustrate its own work by introducing such language. And if we examine N, we shall find moreover that the whole of its phraseology, with the exception of those new terms, can be found in already existing baptismal creeds. Eusebius's own letter warns us that the 318 fathers did not simply adopt the creed of Caesarea enlarged with the necessary homoousian language, and it is not likely that other bishops of more important sees abstained from putting forward their own creeds as equally valuable models, and both here and at Nicaea the adoption of phrases from various baptismal creeds would have given different dioceses a local interest in maintaining the result. Finally, if the enlarged creed was to be regarded merely as N strengthened and interpreted against novel forms of error, it would in all probability end with the Nicene anathemas, and other anathemas would be framed in a later session and form part of the canons rather than be appended to the creed.

Thus it will be seen that in general form it would resemble the creed of the Council held under Damasus,[1] not because the Council of Constantinople would necessarily think itself bound to follow that as setting a precedent, but because similar motives would tend to a like result.

Now if we have regard to the records of the action of the Council which we possess, the works of the historians, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, the letter sent to Pope Damasus, the verses of Gregory of Nazianzus and the canons, we find that so far as they go they entirely support this scheme of action.

The Council was summoned primarily to deal with Macedonianism. The Emperor desired that if possible the Macedonians should be won over to the orthodox faith. A Macedonian deputation had already

[1] Hahn *Bibliothek* pp. 271, 272.

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subscribed to N in Rome under Liberius; and, besides scripture, N was at the time the one and only test of episcopal orthodoxy.

Accordingly the thirty-six Macedonian bishops present were first asked to accept the same test and ratify the action of the deputies from their own party. This they refused, and so demonstrated the affinity between Macedonianism and Arianism. But their withdrawal did not end the task of the Council.

What steps then did the Council take? We know that against Apollinarianism they inserted certain clauses into N; it is probable therefore that they adopted the same procedure as regards Macedonianism. But we are not left to conjecture.[1] Eusebius and Diogenes definitely assert that this was what they did, and this statement reappears in the *allocutio* of the Council of Chalcedon to the Emperor and receives confirmation from the canons of the Council itself, which place the Pneumatomachi with the Marcellians and the Apollinarians on the same level of condemnation; while the letter sent in the following year to Damasus seems to suggest that they had taken much the same course in regard to Macedonianism as they did with regard to Apollinarianism. This also appears the only possible interpretation of certain verses of Gregory Nazianzen. He desired the Council to do one of two things: either to keep N intact (as had been done at Alexandria), or to insert an unequivocal expression of the deity of the Holy Spirit. Gregory would no doubt have desired *θεός*, though he might have been satisfied with the *de substantia Deitatis* which Damasus had adopted, or the ὁμοούσιον of the creed of Charisius.[2] Instead of this, the Council, he declares, had taken an intermediate position and so incurred his scorn.[3] But if they inserted something, and that was

[1] Mansi, vi 632.

[2] Greg. Naz. *Carm.* lib. ii xiv 26–42:

Εἰ μὲν ἑξέστην θρόνων,
Τούτου τί μεῖζον; εἰ δ' ἀπερρίφθην ἄκων,
Οἱ ταῦτα τολμήσαντες οἵων ἄξιοι;
. . . . . .
Ἴσως τὸ Πνεῦμα βάλλεται, φέρω σαφῶς,
Τὸ Πνεῦμ', ἀκούσασθ' ὡς θεός, πάλιν λέγω.
Ἐμοὶ θεὸς σύ, καὶ τρίτον βοῶ θεός.
Τοῦτ' ἔστι. Βάλλετ', εὐστοχεῖτε τοῖς λίθοις.
Ἕστηκ' ἄτρεπτος τῆς ἀληθείας σκοπός.
. . . . . .
. . . . Πνεῦμά τ', ἄχρονος φύσις.
Θεός, θεός μου, καὶ θεός, τρισσὴ μονάς.

[3] *Ibid.* xi 1702–1711:

Κἀκεῖνο δ' οἷον; τὴν γλυκεῖαν καὶ καλὴν
Πηγὴν παλαιᾶς πίστεως, ἣ τριάδος
Εἰς ἓν συνῆγε τὴν σεβάσμιον φύσιν,
Ἧς ἦν ποθ' ἡ Νίκαια φροντιστήριον,

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neither ὁμοούσιον, which might have rekindled the old disturbance and would have been fatal to reconciliation with the Macedonians, nor θεός, of which Gregory denies their acceptance, what word or words did they add? There was one word which had the triple advantage, that it was scriptural,[1] that it had already been employed in N as one of the safeguards of the assertion of the deity of the Son, and that it might perhaps serve as a stepping-stone for the Macedonians towards a more definite faith, because though it was capable of bearing the highest meaning yet it could also be used in lower significations. That word was Κύριος. But the very fact that its meaning was so wide, while it might recommend it to some, would suggest to others that it needed to be strengthened. If then we are to demand a second term which should fulfil our conditions, there is one and one only which is available, and that is ζωοποιός. It appears to have been in the fundamental form of Eastern baptismal creeds[2]; and the phrase τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι τὸ ζωοποιόν[3] affords an almost exact parallel to ὁ δὲ Κύριός ἐστιν τὸ Πνεῦμα, and in fact it is the only other scriptural predicate applied to the Holy Spirit, and it asserts what all would allow was a divine function. Here then the creed itself would end and the Nicene anathemas follow. But in all probability the Council began with Macedonianism, and having added an article to the faith of Nicaea as to which N was insufficiently explicit, since the question had not then been raised,[4] it proceeded next to make the assertions which I have already quoted, and possibly some others, against Apollinarianism. And possibly by this time Gregory had already withdrawn. At any rate he seems to hint that he had incurred hostility by taking an unpopular line on the article dealing with the Holy Spirit, and that he disapproved of the other additions and disavowed any responsibility in regard to them.[5]

Finally, there was the heresy of Marcellianism to be dealt with. In regard to this it is probable that they adopted the same procedure as with regard to the other two, and the first canon suggests that it was treated

> Ταύτην ἐώρων ἁλμυραῖς ἐπιῤῥοαῖς
> Τῶν ἀμφιδύξων ἀθλίως θολουμένην,
> Οἳ ταῦτα δοξάζουσιν, οἷς χαίρει κράτος,
> Μέσοι μὲν ὄντες, ἀσμενιστὸν δ' εἰ μέσοι
> Καὶ μὴ προδήλως κλήσεως ἐναντίας κτλ.

[1] 2 Cor. iii 17. [2] Hahn *Bibliothek* p. 130 note. [3] Jn. vi 63.

[4] Greg. Naz. *Ep.* cii to Cledonius, . . . ἐγράψαμεν τῇ σῇ εὐλαβείᾳ . . . ὅτι ἡμεῖς τῆς κατὰ Νίκαιαν πίστεως, . . . οὐδὲν οὔτε προετιμήσαμεν πώποτε, οὔτε προτιμᾶν δυνάμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐκείνης ἐσμὲν τῆς πίστεως σὺν Θεῷ καὶ ἐσόμεθα. προσδιαρθροῦντες τὸ ἐλλιπῶς εἰρημένον ἐκείνοις περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος (διὰ τὸ μηδὲ κεκινῆσθαι τηνικαῦτα τοῦτο τὸ ζήτημα), ὅτι μιᾶς θεότητος εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν Πατέρα, καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, Θεὸν καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα γινώσκοντας.

[5] *Carm.* xiv 25–47 *supra*.

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in the same way. Moreover, Marcellus had himself been condemned at an Arian Synod at Constantinople in 336. And if any addition was to be made against this heresy it could only be *οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος*. This was scriptural,[1] it had already occurred in Marcellus's own letter to Julius, and it appears to have been common in Eastern baptismal creeds.[2]

This form of faith would not be regarded by its authors as a new composition or a separate exposition from N, whatever later ages might think of it. However effective N might have been against Arianism, new heresies had arisen which were not within the purview of the 318 fathers, and in Constantinople the sanctity of N lay solely in its value, whatever might be thought at Alexandria or in the city of its birth. Hence the fathers of Constantinople would consider that they were but following precedent rather than contravening it; following it in the spirit as against the novelties of a later age, rather than being bound by the letter. The additions did but maintain it in a condition of usefulness, and demonstrated rather than impugned their loyalty. When it was not sufficiently explicit for new needs they made it so, and that was all. Such is the defence which is repeatedly offered; such no doubt was the feeling of the actual time.

The enlarged N compared with E and identified with it.

And now if we compare this creed with E[3] we shall be struck by

[1] Lk. i 53. [2] Hahn *Bibliothek* p. 136.

[3] E compared with N and the additions made at Constantinople in 381:

N	Additions	E
τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ		omitted
καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ	Nestorius, &c.	,,
(*τὸν κατελθόντα*)	(*τὸν κατελθόντα*)	(*τὸν κατελθόντα*)
	ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν	*ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν*
(*καὶ σαρκωθέντα*)	(*καὶ σαρκωθέντα*)	(*καὶ σαρκωθέντα*)
	ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου	*ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου*
	καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου	*καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου*
	σταυρωθέντα	*σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*
		ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου
	καὶ ταφέντα	*καὶ ταφέντα*
καὶ ἀναστάντα		(*καὶ ἀναστάντα*
τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ		*τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ*)
		κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς
		καὶ καθεζόμενον
		ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός
	Marcellus's letter	*καὶ πάλιν*
	and scripture	*μετὰ δόξης*
	οὗ τῆς βασιλείας	*οὗ τῆς βασιλείας*
	οὐκ ἔσται τέλος	*οὐκ ἔσται τέλος*
	Scripture and other creeds	
	τὸ κύριον τὸ ζωοποιόν	*τὸ κύριον τὸ ζωοποιόν*

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their substantial agreement. E has other additions, and these may be due to a corruption of E, or the creed as it issued from the 150 may have had them also; but E is substantially N enlarged against Apollinarianism, Marcellianism, and Macedonianism, by just those phrases for which we either have direct testimony or else strong indirect probability. It is conciliar in form; it has the Nicene anathemas just as the creed of Damasus would lead us to expect; and it stops short just where conciliar action would in fact stop. On the other hand, it is extremely probable that a Latin scribe, finding the title at the beginning and having already given N under the same title earlier in his work, would substitute one for the other, and it is equally improbable that a Greek scribe, who starting with N had lapsed into C, would suddenly stop short at *ζωοποιόν* and finish by appending the Nicene anathemas.

The relation of E to C.

The creed thus produced was not baptismal but conciliar. It had at its conclusion anathemas which were not a feature of baptismal creeds, and it lacked those final clauses which were common in one form or another to all baptismal creeds at this period. It would not be too much to say that if any one claimed to have been baptized during the last quarter of the fourth, or the first quarter of the fifth, century with the creed of some Eastern council, we should take it for granted that the creed used had no anathemas and that it had some of the final clauses added. If it was N which he claimed had been used, the form would have been something like the creed produced by Charisius,[1] or the longer form in Epiphanius[2] with omission of the explanatory phrases. Now this is precisely the case with which we are called upon

It is probable that the baptismal creed of Constantinople resembled that of Antioch from which it was derived (Hort *Two Dissertations* p. 75 n), and in this case it would contain *ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου* and *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς*, and the presence of these words in the baptismal creeds of Antioch and Constantinople would perhaps account for their addition to N in 381.

They also occur in the Nestorian baptismal creed published by Caspari. This creed is entitled 'the creed of the 318 fathers (and) bishops assembled in the city of Nicaea'. It seems to be a combination of N and either the baptismal creed of Antioch or a Syrian derivative of it (Hahn *Bibliothek* pp. 144–146). It omits with E *τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ*, and contains also *ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου* (but not *ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου*), *κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιᾶς τοῦ Πατρός, καὶ πάλιν, τὸ ζωοποιόν*. Its date is uncertain but cannot be later than 381.

Finally, the creed of the Apostolic Constitutions, which has Antiochene affinities, contains *ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καθεσθέντα ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρός, καὶ πάλιν*, and *μετὰ δόξης*. These facts render it not improbable that the phrases in E which we cannot definitely trace back to their origin, may also have been inserted at the Council of 381.

[1] Hahn *Bibliothek* pp. 318–319.

[2] *Ancoratus* ch. cxxi.

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to deal. Among those who at the Council of Chalcedon had at first refused to subscribe Leo's Tome was a certain Archimandrite Dorotheus. He stated that he stood fast to the faith of the 318 in which he had been baptized, and to the decision of the Council of Ephesus which had condemned Nestorius; thus he believed, and beside that he knew no other faith. But later on, being asked about his personal belief, he said, 'We were baptized into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, confessing the Saviour Christ who came down and was incarnate of the Virgin, and was made man and was crucified under Pontius Pilate'. The quotation is not verbally exact, but it is obviously made from N with enlargements.

And this witness is confirmed by a letter of the Emperor Theodosius. The Synod of Chalcedon, he writes, has retained the symbol of the 318 intact with neither addition nor subtraction. With this symbol he was baptized, and with this as his basis of belief, he confesses 'That our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was born of Holy Spirit and Mary the Virgin, the Theotokos'. The quotation again is not verbally exact and we may dismiss the title Theotokos as forming part of the Emperor's baptismal creed, but there is no doubt that the creed of his baptism would be the local baptismal creed of Constantinople.

A similar assertion was made by the bishops at Chalcedon in the second session with regard to N. So again at the beginning of the fourth session the commissioners ask what had been decided about the faith, and the legate Paschasius replies that the Council held to the formula of Nicaea, and that the Council of Constantinople had confirmed or strengthened it (ἐβεβαίωσεν); and thereupon follows the shout by the bishops that in this faith they baptized and had themselves been baptized.

Now most of the bishops present belonged to the Constantinopolitan sphere of influence, and some of them must have been elderly men. The inference is that towards the close of the fourth century the Constantinopolitan baptismal creed was N with enlargements common to it and E, and no doubt also clauses at the end dealing with the Church and baptism, and having no anathemas. It is, I think, difficult to doubt that this creed is C.

The Date of the Compilation of C.

But supposing C to be the baptismal creed of the Church of Constantinople, can we decide when it was likely to have been compiled? With a fair show of probability I think we may put it down to the bishops of the Constantinopolitan district who remained behind after those from other districts had left the Council of 382.

In response to a request from a Milanese Council held early in 382, the Emperor Gratian desired to summon an ecumenical council at

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Rome at the end of that year, and accordingly he issued letters inviting the Eastern bishops to attend. But Theodosius, not approving of this scheme, assembled a number of bishops at Constantinople. This may be regarded as an adjourned sitting of the Council of the previous year; but I think we may gather from the letter of excuse which was sent to the Italian bishops that this assembly did not regard itself as having the same authority. The former Council it speaks of as ecumenical, but it does not claim the title for itself. It attributes to the Council of 381 an exposition of faith and declares its own agreement with it. It passed canons, but they seem to deal only with the discipline of the Constantinopolitan district and to suggest that the Antiochene patriarchate was not sitting in joint session. And I think we may take it as probable that the Alexandrine patriarchate was equally unrepresented. That is, the Council of 382 would consist of few, if any, bishops from outside the Constantinopolitan sphere of influence. They, of course, could come with less trouble than the more distant bishops; and it would be quite sufficient to frustrate the ecumenicity of the council to be held in Italy, if Constantinople was unrepresented there.

Now we know for a fact that in post-Nicene times it became a common practice to enrich the local baptismal creed by combining with it the whole or some part of N; and there is evidence that this had taken place at Constantinople itself.[1] This was an obvious precaution where a diocese was now threatened with Arianism. But Constantinople was threatened with just those heresies against which the Council of 381 had guarded. Is there not then a great probability that the bishops who belonged to the Constantinopolitan sphere of influence would combine the existing baptismal creed of Constantinople with E? And by this route we reach exactly the same conclusion as we have already arrived at by other evidence, namely that C is the baptismal creed of Constantinople subsequent to 381.

And if it is allowed that a creed like E was in existence before C, the mere comparison of the two will create in the mind a strong prepossession in favour of this view; and this is strengthened if it is observed that the main dogmatic difference between C and E is in the clauses which concern the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and safeguard it against Macedonianism which had been elaborated under the walls

[1] In 449 Eutyches in his letter to Leo claimed to have been baptized with N without the additional clauses quoted by Nestorius. Such language might be used somewhat loosely. It is, however, fairly certain (*a*) that he would have been baptized with the baptismal creed of Constantinople, (*b*) that it must have closely resembled N and could not have contained these clauses, and (*c*) that it must have had some clauses after 'the Holy Spirit' dealing with the Church, &c., and no anathemas. Mansi, vi 632.

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of the Imperial City and was almost confined in its actual range to the Constantinopolitan patriarchate, though ecclesiastical leaders throughout the Christian world might dread its extension.

Granting this hypothesis, the attribution of E to the 318 and of C to the 150 by the Council of Chalcedon becomes comparatively intelligible. E was simply an enlarged N, and was already current in the Constantinopolitan sphere under the title of 'the words of the Fathers of Nicaea' as early as Nestorius; while it was not accepted in Egypt, in some parts of the Antiochene patriarchate, and at Nicaea itself, which clung to N in its original form. The doctrinal decree of the Council was drawn up by a committee dominated by Constantinopolitan influence and including Anatolius, Diogenes of Cyzicus, Eusebius of Dorylaeum, Maximus of Antioch (who had supported Flavian and pledged his patriarchate to Leo's Tome), and the Roman legate, while the Egyptian party was not represented on it. The attribution of E to the Council of Nicaea was therefore natural and easy. The attribution of C to the 150 is a difficulty with which any theory has to contend; for C is certainly not conciliar in form. But if C is an enlargement of E made for baptismal purposes in 382 by the Constantinopolitan bishops, who were by far the greater portion of this second council, it might easily have come to be regarded as the work of the Council itself. The later proceedings at Chalcedon add little to the data already collected; but the *Allocutio* to the Emperor affirms that the later fathers, οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα, had felt themselves obliged to define against the Marcellians and the Macedonians, and that Basil, Damasus, and the Councils of Sardica and Ephesus, had judged it necessary that against novel heresies additions should be made to the creed of the 318.

We have now to account for the little recognition accorded to E between the year of its composition and the Council of Chalcedon. This policy of neglect seems most strongly manifested in Egypt. But it is precisely there that we are best able to account for it. The pressure of Apollinarianism had been widely felt, and though the converts to Macedonianism were confined within a comparatively small territory, Athanasius and Damasus had both thought it needful to secure their own sphere of jurisdiction against it by conciliar action, and there was a common opinion that the Council of Sardica had authorized additions to N to guard against these heresies; while, as we have seen, the Council of Chalcedon held that this had actually been done. The opinion was wrong, but it shews what sort of procedure was expected from an authoritative council. Writing to the Antiochenes, Athanasius says: 'That composition which is being circulated as the work of the Council of Sardica you must suppress, for the Council issued nothing of the kind. It is quite true that such a motion was brought forward,

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but the Council was indignant at it, and it defined that the faith of Nicaea was to suffice and nothing ought to be added to it as though it were incomplete, and no one ought to put out another creed lest reflexions should be cast on N, and an excuse be given to those who are for ever wanting to be writing and defining about faith.'[1]

And what Athanasius advised he followed in his own patriarchate. The Council of Alexandria in 362 made decrees against heretics, but left N untouched. The Creed of Nicaea would naturally have a kind of sanctity in Alexandria which it might well fail to attain elsewhere. Athanasius was an ecclesiastical, almost a national, hero in a land where political parties readily grouped themselves round religious catch-words. And to this traditional feeling on behalf of N was added, as time went on, an ecclesiastical rivalry between the throne of St Mark and that upstart see of Constantinople, which owed its position solely to imperial patronage. When Nestorius the Antiochene succeeded to the throne of Chrysostom differences of theological thought intensified the hostility, and Cyril manifests a malign pleasure in correcting the enlarged version of N quoted by Nestorius. The real problem is not so much to account for the suppression of E, wherever Egypt could bring pressure to bear, as to account for the Egyptian bishops ever acquiescing in its formation. Now the letter of Athanasius shews how readily it was believed that the Council of Sardica had taken the course which was adopted at Constantinople; and it shews also considerable anxiety lest some other council should do what Sardica had as a matter of fact refused. Outside Alexandria N had not the same halo of sanctity. It was a safeguard, the value of which was appreciated; but the question of enlargement was simply one of theological policy. A small local synod might well hesitate, a synod of the whole East need not have the same scruple. It would of course be careful to select its phraseology so as not to create needless difficulties; but it was the future welfare of the Church and its immediately pressing need, rather than the honour of the Council of Nicaea, of which they had to think. We can well imagine that the Egyptians did not yield without a struggle; but they would have felt themselves in an unsympathetic atmosphere, and for

[1] *Tomus ad Antiochenos* cc. iv, v (Migne *P.G.* xxvi 799). Ch. iv *παρακαλοῦμεν ... μήτε τοὺς περὶ* Παυλῖνον *ἕτερόν τι μήτε πλέον τῶν ἐν* Νικαίᾳ *προβάλλεσθαι.* Ch. v *καὶ τὸ θρυληθὲν γοῦν παρά τινων πιττάκιον, ὡς ἐν τῇ κατὰ* Σαρδικὴν *συνόδῳ συνταχθὲν περὶ πίστεως, κωλύετε κἂν ὅλως ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ἢ προφέρεσθαι· οὐδὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτον ὥρισεν ἡ σύνοδος. Ἠξίωσαν μὲν γάρ τινες, ὡς ἐνδεοῦς οὔσης τῆς κατὰ Νίκαιαν συνόδου, γράψαι περὶ πίστεως, καὶ ἐπεχείρησάν γε προπετῶς· ἡ δὲ ἁγία σύνοδος ἡ ἐν Σαρδικῇ συναχθεῖσα ἠγανάκτησε, καὶ ὥρισε μηδὲν ἔτι περὶ πίστεως γράφεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖσθαι τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ὁμολογηθείσῃ πίστει, διὰ τὸ μηδὲν αὐτῇ λείπειν, ἀλλὰ πλήρη εὐσεβείας εἶναι, καὶ ὅτι μὴ δεῖν δευτέραν ἐκτίθεσθαι πίστιν, ἵνα μὴ ἡ ἐν Νικαίᾳ γραφεῖσα ὡς ἀτελὴς οὖσα νομισθῇ, καὶ πρόφασις δοθῇ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πολλάκις γράφειν καὶ ὁρίζειν περὶ πίστεως.*

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the insertion of a clause against Macedonianism, which was probably the point first raised, the example of the Council under Damasus furnished a powerful precedent; while, even though the party at Antioch to which Athanasius addressed his letter would support the Egyptians in their resistance, it was the rival party which was in the ascendant at Constantinople. And without support they would have to be very strong men to refuse their assent, for they numbered only two.[1] But on their return home the position would be entirely reversed. The proceedings at Chalcedon emphasize the fact that the strong feeling of the Egyptians did not die down after the death of Athanasius, but continued in full force; and, this being so, we should not expect that an enlarged version of N would be tolerated either at the first Council of Ephesus or at the Latrocinium. But when we have made allowances for this feeling, whenever it had the opportunity to express itself, there are but few, if any, occasions on which we should rightly expect E to appear and do not find it, and on the other hand we are left with the evidence I have already quoted on the other side.

We have now only to summarize the conclusions from the evidence I have brought forward. This makes it clear that the Council of 381 added certain phrases to the creed of the 318 against heresies which had not arisen when this was composed.

We cannot precisely define *a priori* the limits of the added matter, but we know some of the wording and can conjecture a part of the remainder with very fair certainty. The creed thus produced was conciliar in form; it did not deal with doctrines which were not in question, and, like the creed of Damasus, it ended with the Nicene anathemas. It was not regarded as a new symbol, but only as a strengthened form of the old; and within the Constantinopolitan sphere of influence it was probably called the Nicene Creed, and as such it appears in the fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon. Soon afterwards we obtain evidence of a baptismal creed, connected as it would appear with Constantinople and containing at least one phrase which we know to have been inserted by the Council of 381. This was commonly regarded, within the limits of its use, as the baptismal form of the Nicene Creed. The number of bishops who in 451 said they had been baptized with it, puts the date of its composition back very close to 381, while the letter of Eutyches to Leo proves that it cannot have been much earlier. Omitting the evidence of Epiphanius, we have no quotation of it before the Council of Chalcedon. At that date there were two forms of the creed of the 318 recognized. The original form obtained especially

[1] *J.T.S.* vol. xv no. 58 p. 168.

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in Egypt and sporadically elsewhere; but this had been supplanted by the longer form over a large district which had fallen under the influence of the see of Constantinople, and apparently in some portion of the Antiochene patriarchate. The Council of Chalcedon seems to have been misinformed with regard to the action of the Council of Sardica, and to have imagined that the Council of Ephesus, as was claimed by Eusebius and Diogenes, had recognized the longer, and not, as was actually the case, the shorter form of the Nicene Creed. It need not therefore greatly surprise us to find that they attributed to the 150 the composition of the baptismal creed of Constantinople, though it is evident that this creed would not be the work of a council which was claimed as legislating for the whole Eastern Church. If we compare together the enlarged Nicene Creed, as we have seen reason to suppose it to have been issued from the Council of 381, with this baptismal creed, it is clear that the latter is based on the former, but combined in the last clauses, and probably in some of the earlier, with the traditional baptismal creed of Constantinople, the form of which, however, is not precisely known to us. Such a basis is, I think, not only obvious from the creed itself but also accounts most readily for the attribution of C to the 150, and this attribution becomes still easier if we imagine, as is not improbable, that C was thus put together in 382 by the Constantinopolitan bishops who remained behind in local synod after the other fathers of the Council of 381 had departed. The Council of 381 would naturally adhere as closely as possible to the Nicene Creed; but a baptismal creed would avail itself of a larger latitude both of addition and also of omission or alteration where it should seem desirable.

Lastly, I come to deal with the hypothesis of Dr Hort. If the original text of Epiphanius read N, this hypothesis is *ipso facto* destroyed; but it labours under difficulties which would seem fatal to its acceptance, even if C is still read in Epiphanius. Let us suppose with Dr Hort that Cyril's adoption of Nicene language dated from about 362, and that Sozomen, in saying that Cyril had formerly been a Macedonian, had no other source of information than Socrates, and meant nothing more than a semi-Arian. It is an arbitrary and most improbable supposition, for which no precedent can be quoted, that any council with the least approach to a claim to ecumenicity would go into committee on the orthodoxy of any bishop's baptismal creed; in fact, no baptismal creed required the authorization of such a synod. Nor would such a procedure give to that creed an authority which enabled it afterwards to be quoted as on a level with the creed of Nicaea. Nor would such a council accept the production of an orthodox creed as a sufficient proof of personal orthodoxy. Was that

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the test which the councils used, or had they another form of test which was in constant employment wherever possible? Such a test we do know that they had. The Nicene Creed with its anathemas was framed for that purpose. It was employed by Athanasius at Alexandria, as Dr Hort allows. It was the test to which the Macedonians submitted in Rome under Liberius; it was the test proposed to the Macedonians at this very Council of 381. There is not the least suggestion that they were asked to produce a creed other than that of Nicaea either here or in Rome, and *a fortiori* neither would Cyril, who had never been so heretical as they were, and for the last twenty years had been thoroughly orthodox, have been asked to do so.

On the difficulty of deriving C from Cyril's creed, J, there is little that needs to be added to the remarks of Dr Gibson [1] and others. We know J verbally with the exception of the clauses between ἐγένετο and ἀναστάντα, where the creed has been filled up from the chapter-headings of the catecheses, which are very possibly later, and almost certainly in these clauses are slightly wrong. The text furnishes no support for σαρκωθέντα, whereas γεννάω occurs in some form no less than ten times in the course of Catechesis xii. Supposing C to have been based on J, the most purely arbitrary alteration is καθεζόμενον instead of καθίσαντα. It is not only that the latter comes at the end of a long list of aorist participles, but a study of Cyril shews that he is uniformly careful to use καθεζόμενος of the eternal session of God the Son, while he uses the aorist of that session of our Lord in His humanity which had a beginning in time. The only exception to this rule is that he once uses τῷ Πατρὶ συγκαθεζόμενος in insisting on the present exalted state of our Lord in His human nature. But this gives no help when the creed is speaking of a series of definite historic acts. Nor, it may be remarked, is Epiphanius any more likely to have accepted this alteration from Cyril, for his creed in ch. cxxi has also καθίσαντα. Cyril was accused of semi-Arianism,—granted; but why should he introduce phrases directed against Apollinarianism, Marcellianism, and Macedonianism? Or what is the advantage of the concluding clauses over those in J?

But we have to suppose, not only that Cyril was dissatisfied with J, which was quite sufficiently definite against semi-Arianism, but that, wishing to strengthen it, he was not content to enlarge it from N, but introduced many other arbitrary alterations, and then that it found such favour with Epiphanius that he thought in ch. cxx it ought to be taught to all catechumens, while in the next chapter he adopts a baptismal

[1] *The Three Creeds* pp. 171, 172.

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creed based on N and differing largely from C wherever C does not agree with N.

APPENDIX I.

C compared with Cyril's Creed and E.

Cyril	*C*	*E*
Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν	πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν	πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν
Πατέρα παντοκράτορα	Πατέρα παντοκράτορα	Πατέρα παντοκράτορα
ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς · ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων	ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων	πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν
καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν	καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν	καὶ εἰς ἕνα Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν
τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ	τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ	τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ
τὸν μονογενῆ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα	τὸν μονογενῆ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα	τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς μονογενῆ
πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων	προ πάντων αἰώνων	
		τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρὸς
		Θεὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ
	φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς	φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς
Θεὸν ἀληθινόν	Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ	Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ
	γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα	γεννηθέντα οὐ ποιηθέντα
	ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί	ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί
δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο*	δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο	δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο
	τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους	τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
	καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν	καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν
	κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν	κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν
	καὶ σαρκωθέντα	καὶ σαρκωθέντα
	ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ	ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ
	Μαριὰς τῆς παρθένου	Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου
	καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα	καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα

* * (ἐγένετο . . . ἀναστάντα) The text of Cyril's creed is unknown between these two points.

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Cyril	*C*	*E*
	σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν	σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
	ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου	ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου
	καὶ παθόντα	καὶ παθόντα
	καὶ ταφέντα	καὶ ταφέντα
*ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ	καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ	καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ
	κατὰ τὰς γραφάς	κατὰ τὰς γραφάς
καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς	καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς	καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς
καὶ καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς	καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρὸς	καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ Πατρὸς
καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐν δόξῃ	καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης	καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης
κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς	κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς	κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς
οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος	οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος	οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος
καὶ εἰς ἓν Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα	καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον	καὶ εἰς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ Ἅγιον
τὸν παράκλητον		
	τὸ Κύριον καὶ τὸ ζωοποιὸν	τὸ Κύριον τὸ ζωοποιόν
		E ends here
	τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον	
	τὸ σὺν Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον	
τὸ λαλῆσαν ἐν τοῖς προφήταις	τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν	
καὶ εἰς ἓν βάπτισμα μετανοίας		
εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν		
καὶ εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν	εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν	
Ἐκκλησίαν	καὶ ἀποστολικὴν Ἐκκλησίαν	
	ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν	
καὶ εἰς σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν	προσδοκοῦμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν	
καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον	καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος	

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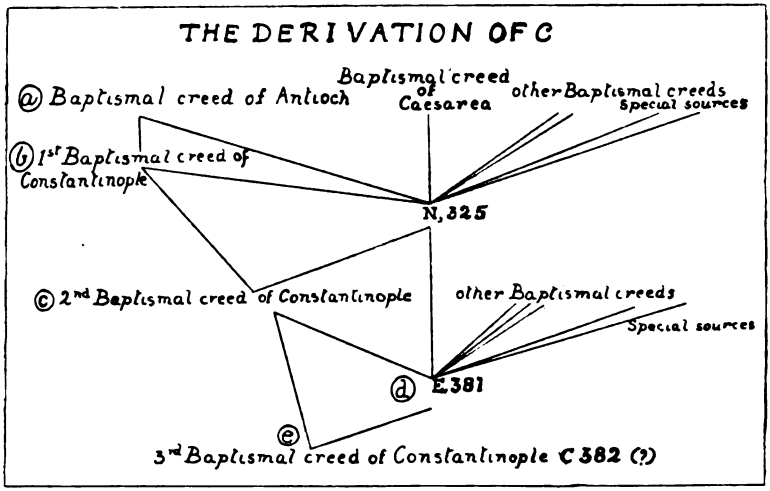

(*a*) Hahn *Bibliothek* pp. 141–143, and compare with it the creed of the Apostolic Constitutions, *ibid.* pp. 139–141.

(*b*) 'A priori we should expect Constantinople to have received its creed from Antioch, its ecclesiastical mother.' Hort *Two Dissertations* p. 75 n.

(*c*) Compare the letter of Eutyches to Leo in 449, which makes it probable that the baptismal creed of Constantinople had been combined with N. In any case N must have received additions for baptismal purposes and have been shorn of its anathemas.

(*d*) Quoted as N in the fifth session of the Council of Chalcedon.

(*e*) C is certainly baptismal in form, and almost certainly Constantinopolitan in origin.

APPENDIX II.

The Tome of Leo.

Leo's Tome was written in 449 and was intended to be read at the Council of Ephesus, the Latrocinium. It did not then get a hearing, but was first read in the second session of the Council of Chalcedon in 451. It contains two passages with regard to the creed.

Nesciens igitur (Eutyches) quid deberet de Verbi Dei Incarnatione sentire, nec volens ad promerendum intelligentiae lumen, in sanctarum scripturarum latitudine laborare, illam saltem communem et indiscretam confessionem sollicito recepisset auditu, qua fidelium universitas profitetur, credere se in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et in Jesum Christum, Filium Ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum. Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine (ch. ii.).

Unde unigenitum Filium Dei crucifixum et sepultum omnes etiam in Symbolo confitemur (ch. v).

We are not here primarily concerned with the question what creed it was from which Leo was quoting, but with the impression produced:

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i. e. with the question, from what creed he would have been thought by the assembled fathers to be quoting.

Leo's first statement is that Eutyches ought to have acknowledged the authority of scripture, propheticae voces, apostolicae litterae, evangelicae auctoritates. But a knowledge of scripture could not be expected from one who did not comprehend the beginning of the creed. Et quod per totum mundum omnium regenerandorum voce depromitur, istius adhuc senis corde non capitur (ch. i).

The appeal to scripture is clear and does not now concern us, but the question arises, what form of creed would the fathers of Chalcedon think Eutyches ought to have acknowledged as authoritative?

This question admits of a double answer. The Egyptians claimed that among creeds N was the sole text of orthodoxy, and it was as judged by this standard that Eutyches had claimed, and by the Latrocinium had been allowed, to be orthodox.

But it is equally clear that Leo was not quoting from N, and in demanding that Eutyches should acknowledge as authoritative Qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto et Maria Virgine, he was endeavouring to enforce on a member of the Church in Constantinople a creed which the Egyptian bishops did not accept.

The question we are discussing is not settled by saying that these words were in the Roman baptismal creed. That was purely Western, and did not run, in the sense of being an authorized form, in the East.

But if the Eastern Church had authorized a creed including these words which Egypt had accepted under pressure at the time but afterwards ignored in deference to a strong sentiment and tradition, the whole situation is explained. Let us grant that Leo was quoting from R, still the words would at once suggest to Easterns the more familiar formula. Nor to Eastern ears would any other interpretation appear possible of 'illam saltem communem et indiscretam confessionem, qua fidelium universitas profitetur . . .' and 'omnes . . . confitemur'. Such language could not to them mean the Western baptismal creed; it must mean N, either in its original or in its enlarged form. Nor would they admit that Eutyches should be judged by a Western symbol.

Thus the Constantinopolitan would rejoice in Leo's apparent acceptance of the dogmatic work of the Council of 381, Leo had acknowledged E as authoritative, while on the other hand the Egyptians would be confounded; Rome, Constantinople, Antioch were all against them.

Such a blow could not have been without effect on the proceedings of the Egyptian party. Nor was it. The opposition to the sentiment of the majority which they had manifested in the earlier stages of the Council died down, killed as it appears by Leo's Tome, and in the end E and C were accepted as authoritative with no dissentient voice.

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It is, I think, hardly open to doubt that the Council thought Leo was quoting from E. But was it so in fact? On this point there is still room for difference of opinion. The words undoubtedly occur in R, but would Leo have quoted R as authoritative to Flavian or to an Eastern council? Or did he press the claims of his see so far as to make his own baptismal creed a standard equal in authority to the Scriptures over a Constantinopolitan archimandrite? On this point I refer to Dr. Gore: 'Leo appears to make no exact or definite claim over the Eastern bishops. He professes his "universalis cura" for the whole church . . . but when he comes to write his celebrated letter to Flavian . . . he writes in a tone no wise different from that adopted by St Cyril in his letters against Nestorius' (*Dictionary of Christian Biography* vol. iii p. 662). On the other hand Leo had no objection on principle to a conciliar enlargement of N; for his own predecessor Damasus had already adopted that course. And two years later Leo acknowledged E through his legates at Chalcedon.

F. J. BADCOCK.

THE PRIMITIVE TEXT OF THE GOSPELS AND ACTS, A REJOINDER.

AMONG the notices of my work upon the Primitive Text of the Gospels and Acts three differ from the rest in that they are signed. The writers are Dr Sanday,[1] Dr Souter,[2] and Sir Frederic Kenyon,[3] three well-known defenders of what Westcott and Hort call the 'Neutral' text. I have always made it a rule not to reply to reviewers, and it is with the utmost reluctance that I break this ordinance. I only do so because it has been represented to me by friends that, if I do not reply, an unfavourable interpretation may be placed on my silence.

Since I cannot expect that my little book may have made its way into the hands of more than a few of those who read this answer, I may be allowed to state my main points. This I will do very briefly.

My work consists of two parts. In the first I treat the Gospels and in the second the Acts. The method followed is different in the two cases, but the result is the same. This is, that the primitive text is to

[1] *Oxford Magazine*, June 4, 1914.

[2] *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, August 14, 1914.

[3] *Church Quarterly Review*, October 1914 (under the title 'Von Soden's edition of the New Testament').

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be found in what is generally termed the 'Western' family, viz. the Graeco-Latin Codex Bezae (D) and its allies; not in B ℵ, the two oldest Greek MSS. I object to the term 'Western', since this text, which is that quoted by the earliest Fathers, was used in the East as well as in the West, and the Old Syriac versions exhibit a text similar to that found in the Old Latin. As the most obvious difference in them is their length, I shall here speak of them as the longer and shorter texts. My thesis is that it is the longer text which is original, and that the shorter text has been derived from it; not, as is generally held, that the longer is the result of periphrasis and expansion.

In my book I began with the Gospels, though I quote on two occasions Professor Lake's remark that the proper course is to begin with the Acts. I now propose to invert the order and to begin with the Acts, since in their case the problem is more simple.

D is written in lines of irregular length, divided more or less according to the sense. As an example of the formation we may take, e.g.:

v. 38–39 και εασατε αυτους
μη μιαναντες τας χειρας
οτι εαν η εξ ανθρωπων η βουλη αυτη
η το εργον τουτο καταλυθησεται
5 ει δε εκ θῡ εστιν ου δυνησεσθαι καλυσαι αυτους
ουτε υμεις ουτε βασιλεις ουτε τυραννοι
απεχεσθαι ουν απο των ανθρωπων τουτῶ
μηποτε θεομαχοι ευρεθητε.

While comparing the rival texts I observed a striking phenomenon, viz. that passages found in D, but omitted by B ℵ, and as a rule by the other Greek MSS, not infrequently occupy complete lines in D. Thus in the passage quoted above, l. 2, μὴ μιάναντες τὰς χεῖρας, and ll. 6–7, are omitted by all Greek MSS except D. I found forty-one cases of such omission.

In the case of classical MSS a single example where a complete line (of reasonable length) in one MS is omitted by another is considered to be good evidence that the MS which omits the passage was copied from the MS which contained it. Here, however, the conditions are different, since (*a*) in D the *στίχοι* are 'sense-lines' and (*b*) they are so short that accidents may easily occur. Here the Gospels come to our aid. In them I find fourteen cases in all where passages, omitted (rightly or wrongly) by ℵ B, occupy complete lines or blocks of lines in D. If, however, we take into consideration the length of the Gospels (324 pages in D) as compared with that of the Acts (88 pages in D) we should expect to find about 150 cases in the Gospels. The hypothesis of accident, therefore, does not seem to work.

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From a palaeographical point of view the most interesting case is :

xv 29 εν πραξατε φερομενοι
εν τω αγιω πνῑ ερρωσθε.

So also Irenaeus and Tertullian. The other MSS give εὖ πράξατε· ἔρρωσθε. The obvious explanation here is that the scribe has passed from one line to the same place in the next line, omitting the intermediate words. No critic would venture to suggest any other explanation if he were dealing with a profane text.

In spite of all this evidence I should have hesitated to draw any conclusion, but for the fact that it is reinforced by a number of cases where the ordinary text seems to have been patched after a loss of one or more lines. I select as examples :

iii 3 ουτος ατενισας τοις οφθαλμοις αυτου
και ιδων πετρον και ιωαννην
So D : ὃς ἰδὼν Πέτρον καὶ Ἰωάννην *cett.*
xv 12 συνκατατεθεμενων δε των πρεσβυτερων
τοις υπο του πετρου ειρημενοις
εσειγησαν παν το πληθος
So D : ἐσίγησε δὲ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος *cett.*

The hypothesis of expansion here is not so probable as that of contraction. I would ask the reader to consider the parallel phenomena which I point out in Acts xxvii 11–13 (p. 104), as given in the Fleury palimpsest, and in Mark x 46, xii 4, Matt. xiii 14–15, as given in 𝔏ᵏ.

I have collected twenty cases in which small alterations appear to have been made in order to remedy omissions. Among these is the famous passage xxi 16 :

ουτοι δε ηγαγον ημας
παρ ω ξενισθωμεν
και παραγενομενοι εις τινα κωμην
εγενομεθα παρα νασωνι τινι κυπριω
So D : ἄγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν Μνάσωνί τινι Κυπρίῳ *cett.*

Here, according to the shorter text, St Paul goes from Caesarea to Jerusalem, a distance of sixty-eight miles, in one day, while the extra line found in D, καὶ . . . κώμην, makes him spend a night in a village. Who can doubt which text is right here ?

Other cases which I discuss in chapter xii are more complicated.

The only conclusion which I can draw from these phenomena is that at a very early date the Acts were arranged in sense-lines, such as those which have been preserved in D. This method of division is very

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suitable for purposes of a literal translation, such as might be circulated in Rome.

At the risk of being prolix I venture to give an instance of an abbreviated text of a later author. I refer to the treatise upon the Apocalypse written by Primasius, Bishop of Hadrumetum, cent. vi. This was published in the Bale edition of 1544, and again in Migne's *Patrologia*. Migne omits large blocks of text which appear in the Bale edition, sometimes producing utter nonsense. I have recently examined an Oxford MS, Douce 140, known as D, written in the eighth century, which not only contains the passages omitted in Migne, but also long passages omitted by both editions. Here Migne gives a short text, the Bale edition a longer text, and D one longer still. The omissions are chiefly due to accident, not intention, and exhibit the regular operation of a numerical unit. In one passage, however, the problem is more complicated, viz. Migne 837 c (ed. Basil. n. 3). Here both editions give :

militant. In qua nunc quartam dari praedixit potestatem. Hanc dicit Ecclesiam, qua ex parte consistit variis malorum gladiis exercendam. Quod etiam etc.

D has :

militant ⟨quae una in tribus
quartis constare nuntiatur siue quia in
trina unitate credit siue quod trium professi
onum ordinibus grata uarietate distin
guitur uirginum uiduarum et coniugum. In
quibus nunc tribus quartis dari praedicet po
testatem hanc dixit aeclesiam et una
est et ex tribus quartis quadrata stabilita
te consistet cum ad unum capud reperitur
trina professio super aedificata inquid super
fundamentum apostholorum et propheta
rum. Ipso summo angulari lapide xp̄o ihu hunc
uariis praedicet malorum cladib; exercen
dam a gentilitate simulata fraternita
te et heretica prauitate⟩ quod etiam

I do not think that any one will here deny the authenticity of the longer text.

If my analysis of the Acts is sound, it affects vitally the similar question which arises as between the rival texts in the Gospels. This is of importance, since in the Gospels the evidence is different, and the method which I have followed is, apart from Mr Cronin's analysis of ℵ in St John, novel. I may say that I had not seen Mr Cronin's paper until my book was being read for press. My work upon the Gospels

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falls into two parts. In the first I analyse the most important MSS, and find that all of them appear from internal evidence to be derived from ancestors written in very narrow columns containing on the average 10–11 letters, such as are found in the palimpsest of Cicero *de Re Publica* (cent. iv). The evidence is furnished by omissions, which seem to represent lines of an ancestor, and also by dittographies, dislocations, and corruptions of all kinds. Here the problem is purely palaeographical, and there is no place for any other considerations. I venture to think that the similarity of my results to those which Mr Cronin obtained, when working upon a branch of the subject, is somewhat striking. I postpone remarks upon my arithmetic until I proceed to answer some objections which have been made. It will be seen from my book that I lay great stress upon this analysis of the MSS, and venture to express myself with some confidence.

The second part of my work concerns what I call 'the most delicate and critical point in the inquiry', viz. the consideration of the main variants characteristic of the different families, in the hope that they may throw some light upon the formation of the archetype. I endeavour to put the reader in possession of all the facts, pointing out that the variants are 'a farrago taken from all sources', and that the influence of interpolation, coincidence, and mere chance must be taken into account.

The method which I follow here, as previously in my analysis of the individual MSS, is to arrange the omissions in order of length, and to let the larger figures speak for themselves. The theory is, that in a certain percentage of cases lines have been omitted. If so, we shall expect to find units and multiples of units, and also, when we come to large figures we shall observe numerical relations.

I have recently made a considerable study of old Latin MSS, chiefly patristic, in which a second hand has added passages omitted in the text, prefacing them with omission signs. Sometimes these are few in number, sometimes they are very frequent; thus in one MS I have noted 199 cases. Sometimes the unit is a very large one. Thus in Laud. Misc. 134, cent. ix, containing Augustine *de Spiritu et littera*, there are seven such supplements. One of these seems to have no connexion with the others, and to have been omitted by accident. The others contain the following number of letters :—

72 (three cases),
76 (one case),
77 (one case),
78 (one case).

Here it is obvious that 72–78 represents a line of the model. In many MSS I find a regular series of multiples. In such cases it is

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always the largest figures which are most important, since in them the average length of the line asserts itself. Thus in Laud. Misc. 121, cent. ix, containing Augustine *de doctrina Christiana*, the largest passages added by the second hand, with omission symbols, contain the following number of letters: 100, 101, 224, 399, 425.

The first two are practically identical, while 399 is almost 100×4. If we subtract 399 from 425 the result is 26. I now call attention to the following multiples: $25 \times 4 = 100$, $25 \times 9 = 225$, $25 \times 16 = 400$, $25 \times 17 = 425$.

Among the shorter omissions are one of 75 letters, three of 50–52, seven of 24–27. Thus we have a regular series in an ascending scale. First there is an irregular unit 24–27, while in the multiples the average asserts itself and becomes dominant.

Similar evidence is yielded by various corruptions. Thus on f. 50 r the words *bonorum atque malorum* are inserted in the wrong place. They occur lower down in their correct context, viz.:

intra unum rete piscium bonorum et malorum.

The intervening words between the right and the wrong place contain 647 letters. Here the same multiple appears ($25 \times 26 = 650$). The inference is that the words *bonorum atque malorum* were in the first place omitted by accident, then added in the margin by a corrector, and finally inserted in the text some 26 lines too soon. As 26 lines would be a very suitable number for the content of a page or a column, it is probable that instead of being inserted at a certain place in one page or column they got into another page or column at the same place.

I have a mass of such evidence, gathered from MSS in which omission symbols occur, which I hope to publish before long. Meanwhile I can only say that similar phenomena are normal, and where the unit is sufficiently large the facts cannot be gainsaid.

When we are concerned with MSS written in very narrow columns, e.g. 10–11 letters to the line, the larger numbers cannot be ascribed to the operation of so small a unit without further proof. This is furnished by correspondences which begin to appear between the larger figures. These are *φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν*. I can give no better example than that provided by Syr.$^{Sin.}$ The small figures present what I term a 'welter of confusion'. The largest are 83, 128, 132, 167, 262. Here 128 and 132 are practically identical. If we take an average the result is 130. We have now to notice that $83 \times 2 = 166$ while $130 \times 2 = 260$. The explanation is that, while 83 equals a certain number of lines containing a particular unit, 167 equals twice that number of lines containing the same unit. So if 132 contains a certain number of multiples of that unit, 262 contains twice the amount. The proof, therefore, depends

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on the articulation of the larger numbers and their relation to each other, not on the fact that they may be explained as multiples of 10–11 letters. My critics pass over my analysis of this particular MS in silence. I must ask whether they accept it or reject it.

I return to my list of disputed passages in the Gospels, most of which do not appear in the shorter text. There are two possibilities, viz. (1) that there are a fortuitous congeries of interpolations, and (2) that they are fragments of an ancestor. In the first case we should not expect to find any numerical relation between them, in the second we should. The five longest passages contain the following number of letters: 166, 167, 320, 829, 964. Here 166 and 167 are practically identical, while $166 \times 5 = 830$. So there is a numerical relation between 320 and 964, while 320 can be explained as 160×2.

My conclusion is that these numbers 160–167 correspond to some division in the archetype of the Gospels. I offer no opinion as to whether this was a page or a column. Columns of this length are found in the palimpsest of Cicero *de Re Publica* (cent. iv) and in a MS of the Gospels (N cent. vi). I point out that such an archetype must have been a codex or book, not a roll, and shew that the vellum codex was used at Rome in the reign of Domitian (A. D. 81-96) for popular books, e. g. Homer, Virgil, Martial, and works of Cicero and Livy.

These are the essential points in my work. It is necessary for me to indicate them since they have been disregarded. None of the distinguished critics concerned have questioned my analysis of the individual MSS, though it is here that the method employed can be best tested. On the subject of the Acts, which is the citadel of my case, Dr Sanday and Dr Souter preserve an *altum silentium*. Sir F. Kenyon does mention the Acts once, but in a signally unfortunate context. He reports me as saying that various omissions in the Gospels *and Acts* consist of 160–168 letters! It is discouraging to find my main point, stated in the Preface as well as in two chapters of my book, thus ignored.

I now turn to some objections which have been raised. I take first those of Dr Souter, since he has put them simply and in a tabulated form. They are

(1) B and ℵ, the MSS which give the shortest text, are the oldest MSS we have, and are connected with Egypt, the home of textual criticism.

(2) The phenomena observed in D and other 'Western' authorities bear witness to the free handling which the texts had to submit to in the West at an early date.

(3) The tendency was for the text to become longer rather than shorter, on the principle that nothing be lost.

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(4) In Ciceronian MSS the patching is bad where an omission has occurred. In New Testament MSS the 'added' parts are nearly always complete in themselves, and, in the judgement of many, better absent.

(5) In the case of the New Testament, MSS were from an early date (say about A. D. 175) sacred and of eternal moment to the scribes themselves. Wholesale omission on their part cannot be supposed, since they were particularly careful where the sacred words of the Lord were concerned.

As to (1), although B ℵ are the oldest Greek MSS, their evidence is inferior in antiquity to that furnished by the Old Latin and Old Syriac versions, which are said to be not later than 150 A.D. Also, we have the quotations of the oldest Fathers. That the evidence of the oldest versions and the earliest Fathers is in favour of the longer text is not disputed. Further, the fact that Egypt was the seat of textual criticism is in itself suspicious. The oldest papyri of Homer present us with a longer text, from which a number of lines were excised by Alexandrine critics, sometimes on subjective grounds. Jerome reproaches Origen for corrupting the text of the Septuagint by the use of the Alexandrine obels and asterisks. Egypt is the natural place for an early revision of the New Testament, but the primitive text is more likely to have been preserved in Antioch or in Rome.

(2) The theory of 'free-handling' at any early date involves certain difficulties. I venture to combine this subject with that stated under (5).

The defenders of B ℵ maintain, as they are bound to do, that the ancestor, or ancestors, from which they are descended, remained pure from such interpolations. Thus the scribes are divided into the sheep and the goats, or possibly into one sheep and a number of goats. I find no such dichotomy between scribes at other periods. They seem to me honest and simple folk who were subject to various infirmities, but did their best at all times. The assumption that scribes after about A. D. 175 looked upon a casual omission as a deadly sin to be avoided at all hazards does not agree with the facts. I have remarked (p. 57) that 'the writer of ℵ was a helpless victim to ὁμοιότης, while Syr.$^{Sin.}$ omits continually, with freedom for which I know few parallels'. Scrivener says that ℵ has 115 examples of omission due to ὁμοιότης in the New Testament. Similar instances will be found in k, and Dr Sanday frequently describes its text as 'abridged'. But if it was a sin to omit, it was a sin to abridge, and still more to interpolate. Yet the theory obliges us to suppose that at a very early date, going back to subapostolic times, men interpolated with the utmost freedom, without thinking that they thereby endangered their souls. The hypothesis of omission is from a psychological view far simpler.

(3) The statement that the tendency was for the text to become

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longer may be true in certain cases, at certain periods, or in a certain sense. Thus a reviewer of my work in *The Times* says that this is so in the developement of the Vulgate. I accept the statement unreservedly. I should suspect, however, that this is due to the conflation of variants, a fact which is indisputable in itself, though some of Hort's examples are questionable in the case of the New Testament. In Latin MSS such conflations become most noticeable in the period following on the Caroline Renaissance, when it became a common practice to enter a variant from one MS into another. Also, the ravages of accident must always be taken into consideration. Thus, a number of passages omitted by the first hand are added by a corrector with omission marks in such MSS as, e.g., the Lindisfarne Gospels (cent. vii–viii), or Harl. 1775 (cent. vii), both of which contain the Vulgate. The cod. Rehdigeranus (Old Latin) cent. vii is interesting in this connexion. The writer was exceedingly conscientious, and, when he found that he had omitted something, he erased on occasions a number of lines and rewrote the passage. In spite of all his care he failed to notice a number of omissions, which were added by a second hand. One of these additions consists of two columns with 20 lines in each. As this happens to be the number of lines in the Rehdigeranus itself, it is clear that the scribe omitted one page of an ancestor written in the same formation.

It is impossible to insure against such risks. A text is like a traveller who goes from one inn to another, losing an article of luggage at each halt. I would add that such omissions are especially likely in the case of MSS written in narrow column, since this arrangement is very confusing. For proof I refer to Van Buren's transcript of the *de Re Publica* palimpsest.

(4) The objection that so many of the disputed passages are complete in themselves is a grave one, and in my judgement the most important which has been brought against my theory. I wish to treat it with great respect.

I would remark—

(*a*) When Dr Souter says that 'in Ciceronian MSS' the thought is disturbed where an omission has occurred, I presume that he is referring to instances quoted in my book, which are chiefly chosen to illustrate a rent in the text. I could easily provide him with hundreds of cases in which there is no such rent. Perhaps the most striking example is Cic. *Phil.* ii 93–96, where a long self-contained passage *sunt ea quidem . . . acta defendimus* is omitted by D (i. e. all MSS except V). So in the same speech § 3 a complete passage of some length *sed hoc . . . fuisse* is omitted by D.

(*b*) The *pericope de adultera* in St John vii 53–viii 11 is not really a separate incident, since the story is preceded by the verse (vii 53) καὶ

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ἐπορεύθησαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. It is difficult to see why an interpolator should have added these words as a preface to the story.

(*c*) The various MSS exhibit the same phenomena in the case of passages which are undoubtedly genuine. I would refer once more to the larger omissions of Syr.$^{Sin.}$ consisting of 83, 128, 132, 167, 262 letters. The authenticity of the passages is beyond dispute, and their numerical relation shews that they represent lines in the exemplars. They are, however, in all cases self-contained.

This being so, we have to ask why it is that these omissions, if such they are, so frequently form complete sentences?

In the first place we must remember that in the Gospels the sentences are very short, quite unlike the Ciceronian period. If short sentences are written in narrow columns, there is considerable chance that the end of the sentence may coincide with the end of the line. Secondly, there is a tendency in some MSS, e.g. ℵ from time to time, and in the Old Latin MSS generally, to adopt a system of paragraphs, in which the last line is slightly shorter than the others so as to begin a new sentence or new subject with a fresh line. This slight reduction in the length of the last line, i. e. of 4 or 5 letters, would not affect the average shewn by the figures. Thirdly, and this is the reason to which I attach most weight, there is a great difference between the transmission of the Gospels and that of classical texts, especially in Latin. In ordinary pre-Caroline MSS the mistakes shew that the copyists were grossly ignorant, and the correctors little better. Consequently, bleeding wounds in the text were unnoticed and untended. In the case of the Gospels the scribes knew what they were writing, and corrected errors when they were obvious.

Thus in Matt. x 14 the model of B seems to have had

```
        και ος αν
μη δεξηται υ (10)
μας
```

The first hand omits μὴ δέξηται ὑ-, but the second hand repairs the loss.

So Luke xvi 1, the model of B seems to have had

```
              δια
σκορπιζων τα υπ (13)
αρχοντα αυτου (12)
και
```

The first hand omits αρχοντα αυτου, but the omission is again rectified. If, however, the rent was not so obvious, the error might not be noticed.

Thus in Mark xiii 8 the model of ℵ seems to have had

```
          και
βασιλεια επι (11)
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βασιλειαν ε (10)
σονται σεισμοι (13)
5 κατα τοπους ε (11)
σονται λιμοι (11).

Here ℵ omits l. 2 and ll. 5–6, and the mistake is not rectified. The explanation, therefore, seems to lie in the survival of the fittest. When the passage omitted formed a complete clause or sentence, its absence was not so likely to be detected.

Dr Sanday attacks the numerical method which I have employed, though with some qualifications. Thus he says of my unit 10–11 letters, 'the favourite hypothetical unit of length, in the narrow columns of the earliest MSS, is—*quite naturally and rightly*—ten letters to the line'. This is an important admission. His contention, however, is that the numerical test is too elastic to be of any practical use. I am thoroughly aware of the difficulties involved where the unit is so small, and so far from concealing them, I have done my best to point them out. Thus when speaking of Syr.$^{Sin.}$ I noted that certain omissions of 14–18 letters, which I thought too frequent to be due to mere chance, 'might possibly represent lines in the model before the writer', as contrasted with the shorter unit which appears in the bulk of the omissions. So when dealing with 𝔏^{k} I shew that there was an intermediate Latin ancestor with 14–15 letters to the line, speaking here with confidence.

Dr Sanday says, 'if we have the decimal system for one set of archetypes, we have for another (say) 15 or 16 letters to the line'. This is a singular use of the word 'archetype'. The correct sense of the term, so far as I am aware, is the exemplar from which all existing MSS are derived. There can be *ex hypothesi* only one archetype, though there may be a large number of intermediate MSS.

So, too, in chapter ix, where I put together the disputed passages, I have made no effort to arrange the evidence in a form favourable to my view. I say 'I feel that the reader has a right to have all the evidence before him, even if the result is at first sight chaos'. The method which I follow here and elsewhere is to let the figures speak for themselves, and this the larger figures do, and with no uncertain voice.

My contention is not that all omissions are to be explained in the same way. Chance is always an important factor, and any omission of any length may be due to ὁμοιότης. What I maintain is that a certain proportion of omissions are due to a definite cause, viz. the loss of lines in a previous MS, and that where the curve of variations shews recurring bulges, as we rise from multiple to multiple of the unit, while the larger numbers are correlated and support each other, we are justified in considering that something more than blind chance is at work.

Dr Sanday owns that in this case 'the largest figures are the most

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dazzling', and he proceeds to deal with the largest, viz. 964 (St Mark xvi 9–20). This he calls 'the key-stone of the arch'. As I have always endeavoured to point out difficulties in the way of my conclusions, I have in a note remarked, 'It is, I admit, remarkable that the last words of the Gospel should come exactly at the end of a page or folio'. This Dr Sanday terms a 'curious note', and proceeds to point out that in ℵ and D the various writings which they contain do not end at the foot of a page or a column, and that the unoccupied space is left blank or partially filled by a subscription. He asks, if there was any blank at the end of the archetype of St Mark, how can we be sure that the figure 963 represents any unit or multiple of a unit of any length? The answer to this question is, because it is in an obvious relation to the preceding figures 166, 167, 320, 829. I can only conclude that the archetype did end here, unless indeed something, possibly a few words which came after v. 20. has been lost. And now I must say a few words as to the likelihood that the end of St Mark did coincide with the end of a folio or a page or a column in the archetype.

It is, of course, beyond dispute that a document may end anywhere. In a MS which contains 16 lines to a page the chances are 15 to 1 against its ending in the last line of a column. In the case of B, which has 42 lines to the page, the odds are, I believe, 41 to 1 against the coincidence. In it, however, the Gospel of St Luke ends on the 41st line of column 2; and, if the first hand had not accidentally omitted μεγάλης in v 52, it would have ended in the last line. This is fairly near, but a better case is to be found in the Epistle to the Philippians, which in B ends with the last line of column 2. A still better example occurs in the cod. Augiensis (29 lines to the page), where the same epistle ends with the close of a folio. In the same MS the Epistle to Philemon, preceded by the title, occupies exactly one page. In the cod. Rehdigeranus St Mark ends with the last line of the page, a very exact parallel. It will be seen, therefore, that such coincidences, though unlikely, do actually occur. On the other hand, I must ask what the mathematical chances are against such sequences as 83 and 167, 132 and 262, or 166, 167 and 829, 320 and 964, coming out, unless some common cause is at work?

I cannot agree with Dr Sanday that this passage is the 'key-stone of the arch'. If I had to select an architectural metaphor I would call it the 'coping-stone'. It crowns the edifice, but, if it is removed, the fabric still stands firm.

He also refuses to recognize the validity of the other large figures on the ground that the authorities for the omission or addition vary. Thus, e. g., while St Mark xvi 9–20 'is found in all the leading uncials except ℵ B, the addition to St Luke v 14 has the solitary support of D'. He

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says 'the groupings are quite different', and infers that the readings belong to different strata and came in at different times. I can only reply that all arguments about groupings are highly subjective, while mine is an objective test. I have indicated (p. 48) some singular evidence furnished by the omissions in Syr.$^{Sin.}$ and k, which seem to cast light upon the relation of the Old Syriac and Old Latin versions to each other. When such questions have been decided, it will be possible to discuss groupings. For the present I prefer to survey the wood from an eminence, not to lose my way among the trees.

Dr Sanday adds that I stake my all on 'a single line of proof, and that line is purely mechanical'. I must demur to this charge. I have nothing at stake. My interest in the problem is palaeographical. I have no axe to grind. What I have done is to apply a new method to a subject of the greatest complexity which has been studied from every other point of view. I have kept carefully aloof, as I state (pp. 106, 108), from more ambitious enquiries, and borne in mind the maxim that 'a cobbler should stick to his last'. Such a method, I believe, is that which Aristotle calls ἐξ ἀφαιρέσεως, when the investigator leaves out of sight those facts which belong to other inquiries and restricts himself to the particular points which he has in view.

The most formidable objection raised by Sir Frederic Kenyon is one on which he is a recognized expert, viz. the formation of the archetype to which the Gospels (not the Acts, as he adds) seem to go back. The references which I give are taken from Sir E. Maunde Thompson's work. Sir F. Kenyon repeats them, and acknowledges that vellum books, as opposed to rolls of papyri, were in use at Rome as early as A. D. 81–96. He attempts, however, to turn my flank in a singular manner. He says that out of the two vellum leaves, written in the second century A. D., which have come down to us, one, in verse, contains 26 lines to the page, while the other, which is in prose, is written in double columns of 36 lines with 24–29 letters each. He concludes that such a formation as 16 lines to a page with 10–11 letters to the line is not yet a *vera causa*, so far as the second century A. D. is concerned.

This really seems unreasonable. When we have only two extant specimens of a second-century book, one of which, being in verse, is scarcely germane to the discussion, it is too much to expect that the other will afford a specimen of any particular formation. It is not long ago since Birt, following up the stichometrical speculations of Graux, talked about a line of 35–37 letters as 'normal' in papyri. Since then the discovery of papyri in large quantities has shewn that the theory of a normal line is a figment. The papyri are of all shapes and sizes, according to the caprice of the writer and the character of his material. The columns vary very greatly in size. From some notes which I made,

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when looking through the theological and classical papyri published by Grenfell and Hunt, it appeared to me that the most frequent sizes contain an average of about 18, 22, 24, 28 letters to the line. The 'normal' line of 35–37 is found, e. g., in Oxyrhynchus 418, 668, 880, 884, but is not common. On the other hand, we have examples of such narrow columns as 10–12 letters, and occasionally abnormally broad ones, e. g. in Ox. 1251 (Cicero *pro Caelio*), where the lines contain some 70–80 letters. Since Sir F. Kenyon says that in papyri the columns are hardly ever so narrow as to contain only 10–12, I would mention the following specimens among the above-mentioned papyri :—

Ox. 883 Demosthenes, 3rd cent.
1010 Ezra, 4th cent.
1084 Hellanicus, 2nd cent.
1093, 1182 } Demosthenes, 2nd cent.
1176 Satyrus, Life of Euripides, 2nd cent.
Greek Papyri (Grenfell), vol. i 6 Zechariah, 5th cent.
8 Protevangelium, 5th/6th cent.

It will be noticed that three of the examples belong to the second century. The narrowest columns which I noticed are in Ox. 1176, where the average is, I think, less than 10 letters.

In Latin these narrow columns are frequent, e. g. in the palimpsest of Cic. *de Re Publica*. In this the average length is 10–11 letters, but there are narrower columns with an average of 9. We find the same formation in the Ambrosian palimpsest of Cic. *pro Scauro*, &c., and I am in a position to prove that the Vatican palimpsest of the Verrines was copied from a model written in this way. The evidence of the most ancient Latin Gospels shews that this was the favourite formation. I refer to the Vercellensis, cent. iv ; the Palatinus, cent. v ; the Veronensis, cent. v/vi, as well as to others of later date. Also, I must point to my analysis of ℵ B, Syr.$^{Sin.}$ and k, and ask whether Dr Kenyon accepts, as apparently Dr Sanday does, the contention that they are derived from a succession of MSS written in this formation. In the case of ℵ I would request that Mr Cronin's analysis should be compared with mine.

The question therefore narrows itself down to the point whether such a MS as the *de Re Publica* palimpsest (cent. iv), which exhibits the particular formation which I desire, viz. 16 lines with an average of 10–11 letters, could have been written in the second century. I do not see how it is possible to prove that it could not. I had used the term *edition de luxe* of the MS of the Gospels (N), cent. vi, a *codex purpureus*, of which Sir F. Kenyon says in his handbook that 'the writing is in silver, with gold for the abbreviations of the sacred names, and the

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letters are unusually large', and on this account hesitated to compare it with any supposed archetype. Sir F. Kenyon transfers the description to the palimpsest of the *de Re Publica*, which I supposed to be written in the ordinary style of the period, and not to be an *edition de luxe*. At any rate it is not written on purple parchment or in letters of silver and gold.

Sir F. Kenyon also find flaws in my arithmetic. He says that of such a unit as 10–12 any number over 40 can be a multiple. I am fully sensible of the difficulty. When treating the individual MSS I have shewn how the evidence is buttressed by constant correspondences which transcend the limits of coincidence. When putting together the variants gathered from all sources, I have drawn no conclusions, except in five cases where there was further evidence, and I have left the larger figures to speak for themselves. After they have spoken, then, if I interpret their evidence aright, a presumption arises in favour of the longer text as compared with that of ℵ B, but the individual cases must necessarily remain a matter of doubt.

In the same way he attacks some larger numbers which I give when discussing Spitta's theory about dislocations in St John's Gospel. I hold no brief on behalf of this theory. It was first mentioned to me after my own work was completed, and I speak of it in a very tentative way, saying that 'I do not profess to have sounded the question to its depths' (p. 70). Here there are four figures concerned, viz. 167 (ch. v 4), 997 (ch. vii 1–14), 4372 (ch. vii 15–24, and v), and 5540 (ch. vi). I point out that $166 \times 6 = 996$, $168 \times 26 = 4368$, $168 \times 33 = 5544$. Sir F. Kenyon remarks that the figure 33 is not an even number, and implies a dislocation of $16\frac{1}{2}$ folios. This is a sound argument, and, whether the unit be a page or a column, which I leave undecided, the difficulty remains, and has to be set against the coincidences which I mention. He suggests that I should make it 163×34, and then remarks that with so fluctuating a base as a unit of 160–168 any figure higher than 3200 can be shewn to be a product of some such combination. It is undoubtedly true that $160–168 \times 21 = 3360–3528$ and $160–168 \times 22 = 3520–3696$, but I must, very gently, point out that in the two large numbers I have allowed myself no such liberty, but have employed the same unit, viz. 168, with the result that in each case the multiple is exact except for four letters. His criticism, therefore, is directed upon a position which he invites me to take, not one which I occupied.

There is another point in which I seem not to have made my meaning clear. Sir F. Kenyon, after speaking of the archetype which I suggest, says that I attempt to 'account for the majority of the phenomena which differentiate the Neutral Text from the Western by the omission of whole lines, pages and leaves of *such a MS*'. What

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I say (p. 57) is, 'I do not suggest that all the omissions in any of the important MSS are due to the negligence of a single scribe. It is more probable that they represent the sum-total of omissions made by a series of ancestors written in columns of similar breadth.' If this is true of the individual MSS, it is still more true when the whole tradition is taken into account. There must have been a number of intermediate MSS, traces of which are occasionally embedded in our texts. I point out one such case in St Luke xxii 17–22, where there is a curious series of dislocations and omissions peculiar to the Syriac and Old Latin. Here, obviously, a special ancestor is concerned. Sir F. Kenyon remarks 'some cases remain recalcitrant, for these he discovers yet another unit of about 152 letters'. I really cannot sin against all the laws of textual criticism by ignoring the existence of intermediate ancestors.

Both Dr Sanday and Sir F. Kenyon have an 'alternative plea'. This is that my method is not new. Dr Sanday says that 'the phenomena to which he calls attention and the hypothesis by which he would explain them have been recognized as a *vera causa* for some time'. Sir F. Kenyon sums up the case by saying that 'what is true is not new, and what is new is not true', a somewhat well-worn remark. I do not think that a case is strengthened by such 'alternative pleas'. I do not wish to claim novelty for my method, especially if there is a necessary antinomy between novelty and truth. I would only remark that, when I began my enquiry upon the text of Cicero, I had no guides, and that I have carefully recorded in my work any anticipations of my method which I came across. I shall be grateful for any additions, in the hope that I may be able to acknowledge them at a future date.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

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APOLLOS AND THE TWELVE DISCIPLES AT EPHESUS.

THE narrative of Acts xviii 24–xix 7 presents many points of difficulty to the critic, which are not capable of easy solution. What stage in Christian belief had Apollos attained before his instruction by Priscilla and Aquila? What precisely is conveyed by the term 'disciple' as used of the twelve who had been baptized into John's baptism? In what relation, if any, do they stand to Apollos? It might well be that if one could answer such questions as these with any degree of certainty, light would be thrown back into more than one obscure corner of the history of primitive Christianity.

Mr J. H. A. Hart's article 'Apollos' in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (vol. vii) appears at first sight to afford a satisfactory interpretation of the narrative. Apollos was a disciple of the Baptist: the twelve were probably converted by him during his preaching in Ephesus. The statement that he 'taught carefully the things concerning Jesus' must be explained by Lc. xxiv 27 as referring to the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament, while one whose master was the Forerunner might well be described as 'instructed in the way of the Lord'. The further information imparted by Priscilla and Aquila was to the effect that the Messiah soon to come upon the clouds of Heaven was one Jesus of Nazareth, so that Apollos on his arrival at Corinth 'powerfully confuted the Jews and that publicly, shewing by the Scriptures that the Messiah was Jesus'.

This interpretation of St Luke's story was supported by Professor Kirsopp Lake in his *Earlier Epistles of St Paul*, but since the publication of that work he has, I understand, abandoned the theory. In what follows I shall attempt to state the reasons that have led me to return to what may be styled the traditional interpretation of the passages in question.[1]

The first important statement made as to Apollos is that he 'had been instructed in the way of the Lord' (οὗτος ἦν κατηχημένος τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ κυρίου), which should be compared with xviii 26, where we are told that Priscilla and Aquila 'expounded unto him the way of God more carefully'. Here at the outset the theory outlined above appears to break down.

[1] This investigation was the result of a discussion in a Seminar on the Acts, the meetings of which I am privileged to attend. I have made a large use of various suggestions which were made at the time.

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'Way' used to denote 'manner of life', 'course of conduct', is a well-known Biblical metaphor. References to 'the way of God' or 'of the Lord' in the LXX and New Testament (outside the Lucan writings) may be summarized as follows:—

1. Most frequently the phrase signifies the course of life demanded by God of men, e. g. Deut. v 33, Mc. xii 14.

2. It is often used in the sense of God's dealings with men, but then as a rule in the plural, e. g. Deut. xxxii 4.

3. In a few instances it denotes God's activities in Nature and Creation, e. g. Job xxvi 14.

4. In Isaiah xl 3 and Malachi iii 1 the phrase is used poetically of the path of Jahveh's approach, both passages being quoted in the Gospels in reference to the Baptist.

Turning now to the metaphorical use of ὁδός in the Lucan writings, we find that the term is applied by the author always to human conduct, never to the Divine conduct with men (excluding of course the quotations from Isaiah and Malachi in matter parallel to the other Synoptists, and one passage influenced thereby (Lc. i 76)). Thus we have ὁ. εἰρήνης Lc. i 79, ὁ. τοῦ θεοῦ Lc. xx 21 (from Mark), ὁδοὺς ζωῆς Acts ii 28 (from LXX), τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ κυρίου τὰς εὐθείας Acts xiii 10,[1] ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτῶν Acts xiv 16, ὁ. σωτηρίας Acts xvi 17. But in addition we have a number of passages in Acts in which ἡ ὁδός occurs in a technical sense, viz.:—

ix 2 ἐάν τινας εὕρῃ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὄντας.
xix 9 κακολογοῦντες τὴν ὁδὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ πλήθους.
23 ἐγένετο δὲ τάραχος οὐκ ὀλίγος περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ.
xxii 4 ὃς ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἐδίωξα ἄχρι θανάτου.
xxiv 14 κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν λέγουσιν αἵρεσιν.
22 ἀκριβέστερον εἰδὼς τὰ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ.

There seems to be only one possible explanation of this use of the word. The Christian rule of faith and practice was for the disciples 'the way' *par excellence*—the way of God leading to salvation. Thus the phrase 'the way' came to be employed by the men who 'walked therein' of themselves as a body.[2]

[1] The passage recalls Hos. xiv 10, and its interpretation is difficult. But it appears to mean that Elymas turns aside the ways in which God would have men walk, and so is parallel to 'enemy of all righteousness', &c. It would have been more exactly expressed 'turning men aside from the right ways'; cf. ver. 8.

[2] Bacon (*Making of the New Testament* p. 2) notes that 'tarik', 'way', is still the Arabic term for a sect, and compares the Rabbinic use of the term 'halacha' for legal requirement.

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We have now only to deal with the two passages from which we started :— .

Acts xviii 25 *κατηχημένος τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ κυρίου.*
26 *ἀκριβέστερον αὐτῷ ἐξέθεντο τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.*

The reference to the Baptist might tempt us to connect the phrase here with the quotations from Isaiah and Malachi. But the suggestion may be at once dismissed. It would demand a new and unparalleled sense for ὁδός (the advent or mission), and is ruled out by the occurrence of the phrase the second time in the form *ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.*

We must therefore interpret the words along the lines of Luke's normal usage, and conclude that Apollos had received instruction in the Christian way, i. e. in what a Christian should know and do for his soul's health.

This conclusion settles the interpretation of the statement that he 'taught carefully the things concerning Jesus' (*τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*). It is true that the expression in Luke xxiv 27, *τὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ*, refers to the Old Testament prophecies of (a suffering) Messiah. But in that instance the meaning is determined by the context, while a few verses above there is a more exact parallel, *τὰ περὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Ναζαρηνοῦ*, where the reference is to the great facts of the Gospel history, '. . . mighty in deed and word . . . delivered up . . . condemned . . . crucified . . . alive'. Similarly Acts xxviii 31 *διδάσκων τὰ περὶ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* cannot mean merely that Paul spoke to the Jews of their own Messianic prophecies.

In the case before us, if Luke had intended his words to convey no more than that Apollos belonged to circles in which Messianic expectations were most rife, and was a successful propagandist of this hope, would he not have written in place of the bare *τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* some such phrase as *τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ γεγραμμένα* (Acts xiii 29, cf. Lc. xxiv 27), or even *τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*?

One other interpretation of the words may be considered. They might be explained as meaning that while Apollos knew of the earthly career of Jesus, he was still ignorant of the secret of the Messiahship of Jesus, and some colour is lent to this suggestion by the statement that after further instruction he powerfully confuted the Corinthian Jews, shewing through the Scriptures *εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν*. But however attractive the theory may be, it breaks down on examination. 1. It empties out the meaning of the phrase *ἡ ὁδὸς τοῦ κυρίου*. 2. The statement in verse 28 can be paralleled from xviii 5, where no special emphasis is attached to the words, nor can they imply any change in the content of Paul's preaching. 3. Apollos could scarcely have been

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described as teaching ἀκριβῶς the things concerning Jesus if he had omitted the fact of the Resurrection.

If, then, Apollos was instructed ἀκριβῶς in the Christian faith, as seems to be asserted, and yet needed to be taught the way of God ἀκριβέστερον, we seem to be amply justified in assuming that it was in the sphere of practice that he was found lacking. In fact the choice of the term ὁδός itself points in this direction, and our supposition is confirmed by the statement that he was acquainted only with the Baptism of John. He, like the twelve of xix 1–7, was ignorant of Christian Baptism.

We can now turn our attention to the latter passage, and endeavour to reconcile Luke's apparently contradictory narrative.

We note in the first place that the twelve are described by him as μαθηταί. The term occurs about twenty-five times in the Acts, and always in the technical sense of 'Christians'. St Paul is represented as asking them εἰ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐλάβετε πιστεύσαντες; and here again Luke employs a verb which elsewhere in Acts is always used by him of belief in the Gospel. It must be confessed that if Luke meant us to understand that St Paul was mistaken, and that the men were merely disciples of John, then he has not only failed to acquaint us with the fact, but has led us into the same error by his own description of them.

Nevertheless the instruction given by Paul to the twelve at first sight appears to indicate that they were ignorant of Jesus, or at least of His Messiahship. 'John baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people that they should believe on him which should come after him, that is on Jesus.' The words, however, are susceptible of another interpretation. We notice that in the original the emphasis is upon 'him which should come after him', not upon 'believe'. The words are: τῷ λαῷ λέγων εἰς τὸν ἐρχόμενον μετ' αὐτὸν ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν. Further, we find that similar passages in Luke in every case but one introduce a reference to Baptism with Holy Spirit (Lc. iii 16, Acts i 5, ii 16. Acts xiii 24 appears to be an exception, but even here the context refers to 'the Promise': ver. 32, cf. i 4, 5). St Paul's words might be paraphrased thus: 'The Baptism of John was, by his own confession, only preparatory. He himself announced a Coming One, who should baptize, not with water unto repentance, but with Holy Spirit.' What follows is then the natural consequence of the Apostle's instruction—'and when they heard this, they received Christian Baptism, and the Holy Ghost came upon them'. If the words meant merely 'John your teacher would have you believe in Jesus', we should surely have been told that 'when they heard this they believed', and not 'when they heard this they were baptized'.

I do not think that the addition of the words 'that is, on Jesus',

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need imply that the twelve, while aware that John had foretold a 'Coming One', had hitherto failed to identify that 'Coming One' with Jesus of Nazareth. But even on this interpretation of the passage, we may insist that this is not the same thing as saying that they had not as yet identified Jesus of Nazareth with the Christ. The words of the Baptist may have been understood by few of his hearers as referring to the coming of the Messiah Himself, and if, as seems likely, the twelve were but recent converts to Christianity, it may well be that it had not yet occurred to them that John's mysterious proclamations of 'the Mightier One' were applicable to the Christ. In this connexion we may recall Schweitzer's contention that the original reference was to Elijah.

An attempt may now be made briefly to reconstruct the course of events. Apollos, a fervent believer in the Messiahship of Jesus, reached Ephesus, and preached his faith in the synagogue. Among his hearers were Priscilla and Aquila, who discovered that the preacher's knowledge of 'the way' was in one respect imperfect—he neither baptized others nor was himself baptized. This fact is certainly somewhat surprising. Blass, of course, suggested that we had here evidence that Gospel-writings had already found their way to Alexandria (taking advantage of the Western reading in xviii 25). The verb κατηχεῖν seems to imply formal instruction. It bears this sense in Lc. i 4, Rom. ii 18, 1 Cor. xiv 19, Gal. vi 6 (where we may note the parallel between κατηχούμενος τὸν λόγον and κατηχημένος τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ κυρίου), and even in Acts xxi 21, 24 we are probably meant to understand that the information was officially circulated. It is conceivable that Apollos derived his instruction from some disciple who had parted from the mother Church at an early date, and so was ignorant of the Apostolic rule of Baptism.[1] Or, again, the instruction may not have come to him firsthand, in which case opportunities for error would be opened up.

We are not told that Apollos was baptized at Ephesus, but that may safely be inferred from the narrative. The Christian community ('the brethren') would scarcely have taken the step they did unless this had been the case (ver. 27).

It is not strange that of those who had heard Apollos and had been convinced by his arguments, there should have been at least twelve who had not come into touch with him after his meeting with Priscilla and Aquila and before his subsequent (probably speedy) departure for Corinth. These twelve had all at one time or another received baptism at the hands of John. It was, we may imagine, through enquiries at

[1] Bousset (*Zeitschrift für neutest. Wissenschaft*, 1914, ii p. 155) points out 'Es findet sich in dieser Predigt des Petrus (Recension A), wie in dem ganzen Abschnitt, keine einzige Andeutung auf die christliche Taufe'.

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the synagogue that they learnt that Apollos had been seen in company with Priscilla and Aquila, and proceeding to their house they found, not Apollos, but Paul. The opening words of xix 1 are surely meant to connect the preceding narrative with what follows, and to suggest some such explanation of Paul's encounter with the twelve.

B. T. D. SMITH.

THE SECOND OXYRHYNCHUS SAYING.

λέγει Ἰ[ούδας· τίνες ἄρα
οἱ ἕλκοντες ἡμᾶς [καὶ πότε ἐλεύσεται]
ἡ βασιλεία ⟨ἡ⟩ ἐν οὐρα[νοῖς; λέγει αὐτῷ Ιη(σοῦ)ς·]
τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρ[ανοῦ καὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅ]
τι ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν ἐστ[ι ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ]
οἱ ἰχθύες τῆς θαλά[σσης, οὗτοι οἱ ἕλκον-]
τες ὑμᾶς· καὶ ἡ βασ[ιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν]
ἐντὸς ὑμῶν [ἐ]στι· [καὶ ὅστις ἂν ἑαυτὸν]
γνῷ ταύτην εὑρή[σει· καὶ εὑρόντες αὐτὴν]
ἑαυτοὺς γνώσεσθε [ὅτι υἱοὶ καὶ κληρονόμοι]
ἐστὲ ὑμεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ [παντοκράτορος, καὶ]
γνώσ⟨εσ⟩θε ἑαυτοὺς ἐν [θ(ε)ῷ ὄντας καὶ θ(εὸ)ν ἐν ὑμῖν]
καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔστε ηπτο[. . . .

Judas saith: Who, then, are they who draw us, and when shall come the Kingdom which is in Heaven? Jesus saith to him: The birds of the air and of the beasts whatsoever is under the earth or upon the earth and the fishes of the sea, these are they who draw you; and the Kingdom of Heaven is within you; and whosoever shall know himself shall find it; and when ye have found it, ye shall know that ye are sons and heirs of the almighty Father, and ye shall know that ye are in God and God in you; and ye are . . .

Critics have differed widely as to the meaning to be attached to ἕλκοντες (l. 10), and this disagreement together with the mutilation of the Saying and the absence of any close parallel has given opportunity for a wide range of reconstructions. The renderings of ἕλκοντες may be roughly grouped as follows: (1) G H[1] and Swete[2] understand

[1] *Ox. Pap.* iv p. 7.

[2] *Expos. Times* xv 491.

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'attract' or 'influence'; (2) Taylor[1] apparently takes the word in a literal sense, 'pull up' or 'draw'; (3) Bartlet[2] would interpret it 'persecute'; (4) Deissmann renders 'drag' (sc. before judgement-seats).

These views need only a summary consideration. Taylor's rendering assumes an extraordinary *naïveté* on the part of the author of this Saying: that the birds of the air might be said to draw us up to Heaven is perhaps admissible; but to claim that the beasts on the earth and under the earth also do this, is to go very far, while the admission of the fishes of the sea to this privilege is surely intolerable. Bartlet's reconstruction fails on the grounds given by G H, that authority over brute creation hardly justifies the command 'fear not them who persecute you'. And it should be noted that the parallel advanced by Dr Bartlet from *Barn.* vi 12 and 18 only attributes this authority (following *Genesis*) to mankind in general. Deissmann's restoration[3] yields to none in ingenuity. But is it likely that unbelievers would be represented as making such a taunt? Surely the whole course of early Christian history shews that those who 'dragged Christians before judgement-seats' failed to understand this very point that 'the Kingdom was in Heaven'. The reconstruction of ll. 11–14, also, has a strange sound and is an ineffective reply to a supposed taunt of the persecutors.

Bruston[4] fails to see any connexion between birds, beasts, and fishes and the Kingdom, but finds a double opposition (1) between birds and fishes, (2) between the Kingdom and those who draw us to the earth. But (*a*) Matthew (as we shall see) gives a key to the connexion between the birds and the Kingdom; (*b*) *Psalm* viii, with many other passages,[5] shews that birds, beasts, and fishes are conventionally representative of the whole lower animate creation. The sense in which G H and Swete understand ἕλκοντες is surely the right one: the latter puts forward a peculiarly satisfying parallel from Clement (*Strom.* vii 2 § 9) who speaks of men as τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ἑλκόμενοι.

The discoverers[6] base their restoration 'on the close parallelism which we have supposed to exist between l. 15 -τες ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν and, on the other hand, l. 10 οἱ ἕλκοντες ἡμᾶς followed in l. 11 by ἡ βασιλεία ἐν οὐρανῷ'. Such a view, implying as it does that the Saying was in the form of question and answer, seems eminently reasonable; and the parallelism is so close that it is unnatural to restore the end of l. 14 in any way which does not complete the parallelism with [ἕλκον]τες. It is only in minor points that Grenfell

[1] *Oxyrh. Sayings* pp. 9–10.
[2] *Ox. Pap.* l. c.
[3] *Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* S. 117.
[4] *Fragm. d'un anc. recueil des Paroles de Jésus* p. 114.
[5] Hesiod *W. and D.*, Job xii 7, 8.
[6] *Op. cit.* p. 6.

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and Hunt's restoration seems open to criticism. (1) In l. 10 the papyrus has ἡμᾶς and in l. 15 ὑμᾶς. The change may of course be due simply to the confusion of the two pronouns which is so familiar in papyri. Nevertheless, a restoration which can retain the MS reading has at least a slight advantage.

(2) In l. 15 [οἱ ἕλκον]τες ὑμᾶς is separated from ἡ βασιλεία by καί. Does not this imply that in the parallel l. 10 οἱ ἑ. ἡμᾶς also was followed by καί, or, in other words, must not the question have been a double one?

These two points seem to require for ll. 9-11 some such restoration as that printed in the text, and this restoration must now be considered. If the reading ἡμᾶς . . . ὑμᾶς of the papyrus is right, the question must have been put to Jesus by some person: it cannot be a rhetorical or repeated question[1] as G H regard it. I have therefore taken λέγει Ἰ[. . . of l. 9, which at first sight (but not necessarily) suggests the familiar λέγει Ἰησοῦς, as introducing the *question*, and have filled the otherwise difficult lacuna in l. 11 with the formula λέγει αὐτῷ Ἰησοῦς which introduces the *answer*. Why Judas has been selected as the interrogator will become clear as the restoration advances. Since the answer is in two parts connected by καί, it is highly probable that the question also was similarly divided. Leaving on one side, then, the first part of the question 'Who are they who draw us?' with its answer 'These are they who draw you', we must ask what was the second question which is answered by 'The Kingdom of Heaven is within you'. This answer is familiar enough. Luke xvii 21 has: ἐπερωτηθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Φαρισαίων πότε ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀπεκρίθη αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν· οὐκ ἔρχεται ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ παρατηρήσεως . . . ἰδοὺ γαρ, ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐντὸς ὑμῶν ἐστιν. Since Luke, then, gives the reply contained in our Saying as the answer to a definite question, and since we have good reason for believing that our Saying contained a *double* question, is it not almost certain that the second part of the question, which we are seeking to ascertain, was also similar to the question answered in Luke by this remarkable logion? I have therefore restored 'And when shall come (*or* cometh) the Kingdom which is in Heaven?' I have supposed that Judas ('not Iscariot') is the interrogator. Luke, indeed, makes the Saying 'The Kingdom of Heaven is within you' part of the reply to the Pharisees. This is not likely to be historically exact, inasmuch as the Pharisees were the last people of whom it could be said that the Kingdom was within them. It is possible, then, that Luke had before him a notice of the Pharisees asking 'When is this Kingdom to appear?' and also the detached

[1] In any case it is most unlikely that Jesus would have included Himself with those who are to be 'drawn' by the birds, beasts, and fishes.

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Saying ἡ β. ἐντὸς ὑμῶν, and that he somewhat uncritically associated the two. Judas, however, appears in John xiv 22 with a somewhat similar question: λέγει[1] αὐτῷ Ἰούδας . . . κύριε, τί γέγονεν ὅτι ἡμῖν μέλλεις ἐμφανίζειν σεαυτὸν καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ κόσμῳ; Here is latent the same contrast between a material and a spiritual view of the Kingdom, which we have in the Oxyrhynchus Saying. So too Hippolytus[2] has preserved a notice of a question asked by Judas concerning the Kingdom, τοῦ οὖν κυρίου διηγουμένου περὶ τῆς μελλούσης τῶν ἁγίων βασιλείας, . . . καταπλαγεὶς ὁ Ἰούδας . . . ἔφη· καὶ τίς ἄρα ὄψεται ταῦτα;

If the grounds I have given for my restoration are right, we must regard the Saying as an extract from a larger context. The question 'Who are they who draw us?' must have been suggested by some preceding Saying of Jesus which needed explanation: this, indeed, is true of all the restorations I have seen.

We are now in a position to consider the remarkable introduction of the birds of the air, the fishes, and the beasts. These, as we have seen, are typical of the lower animate creation; but what is meant by saying that these 'draw' or 'influence' us? The answer surely is to be found in Matt. vi 26–30, where the fowls of the air—and even the lilies of the field—may be said to 'draw' us because they teach faith in providence: if men are not like the birds in this respect, they lack faith. Dr Taylor has aptly quoted Job xii 7–8 also, a passage which both establishes our present point, the power of lower creation to teach man, and also may well be responsible for the language of the first half of the Saying.

The second part of the Saying is less direct and restoration is consequently more hazardous: no detailed criticism, therefore, of the published suggestions is likely to serve any good purpose, and it will be sufficient to remark on the readings given in the text as they occur. The restoration of G H in l. 16 is obviously right, and that of Heinrici in l. 17 most probably so. In l. 18 I have substituted κληρονόμοι (cf. Luke x 25, Rom. viii 16–17) for θυγατέρες (Swete, Taylor) which has—I believe—no Synoptic parallel. In l. 19 the discoverers' παντοκράτορος may well be right, though the epithet is a matter of minor importance. Lines 20–21 are difficult: in the former only the suggestion of Heinrici ἐν τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν seems plausible. Following his suggestion, I had once thought of ἐν ἐμοὶ ὄντας κἀμὲ ἐν ὑμῖν (cf. John xiv 20); but this is a little too long: I therefore read ἐν θ(ε)ῷ ὄντας καὶ θ(εὸ)ν ἐν ὑμῖν (cf. 1 John iv 12 ff). The second part of the Saying is highly artificial—it may well be a later addition to the first part—and a direct loan

[1] This furnishes a parallel to the assumed use of λέγει in the Saying to introduce a question.

[2] *Comm. on Daniel* iv 60.

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from St John seems by no means unlikely. In l. 20 Blass's conjecture ἡ π{τ}όλις seems the best that can be made of the surviving letters; but, as Dr Swete remarks, 'the words are abrupt and strange, and the archaic spelling of πόλις increases our doubt'.

The thought of the second half of the Saying as restored in the text seems fairly coherent. It may be paraphrased as follows: 'the Kingdom is within you, therefore self-knowledge will lead you to find it. Finding is followed by consciousness of sonship and heirship and of communion with God.'

HUGH G. EVELYN-WHITE.

ZECH. i 8, 10 s.; vi 1 ss. AND THE *DUL-AZAG* OF THE BABYLONIANS.

IN his vision of the couriers returning from their inspection of the earth, Zechariah i 8 describes the angel of Jahve, to whom report is made, as 'a man riding upon a red horse and standing *among the myrtle trees that were in the bottom*'; the 'myrtle trees' appear again in *vv.* 10–11. Thus, according to the Masoretic Text. The 'myrtle trees' and 'the bottom' have always given much trouble to commentators. In the *Hebrew and English Lexicon* of Brown-Driver-Briggs, מְצֻלָה, which is translated as (*the*) *bottom* in the English version, is mentioned as a derivate of צול, and explained as 'dub. word . . ., appar. some locality about Jerus., called *the basin, hollow* . . .'

In my commentary on the *Douze Petits Prophètes* I have stated at length (p. 591) why I cannot believe that the original text ever spoke of 'myrtle trees'. Instead of הַהֲדַסִּים the author most probably wrote ההרים, as the Septuagint version suggests: . . . ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὀρέων τῶν κατασκίων. The analogy with the parallel vision of the chariots coming out from between *the two mountains*, which were *mountains of brass* (Zech. vi 1), supports the proposed correction. It may be that ההרים was purposely changed into ההדסים, on account of the מצלה, wrongly supposed to be connected with צול or צלל, *be* or *grow dark*: 'mountains' standing in 'the hollow', or in 'the shadow' are indeed most subject to suspicion. In fact מצלה belongs to צלל, Assyr. *ṣalalu*, Syr. ܨܠܠ, *to decline*, especially as used of the day; so that מְצֻלָה = *the region of sunset, the West*. That the two mountains of brass, Zech. vi 1, are the mountains

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of the West, between which the sun goes down, may be inferred from the circumstance that the chariot with the *red* horses, relating to the West, is not described as going out as the three others do; and this because it was already in its proper place or region at the meeting-place of the chariots, between the two mountains. The man to whom the couriers bring report (i 8) is also riding upon a *red* horse, as becomes the angel of Jahve standing 'between the mountains of the sunset'; the 'red' horses which come in the first place in the subsequent enumeration, l. c., probably were *black* horses in the original text (read חוּמִים instead of אֲדֻמִּים?). For further considerations on that matter I beg to refer to my commentary.

A circumstance of real interest which I wish to point out here is the very fact that Jahve's messengers come back to the place 'between the mountains of sunset' *to give an account of their errand* (i 8 ff); and that the chariots also, which come out from between the two mountains of brass, in chapter vi, are represented as being 'the four spirits of heaven, *which go forth from standing before the Lord of all the earth*' (*v.* 5). The place about the two mountains manifestly is conceived of as the one where Jahve holds His court of deliberation and judgement.

Now this reminds one forcibly of the old Babylonian notion of the great, double-topped mountain, at the meeting-point of heaven and earth, where the gods appear before Šamaš to keep council and render justice. Thus, at the beginning of the hymn to Šamaš, VR. 50 + 51[1]:—

'Šamaš, out of the great mountain when thou comest,
Out of the great mountain, the mountain of the hollow[2] when thou comest,
Out of the mountain, the place of the decision of fate, thou comest,
There where heaven and earth meet, out of the foundation of heaven thou comest,—
The great gods for judgement come forth to thee,
The Anunnaki to decide decisions, come forth to thee . . .'

'The place of the decision', or the '*Dul-azag*' of the Sumerian text, offers a striking parallel to the assembling or meeting-place of Jahve's celestial messengers in Zech. i 8 ff, vi 1 ff.

The only difference, besides the elimination of the polytheistic notion concerning the great gods, is that the Hebrew prophet transfers the scene from sunrise to sunset. One might suspect that he did so to

[1] Cf. Schollmeyer *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš*, 1912, p. 29.

[2] (ištu) . . . ša-ad *naq-bi* . . . I translate 'the mountain of the *hollow*', that is: the mountain whose summit is hollowed out, so that it appears double-topped, the sun rising through the *hollow* between the two tops, just as in the West it goes down between 'the two mountains', which 'were mountains of brass'.

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keep Jahve apart from Šamaš; the more so as the seat of Jahve on earth, at Jerusalem, was indeed situated in the West, in relation to that of the Babylonian Šamaš. But more probably the shifting was one of mere accommodation. The political interest of the Jews, at the time of Zechariah, looking from the geographical position of Judaea, had not great concern with the West, but mainly with the other regions: North, East, and South. Therefore Jahve's messengers had to go out, for inspection or eventually to exercise justice, north-, east-, and southward. The region of sunset, remaining as the starting-point, thus replaced the region of sunrise as a meeting-place of the celestial messengers before Jahve, where they assembled coming back from, or whence they started on their departure to, their mission.

A. VAN HOONACKER.

PSALM lviii 10 (9).

בטרם יבינו סירתיכם אטד
כמו חי כמו חרון ישערנו

πρὸ τοῦ συνεῖναι τὰς ἀκάνθας ὑμῶν
τὴν ῥάμνον ὡσεὶ ζῶντας ὡσεὶ ἐν ὀργῇ καταπίεται ὑμᾶς LXX

Before your pots can feel the thorns,
He shall take them away with a whirlwind, the green and the burning alike. R.V.

. . . . . .

Even as raw flesh, even so, shall fury sweep them away. R.V. mg.

THIS verse is notorious in the obscure rendering of Coverdale. R.V. gives a tolerable sense, but 'the green and the burning alike' is doubtful as a translation and weak as imagery: חרון which means 'burning wrath', especially the burning wrath of God, could hardly be used for burning sticks.

Emendations are proposed, but (except for the adjustment of the personal suffixes) LXX gives no support to them. It is better to see whether the only attested text will not yield good sense as it stands.

סירתיכם introduces the picture, a gipsy's fire by the wayside. The word may mean thorns, as LXX. But the second 'thorn' is then awkward, and the feminine form of the plural suits the other סיר, 'pot'.

חי is the chief difficulty. R.V. mg. takes it of the raw flesh in the

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pots. So 1 Sam. ii 15, and for the thought Cheyne compares Mic. iii 2, 3, the rulers of the house of Israel flaying and cooking the poor like flesh. LXX, keeping the simpler meaning 'full of life', reads a 2nd plur. suffix to the following verb, and applies the adjective to the oppressors whom the Psalmist is denouncing. But LXX misses what R.V. (text) preserves, the terse strong parallelism of כמו חי כמו חרון.

Now חי is sometimes used in a rather remarkable fashion. The construct plural חֵי is a usual form of oath, which in conjunction with יהוה is varied for the sake of reverence to חַי: חֵי יהוה וְחֵי נפשך, 'by the living LORD and the life of thy soul!' In 1 Sam. xxv 6 ואמרת כה לָחַי, the greeting to Nabal, the rendering 'to my brother' (improvement of the Vulgate *fratribus meis*) may be right, but the old comparison with the Arabic salutation, 'God keep you in life', is more interesting. And did not LXX understand the phrase so? Its εἰς ὥρας is perhaps no evidence of a variant or an ancient emendation, בעת חיה, but an idiomatic equivalent to what it supposed the meaning to be: Driver quotes Theocritus, after Field, κῆς ὥρας κἤπειτα φίλ' ἀνδρῶν ἐν καλῷ εἴης. In 2 Sam. xxiii 20 Benaiah is described as בן איש חַי רב פעלים; which in 1 Chron. xi 22 becomes בן איש חיל וג', according to the Chronicler's usual method of emasculation, cf. 2 Sam. xxi 19, 1 Chron. xx 5 ('the brother of Goliath'). When we think of באר לחי ראי it is hard to avoid the suspicion that the Samuel text in 2 Sam. xxiii 20 preserves an ancient formula which the Chronicler has 'restored' away.

Gesenius (who, however, in the Psalm interprets '*de carne cruda*') boldly says that *Beer lahai roi* means *puteus vitae visionis*, 'the well of seeing God and keeping *life*'. Driver, on 1 Sam. xxv 6, objects that 'the rendering *in vitam* is doubtful. חי is always an adj. *living*'. If this is absolute without any exception we might translate the phrase in our Psalm 'like His living self, like burning wrath': cf. A.V. mg. 'as living as wrath'. But in English idiom this brings us to a paraphrase corresponding with Gesenius's *vita*; 'swift as life, swift as wrath'. At any rate both חי and חרון are best taken generally, a flashing double metaphor, not grammatically linked either to the thorns, or the pots, or the oppressors.

Now look at the whole context. The Psalm tells of the crying violence of the great ones in the land, the 'gods' of government (1–6). The One, the supreme God, is called upon to crush these oppressors (7–10). Image follows image with increasingly realistic vigour; lions with broken jawbones, mowed grass, melting snails, untimely births. Then, dropping the third person, the Psalmist once more, as in his opening verse, addresses the arrogant 'gods' themselves with a culminating imprecation: 'You shall be like a gipsy's fire by the wayside,

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or like a fugitive vainly trying to cook himself a meal in his perilous flight—Before your pots feel the thorns you have lighted beneath them, swift as life, swift as wrath, He shall storm the whole thing away.'

'He' is the Elohim of elohim (7), the God to whom these little visible 'gods' must give account; His concealed omnipotence is more felt in the undefined pronoun than if His name had been repeated. And חי is a vague archaism indicating that living energy, so bright and strong and various, yet so pathetic in its transience, which like the light and the mysterious influence of speech dominated the subtle imagination of the Hebrew.

It may indeed be objected that the LXX ὡσεὶ ἐν ὀργῇ = במו חרין, and that the meaning will therefore be 'while it is raw, in wrath He whirls it away'. But if ἐν = במו, ὡσεὶ = כמו, and the textual evidence cancels out. And if so, the argument from context is weighty on the other side. The sudden introduction of 'raw', without anything to explain it except the general picture of a wayside fire, is almost intolerably harsh. And R.V. surely represents a sound instinct: the vigorous double image is the most certain thing in the verse. If the other objection be pressed: 'No doubt "Like Living One, like wrath" is possible; but does "swift as life, swift as wrath" really represent the meaning?', its force must be admitted. The latter is only offered as a paraphrase which may represent the meaning to a modern English ear. And perhaps this Note should end with a reminiscence of Aldus Manutius: *Locus hic ex illis est, quos ego quidem sine libris antiquis posse corrigi non sperarim. itaque, ut aliquid ex ingenio liceat comminisci, placeat tamen fateri potius nescire quod nesciam, quam afferre quod non probem.*

A. NAIRNE.

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THE ANTHOLOGIA GRAECA CARMINUM CHRISTIANORUM.

THIS Anthology appeared in 1871 under the editorship of W. Christ and M. Paranikas, and it still remains the standard collection of Greek Christian hymns. It is delightful to look at, for the hymns are in beautiful type, and are printed as verse, not in blocks of prose as is the fashion in the Greek Service books. But as a working book it has striking defects. On attempting to make use of it the present writer found himself obliged to compile a supplementary list of First Lines which are not to be found in the Index, and to try to trace the numerous pieces in regard to which no indications of their sources are given in the book. The results of the search are given in the following tables.

Almost all the pieces printed in 1871 on pp. 54–257 are taken from the Greek Office books. Some are from the Πεντηκοστάριον, which contains the services from Easter to the Sunday after Whitsunday (Sunday of All Saints). Many are from the Παρακλητική, which contains hymns for the week, arranged in eight weeks for singing in the eight ecclesiastical tones or modes. Others are from the Τριῴδιον, which contains the services from the Sunday before Septuagesima to Easter Eve. The rest are from the Μηναῖα, which is in twelve volumes, one for each month, containing the services for Saints' days, and for immoveable festivals such as Christmas. A few are entered in 1871 as in the Ὀκτώηχος, but they are all in the Παρακλητική, which is indeed styled the Great Octoechos.

In both tables here printed the references to the Greek Service books are given systematically. The pieces from the Μηναῖα have the date of the festival, followed by page references to the volumes for each month in the Venice edition of 1895. The other Office books are referred to thus:—

Π. = Παρακλητική. Venice 1900.
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Σοῦ ἡ τροπαιοῦχος δεξιά. P. 232. (Π. pp. 6–10.)
Ἄκουε, κόρη παρθένε ἁγνή. P. 240. (March 25, p. 103.)

For convenience of reference Table ii is printed according to the pages in 1871, and not alphabetically. The pieces entered as between pp. 160 and 231 are each the first Ode of a Canon in the Μηναῖα, the remaining Odes of the Canon following in the Μηναῖα in each case; that at p. 232 is the first Ode of a Canon in the Παρακλητική, the other Odes following at pp. 6–10; that at p. 240 is the seventh Ode of a Canon in the Μηναῖα, the other Odes of this Canon are not indexed in 1871. The Canon printed at p. 157 (for Jan. 16) is not in the Μηναῖα, nor is the Idiomelon printed at p. 15 (for July 17). The pieces which begin in 1871 at pp. 105, 110, 232, 254 are not printed consecutively in the Παρακλητική, i. e. they extend over the pages indicated above, but other materials are mixed up with them.

After the Prolegomena there is a collection of the ancient ecclesiastical melodies to which the hymns are sung, with the Greek text. Some of the texts are reprinted in the body of the book; the others, which are not mentioned in the index of First Lines, are—

Οἶκος τοῦ Εὐφραθᾶ ἡ πόλις. P. cxxxiii. (Dec. 20, p. 138.)
Μεγάλη τῶν μαρτύρων σου Χριστέ. P. cxxxiii. (T. p. 437.)
Ἤθελον δάκρυσιν ἐξαλεῖψαι. P. cxxxiii. (T. p. 438.)
Οὐκ ἔτι κωλυόμεθα ξύλου ζωῆς. P. cxxxv. (Π. p. 295.)
Κύριε εἰ καὶ κριτηρίῳ παρέστης. P. cxxxv. (Π. p. 326.)
Ὦ τοῦ παραδόξου θαύματος! ὦ μυστηρίου. P. cxxxvii. (Π. p. 356.)
Παντοκράτορ κύριε, οἶδα. P. cxxxviii. (T. p. 1.)
Ὦ πόσων ἀγαθῶν ὁ ἄθλιος. P. cxxxix. (T. p. 8.)
Ἐκάθισεν Ἀδάμ, ἀπέναντι τοῦ Παραδείσου. P. cxl. (T. p. 58.)

They are given in 1871 without any indication of the sources from which they are taken.

J. MEARNS.

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NOTE ON THE WORD ܫܘܩܐ.

When the recently-discovered *apologia* of Nestorius entitled the ܫܘܩܐ of Heraclides was first made known, the word was taken in its usual commercial sense and rendered 'Bazaar', though the application was difficult; but in an article in the *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* xiv 208 M. Nau pointed out that the word is a rendering of πραγματεία, and, as that word often means 'treatise', its Syriac equivalent may in accordance with the common practice of translating Greek words into Syriac without regard to Syriac usage also bear that meaning; and I now wish to call attention to a passage which supports this explanation and throws further light on the meaning of the word.

In the so-called Zacharias Rhetor (ix 13; *Anec. Syr.* iii 266), in a letter from the patriarch Severus to Julian of Halicarnassus, occurs the following passage: ܐܟܐ ܕ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܗ ܫܘܩܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ

which they seemed to me to have given most trouble'. The meaning of ܐܬܬܓܪ is therefore 'work out', 'elaborate', and in the passage of 'Zacharias' I read ܟܕ for ܕܝܢ with Michael and Paul, and ܘܫܕܪܬ for ܕܫܕܪܬ with Paul, and render: 'For, if you had sent me a small question and subject of investigation, perhaps I should have used few words in making answer; but, since it is a tome of many lines and a whole treatise that you have worked out and sent to me.' Accordingly the title of the new work of Nestorius is in Greek Πραγματεία Ἡρακλείδου, and in English 'The Elaboration of Heraclides', though in ordinary usage the word πραγματεία is practically equivalent to 'treatise'.

E. W. Brooks.

MINUSCULE MS EVAN. 559 (XI Cent.).

This MS was given to Sion College, London, by Mr Edward Payne, but its previous history is unknown. The fact that what appears to be the Coptic ⲙ is used occasionally for μ, may perhaps point to Egypt as its place of origin. At St Mk. v 25 sq. the following note appears in the margin, written vertically by a later hand: λ τῆς ἁγίας Βαρβαρᾶς. This might perhaps give some clue as to where the MS was used. It was examined by Dr Gregory in 1883, and appears in his list as No. 559 (Scrivener's list: 518). There are 155 leaves, containing St Mt. x 18 (ἀχθήσεσθε)—St John ix 14 (ἐποίησεν), so that many leaves are now missing both at the beginning and at the end. There are also several lacunae, and as the MS is greatly damaged on the top by exposure to damp and subsequent careless handling, the first four or five lines of each page are nearly always illegible, and sometimes missing altogether. Only one leaf is complete. The τίτλοι and their numerals are written in gold; also the capital letters with which, as a rule, the 1st, 7th, 13th, 19th, and 24th (last) lines begin, and most of the stops, commas, and signs of interrogation. The writing is extremely neat, and there are very few mistakes. The full system of accentuation is used, but iota subscript and ascript are not found. Double grave accents are used very frequently with μὲν and δὲ; also, in a few cases, with ναὶ and ἂν, such accents being generally written in gold. Puncta diaeresis are found fairly frequently on ι and υ, once on μῆ. N ἐφελκυστικόν is used regularly. There are a few corrections in the text, chiefly consisting

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in changing deliberative subjunctive into indicative, and *vice versa*. Throughout Mt. and partly in Mk. and Lk. lesson-marks (τ^λ^ε and α^χ^ρ) are inserted in red ink in the text by a later scribe, who has also written —somewhat carelessly—the Ammonian section-marks (but no Eusebian canon-marks) in the margin, and added other marginal notes in connexion with the liturgical use of the MS. The number of κεφάλαια are: Mt. 66, Mk. 46, Lk. 83; and of Ammonian sections: 359, 234 (no section-marks after Mk. xvi 9), and 342 respectively.

A later, somewhat illiterate, scribe has inserted a list of the κεφάλαια in Mk., differing a good deal from the corresponding list found in A, and has also added a few marginal notes and an inscription after Lk., all in black ink and in a very bad handwriting.

Thus there are four scribes, viz. (i) the original scribe; (ii) διορθωτής, perhaps identical with (i); (iii) the 'liturgical' scribe, using red ink; and (iv) the later scribe, using black ink.

The text is 'Syrian'; the divergencies from the T. R. (604 altogether) are mostly of minor importance, but these generally agree with ℵ B. There are, however, a few unique readings—'habet lectt. haud vulg.' (Gregory). The MS contains both the full ending of Mk. and the pericope adulterae, but the latter is marked in the margin νόθον.[1] It would hardly be worth while to give the full collation here, but the following collation of a few chapters will give the textual critic a general idea of the nature of the text, and a list is appended of what appear to me to be the more notable variants, including the few instances of the usual clerical errors. I have collated the MS with the T. R. (Lloyd and Sanday's N.T.).

Samples of Collation.

Mt. cap. xiv: 2–3 mutilated. 5 ἐφοβεῖτο. 13 ἠκολούθησαν usque ad 15 ἔρημος deest. 15 add. οὖν post ἀπόλυσον. 19 ἀναπεσεῖν pro ἀνακλιθῆναι. om. καὶ ante λαβὼν. 22 om. ὁ Ἰησοῦς. 22 πέραν usque ad 24 ὑπὸ τῶν deest, habet autem πλοῖον [ἤδη μέσον τῆς] θαλάσσης ἦν. 26 om. οἱ μαθηταί. τῆς θαλάσσης pro τὴν θάλασσαν. 27 om. αὐτοῖς. 31 καὶ εὐθέως pro εὐθέως δὲ. 33 αὐτῷ usque ad 35 ὅλην deest. 36 om. μόνον.

cap. xv: 1 αὐτῷ pro τῷ Ἰησοῦ. φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων pro οἱ ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων γραμματεῖς καὶ φαρισαῖοι. 2 om. αὐτῶν. 5 ἂν (secund.) pro ἐὰν. om. αὐτοῦ post πατέρα. 7 περὶ usque ad 9 ἐντάλματα deest. 12 λέγουσιν pro εἶπον. add. οἱ ante ἀκούσαντες. 14 ἐμπεσοῦνται. 18 στόματος usque ad 20 τὸν (prim.) deest. 22 ἔκραξεν pro ἐκραύγασεν. 28 αὐτῇ usque ad 29 ὄρος deest. 30

[1] The writing is rather like that of the 'liturgical' scribe, but the ink is like that used in the text.

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αὐτῶν pro ἑαυτῶν. κωφοὺς, τυφλοὺς, χωλοὺς. 32 ἡμέραι pro ἡμέρας. 35 κελεύσας pro ἐκέλευσε. 36 ἔλαβε pro καὶ λαβὼν. 36 ἑπτὰ usque ad 37 fin. deest. 39 om. τὸ ante πλοῖον.

Mk. cap. xiv: 1 usque ad ἄζυμα deest. 6 ἐν ἐμοί pro εἰς ἐμέ. 7 ὅταν usque ad 9 κηρυχθῇ deest. 10 om. ὁ ante Ἰούδας. 12 ἑτοιμάσομεν (s.m.). 14 μου usque ad 16 ἡτοίμασαν deest. 23 om. τὸ ante ποτήριον. 24 usque ad 25 ἐκείνης deest. 27 add. τῆς ποίμνης post πρόβατα. 32 Γεθσημανή. erasure and final η (Ή) substituted (pro εἰ?). Circumflex still left and acute accent superimposed. 32 προσεύξομαι (p.m.). 33 παραλαμβάνει usque ad 34 fin. deest. 35 προσελθὼν pro προελθών. 36 ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ ποτήριον. 40 καταβαρυνόμενοι pro βεβαρημένοι. 41 ἦλθεν usque ad 43 Ἰούδας deest. 43 add Ἰσκαριώτης. 45 add. αὐτῷ post λέγει. 46 τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν. 49 γραφαί usque ad 52 σινδόνα deest. 53 add. Καϊάφαν post ἀρχιερέα. 59 ἦν usque ad xv 7 φόνον deest.

Lk. cap. x: 2 ἐκβάλῃ. 6 om. μὲν post ἐὰν. 6 εἰρήνης usque ad 7 οἰκίας deest. 12 om. δὲ. 13 Χωραζίν, erasure, and ι substituted (pro ει?). 15 καταβιβασθήσῃ usque ad 17 δαιμόνια deest. 20 om. μᾶλλον. 22 μοι παρεδόθη. 22 ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι usque ad 24 προφῆται deest. 30 ἐξέδυσαν pro ἐκδύσαντες. 31 ἱερεύς usque ad 32 fin. deest. 35 εἴ pro ὅ. 36 πλησίον δοκεῖ σοι. 39 τῶν λόγων pro τὸν λόγον.

cap. xi: 1 om. καὶ ante ἐγένετο. 5 εἴπῃ usque ad 7 κόπους deest. 8 ὅσον pro ὅσων. 9 and 10 ἀνοιχθήσεται. 11 ἢ pro εἰ. 13 δόματα ἀγαθὰ. 14 ὁ κωφὸς usque ad 17 τὰ deest. 18 διαμερισθῇ. 24 ἀπὸ τοῦ usque ad 26 πορεύεται deest. 31 σοφίαν usque ad 32 πλεῖον deest. 33 om. δὲ post οὐδεῖς. 33 κρυπτὴν. 40 οὐχ usque ad 42 ὑμῖν deest. 44 om. οἱ ante περιπατοῦντες (Haplography). 48 ὅτι αὐτοὶ usque ad 49 fin. deest. 51 add. τοῦ δικαίου post Ἄβελ. 54 om. καὶ ante ζητοῦντες.

cap. xii: 1 προσέχετε usque ad 3 ἐν τῷ deest. 4 ἀποκτενόντων. 5 ἔχοντα ἐξουσίαν. 7 add. ὑμεῖς post διαφέρετε. 9 με usque ad 10 fin. deest. 11 ἀπολογήσεσθε (s.m.). 18 γενήματα. 20 ἄφρον. 22 λέγω ὑμῖν pro ὑμῖν λέγω. ἐνδύσεσθε (p.m.). 28 mutilated. 32 om. ὑμῶν. 33 βαλλάντια. 35 αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν. 38 οὕτως. 39 τὴν οἰκίαν pro τὸν οἶκον. 42 add. αὐτοῦ post secund. κύριος. 46 ἐν ἡμέρᾳ usque ad 47 ἑτοιμάσας deest. 47 om. πρὸς. 53 om. τὴν ante νύμφην. 54 γίνεται usque ad 56 τὸν δὲ deest. 57 add. γὰρ ante καὶ.[1] 58 βάλῃ.

John cap. iv: 1 add. ὁ ante Ἰωάννης. 3 om. πάλιν. 8 ἀπελήλυθασιν. 9 παρ' ἐμοῦ . . . 30 ἤρχοντο deest. 31 add. αὐτοῦ post μαθηταὶ. 35 τετράμηνος. 41 πλείους . . . 42 ἀληθῶς deest. 46 πάλιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς. 47 ἔμελλε pro ἤμελλε. 49 om. μου.

[1] τί δὲ deest.

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Notable variants, &c.

Mt. xi 29 om. ἀπ' ἐμοῦ. xiii 23 in marg. add. (s.m.) ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν, ἀκουέτω. xiv 19 ἀναπεσεῖν pro ἀνακλιθῆναι. 36 om. μόνον. xvi 20 om. Ἰησοῦς. xviii 15 ἁμάρτῃ. xx 22 πίνω pro μέλλω πίνειν. xxii 45 add. ἐν πνεύματι post Δαδ. xxiii 8 πάντες δὲ ὑμεῖς ἀδελφοί ἐστε omitted here and inserted after *v.* 9. 35 ἔλθοι. ἐφόνευσαν pro ἐφονεύσατε. xxvi 27 om. τὸ. 42 om. οὐ. xxvii 20 Βραββᾶν.

Mk. iv 8 ἐν. v 1 γαδδαρηνῶν. 31 after ἥψατο add. τῶν ἱματίων and repetition of *v.* 31 (Dittography). vi 6 om. καὶ ἐθαύμαζε. 14 ἐγέρθη pro ἠγέρθη. 15 om. ὅτι Ἠλίας . . . ἔλεγον (Hom.). vii 19 καθαρίζων. 26 Συραφοινίκισσα. 30 θυγατέραν. viii 17 ὅτι pro ἔτι. 25 ἀνέβλεψε. ix 12 καθὼς pro καὶ πῶς. 17 in marg. (s.m.) τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ἄνθρωπός τις προσῆλθε τῷ Ἰησοῦ γονυπετῶν καὶ λέγων. 40 ἡμῶν (bis). xi 24 αἰτῆσθε. xii 5 δαιροντες. 25 om. ἐκ νεκρῶν. 26 Μωϋσεος. τοῦ βάτου. 41 sq. γαζοφυλακεῖον -ου. xiv 23 om. τὸ. 53 add. Καϊάφαν post ἀρχιερέα.

Lk. i 58 ἡ συγγενεῖς. ii 11 om. σωτήρ. iii 33 add. τοῦ Ἰωράμ post Ἀράμ. v 10 om. υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου. vi 9 ἀπολέσαι pro ἀποκτεῖναι. 10 om. ὑγιὴς. 21 om. ὅτι χορτασθήσεσθε· μακάριοι οἱ κλαίοντες νῦν (Hom.). vii 11 τῷ ἑξῆς. ix 55 om. καὶ εἶπεν· οὐκ οἴδατε . . . σῶσαι. xi 51 add. τοῦ δικαίου post Ἄβελ. xiii 34 om. Ἱερουσαλὴμ (Haplogr.). xiv 24 add. πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσι κλητοὶ κτλ. xxii 18 add. ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν post πίω. xxiii 26 Κηρυναίου.

Jn. iii 25 Ἰουδαίου. v 1 ἡ ἑορτή. 44 ἀνθρώπων pro ἀλλήλων. vi 39 om. τοῦτο δέ ἐστι τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με (Hom.). viii 2 post ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς add. λέγων ἐγώ εἰμι.

Pericope adulterae: 3 ἐπὶ μοιχείᾳ. 4 ταύτην εὕρομεν . . . μοιχευομένην, pro αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ κατειλήφθη . . . μοιχευομένη. 5 add. ἡμῶν post νόμῳ. om. ἡμῖν ante ἐνετείλατο. λιθάζειν pro λιθοβολεῖσθαι. 5 add. περὶ αὐτῆς post λέγεις. 6 αὐτὸν usque ad 7 ἀναμάρτ[ητος] deest (madore laesum). 9 οὖσα pro ἐστῶσα. 10 γύναι pro ἡ γυνή. om. ἐκεῖνοι. 11 add. ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ante μηκέτι.

ix 10 ἠνεῴχθησαν pro ἀνεῴχθησαν.

Throughout the MS there are several mistakes in accentuation, especially in the cases of double accents on words followed by enclitica, e.g. σῶμα μου, also in connexion with τίς and the pres. indic. of εἶναι.

Generally Ἠλίας, but sometimes Ἤλίας.

C. STEENBUCH.

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REVIEWS

Évangiles Apocryphes II. L'Évangile de l'Enfance, rédactions syriaques, arabes et arméniennes, traduites et annotées, by Paul Peeters, Bollandiste. (*Textes et documents* Hemmer et Lejay: Picard, Paris, 1914.)

We have here one well-known text in an improved form, and one practically unknown. Hitherto it has not been easy to get either a good version of the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, or any version at all of the Armenian. All accessible translations of the former have depended ultimately upon the edition of Sike (1697), whose sole MS has disappeared. Fr Peeters now gives us a fresh rendering of the Arabic and also the variants of Syriac forms of the text, and information about MSS. To summarize the textual position is difficult. 'Cinq manuscrits, cinq rédactions' says the editor. We are dealing with a text which has been amplified and interpolated without scruple. Though I renounce the task of constructing a *stemma codicum*, I may usefully call attention to some points which emerge.

Chapter i of Sike's text is not the proper beginning of the book, but a gloss. The real beginning may be that which is furnished by a Florence MS. It narrates the prediction of Christ's birth and of the star by Zoroaster, to which reference is made in the text (cap. vii p. 9). This prediction, I note, is a shorter form of that in the Book of the Bee (ed. Budge, p. 81). The matter, I feel, demands further investigation. Chapter xi–xli (xlii) are the 'seule partie originale de notre apocryphe. Originale veut dire qu'elle apparaît ici pour la première fois'. Of these, chapters xx–xxi (miracle of the young man changed into a mule) are derived, according to the editor, from a miracle of St Macarius narrated in the *Historia Lausiaca*, xvii. Again, chapters xxiv, xxv may be regarded as an interpolation due to an Egyptian scribe: they record local traditions. Chapters xliii–l are taken from the Syriac Gospel of Thomas (and to these must be added xxxviii, xxxix); li–liv are an amplification of the Dispute with the Doctors; liv, lv are in the nature of a peroration.

Our present texts of the Gospel of Thomas, *both Greek and Latin*, are derived from the Syriac. This is a startling and important pro-

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position which Fr Peeters supports in an appendix (Jésus à l'école) in which he compares the various versions of a single episode of *Thomas*.

Fr Peeters postulates a Greek text (apparently a version from Syriac) as the *direct* parent of our Latin, and finds it in the Greek original of certain Old Slavonic and Georgian versions (as yet untranslated). He points out that the explanation of the version may probably be attained when the full text of the Vienna palimpsest of the Latin *Thomas* (of cent. v–vi) is made accessible.

I do not see that he dismisses the idea that the parent of *all* the extant texts of *Thomas* was in Greek. This must be regarded as practically certain, in view of the knowledge of it shewn by Hippolytus and perhaps by Irenaeus.

Passing to the Armenian Gospel, we find ourselves in presence of the most diffuse of all the Infancy books: the translation fills pp. 69–286. The text depends on two MSS. Others exist, which are imperfectly known, but do not seem to differ materially in content from those before us.

The two MSS, however, do differ between themselves; one of them (B) constantly introduces doublets and expansions of episodes. The favourite *motif* is that of a playmate of the Child Jesus meeting his death by accident, of the blame being thrown upon Jesus; and of a long (and aimless) trial before a judge, at the end of which the dead boy is revived, exonerates Jesus, and after a few hours dies again. But this is an anticipation: a brief survey of the course of the narrative will be more to the purpose.

It begins abruptly with the retreat of Joachim to the country (after the rejection of his offering, which is not related). The general course of the story in the *Protevangelium* is followed, but with immense amplification—dialogues between Gabriel and the Virgin, and between Joseph and the Virgin, &c. It is in the story of the Nativity that we first encounter something really novel. As in the other books, Joseph goes forth to find a woman to help Mary. In the *Protevangelium* it is one Salome who meets him. Here it is Eve! who comes to behold with her own eyes the redemption of mankind. It is a striking conception. Do we find a trace of it in the following sentences of the Book of the Bee? 'He found a Hebrew woman whose name was Salome. The heretics say that she was called Hadyôk, but they err from the truth' (p. 80). Is Hadyôk a possible corruption of Eve, and have we here a faint reminiscence of the *Gospel of Eve*, from which Epiphanius quotes some mystic fragments?

The common episode of Salome follows in the Armenian.

The story of the Magi—Melkon, Gaspar, Balthasar—is elaborately

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embroidered, and in connexion with it the Testament of Adam is quoted.

When we leave the ground covered by the *Protevangelium*, we do not at once recognize the sources which have been employed. The Flight into Egypt, and the sojourn there, are naturally diversified by tales of the fall of idols, and of cures. But they are not the same tales as those in the Arabic book or in *Pseudo-Matthew*. There is, indeed, one, of Jesus gliding down a sunbeam, which does appear in mediaeval literature; and Lazarus, Mary, and Martha are found living in Egypt, as in the Arabic book (ch. xii).

The Return occupies a large space, and it is here that the incidents of children killed by accident are found. The original theme is to be found in *Thomas*, but the Armenian texts multiply it *ad nauseam*. After the Return we have the familiar episodes of the clay sparrows, of the dyer (at Tiberias), of the short beam extended, of Jesus at school —all of these traceable to *Thomas*; but we also have stories of cripples met by Jesus on the roads, and healed after long dialogues, and of other miracles which are not to be paralleled in texts already known to us. The book ends—abruptly, as it began—with a dispute between two soldiers, which is appeased by Jesus. It can hardly be considered complete.

In Fr Peeters's view, we have here a 'remaniement', of a popular kind, of the Infancy-book which is recorded to have been brought into Armenia by Nestorians, along with other apocrypha, at the end of the sixth century. The use of the present text can be traced back to the thirteenth and probably to the twelfth century; nor can it then have been a new production.

It is obvious that very great liberties have been taken with it; but this is a procedure not unknown in Armenian texts: witness the Armenian version of 4 Esdras. At the same time there are old elements which we do not meet elsewhere: one such, as I have hinted, may be the introduction of Eve.

Generally speaking, I deduce from the reading of Fr Peeters's book that a great deal remains to be done in the investigation of texts and MSS and the translation of versions already printed before we can set out a scheme of the mutual relation of the Infancy-books, or attain to any clearness in our view of the original source. That the framework of the stories of the birth of the Virgin will prove to have been something very like the *Protevangelium*, and that of the infantine miracles of Christ something like *Thomas* is all that we are warranted in saying at present. What place may have to be reserved for apocrypha connected with Joseph the carpenter and with Zacharias: what stories now only known in mediaeval vernacular versions may prove to belong to early strata of

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legend: these are questions as yet unsolved, and there are many others like them.

The volume before us, the preparation of which must have entailed no ordinary labour, is a most welcome and valuable contribution alike to the documentary and to the critical equipment which is needed for the disentanglement of a very interesting, but very confusing, congeries of texts.

Coptic Martyrdoms, &c., in the Dialect of Upper Egypt, edited, with English translation, by E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, M.A., Litt.D. (British Museum, 1914, pp. lxxvi + 523: with 32 plates of facsimiles.)

THE texts here edited for the first time are taken from four MSS in the British Museum, all of which are dated as of the tenth or early eleventh century. The Coptic text occupies pp. 1–249, and is followed by the English translation, with which alone I must of necessity concern myself.

We have first four martyrdoms[1] of 'Saint Victor the general', and an immense Encomium upon him pronounced by Celestine (the First, 422–432) in the church built to the Martyr at Rome by the Emperor 'Valentianus'.

In Western kalendars the Saint is commemorated on May 14 with St Corona. The Acts in Mombritius's collection correspond in essentials with the fourth and final martyrdom in this volume.

Next comes the life of SS. Eustathius and Theopiste and of their two children. It does not differ widely from the Greek text published by Combéfis in 1660, and accessible in the *Acta SS.* Sept. vi, p. 123. The prologue is somewhat paraphrased in the Coptic.

Of the Life of Apa Cyrus[2] and the Encomium of Flavian on Demetrius, Abp of Alexandria, I have found no Greek equivalent.

The 'Asketikon of Apa Ephraim' is the first portion of the tract which will be found in Greek in the Roman editions of Ephraem Syrus (1732, i 40), beginning: Ὁ πόνος τοῦ λέγειν ἀναγκάζει με. The Coptic ends in p. 54 B of the Greek, which continues to p. 70 C.

The 'Epistle of Ephraem to a beloved disciple', consisting chiefly of

[1] A small portion of another recension of the first martyrdom is in Crum's *Theol. Texts from Coptic Papyri*, 1913, p. 83 no. 22.

[2] Cf. Crum l. c., no. 28 for a fragment of another recension.

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precepts, has eluded my search among Ephraem's works, but I have little doubt that it is to be found there. It is of little interest.

The Life of John the Monk is the second Life of St John Calybita (Jan. 15) printed in the *Acta SS.* Jan. ii, p. 313.

That of Apa Onnophrios the anchorite (June 12) I have not yet found in Greek.

The Discourse on Abbaton (the angel of death) by Timothy, Abp of Alexandria, is the most novel and interesting piece in the volume. The setting resembles that of the Encomium on St John Baptist published in Dr Budge's previous book (*Coptic Apocrypha*). In both, the supposed writer obtains, through a 'god-loving presbyter' at Jerusalem, access to a book in the Apostolic library which he incorporates into his discourse. Both texts, also, are strange specimens of the popular mythology of Christian Egypt. The gist of this one is that after the expulsion of Adam and Eve the angel Mouriel is transformed into Abbaton the angel of death. The author quotes a prophecy of the Incarnation made to Adam, which in its general lines finds a place in the Testament of Adam and the *Vita Adae*: and his description of Abbaton's appearance to the evil and to the good respectively has much in common with the Testament of Abraham, from which it is probably drawn. Another familiar legend utilized here is that of the Fall of Lucifer consequent upon his refusal to worship Adam. Whether the angel Mouriel is to be connected with Ourael (Uriel), who, in the Apocalypse of Peter, has charge of Hades, is doubtful.

The importance to Coptic scholars of having so large a mass of new Sa'idic writing to work upon must be very great. For those who are more interested in the subject-matter of texts there is little of first-class value in this collection. And, as in the case of the *Coptic Apocrypha*, I must needs express my surprise and regret that Dr Budge does not seem to have made any enquiry as to the existence of Greek originals for any of his documents. Those which are pointed out in this review are not mentioned by him, and, it must be supposed, have not been consulted. I fear that, as in the other case, both texts and translation will be found to have suffered from this neglect.

Theological Texts from Coptic Papyri. Edited, with an Appendix upon the Arabic and Coptic versions of the Life of Pachomius, by W. E. CRUM, M.A. *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series* Part XII, 1913, pp. 205 + 9 plates of facsimiles.

THE texts in this volume are drawn from a collection of fragments acquired in 1905–1906 by the late Lord Amherst of Hackney, and later

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by Mr J. Pierpont Morgan. The dialect is Sa'idic: the date, as far as can be determined, round about the seventh century: the number of papyri dealt with is twenty-nine. All are fragmentary. Most fragmentary, by a fatality, are those which seem to me the most interesting.

Nos. 1, 2 are Biblical. No. 3 is a tantalizing piece of a book relating to Enoch. It is Christian, for there is an allusion to the Trinity, and to Tabitha. The order of the fragments is very uncertain, but they narrate an appearance of an angel to Enoch, his assumption, his appointment as recorder of the sins and good deeds of men. The weighing of sins and good deeds is also mentioned. A novel feature is the introduction of a mysterious virgin as speaker, who seems to be the sister of Enoch, and who is, I think, identified by Mr Crum with the Sibyl. There is also the statement that Tabitha is one of the mortals who will be taken up to heaven in the body. (Compare the *Apocalypse of Elias* and the *History of Joseph the Carpenter*.) Not much more can be gleaned from these tattered relics. The book to which they belong was not an early one.

Nos. 4, 5 relate to the Life and Death of the Virgin: 4 has a curious piece of polemic against heretics. 6–11 are parts of sermons by Basil (?), Damianus of Alexandria, Gregory Naz. (?), and others unknown. 12 is from a dialogue on the Gospels; 13 from a collection of Anecdotes. 14 is a very small piece of some apocryphal Acts in which Andrew and a ship figure. It is not part of the voyage in *Andrew and Matthew*, but belongs to a similar story. 15–23 are all from Acts or Encomia of martyrs, 19 (of Apa Moui) being the most considerable. 22 now proves to be from St Victor's Acts.

The remainder, 24–29, are all from lives or anecdotes of ascetes. 25, a large portion of a Life of Pachomius, is the longest and most coherent document in the volume. It is this which forms the text of the Appendix on the lives of Pachomius (pp. 171–193), in which two hitherto unnoticed Arabic versions are described, and their relation to the Coptic texts tabulated. And it is to students of Egyptian monachism that this volume will make the strongest appeal, outside the circle of Copticists (if that be a tolerable word) by whom any work of Mr Crum must of necessity be most highly valued. I need only add that I have nothing but praise for all that I am capable of appreciating in the execution of the book.

M. R. James.

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Jewish and Christian Apocalypses. The Schweich Lectures for 1913, by F. CRAWFORD BURKITT, M.A., D.D. (Humphrey Milford, 1914.)

PROFESSOR BURKITT'S book is both for the learned and the unlearned. Since the body of it consists of four lectures intended for the general public, it gives such a general survey of the Apocalyptic literature as might help the ordinary man, coming to this literature for the first time, to get a preliminary notion of its contents and its significance in the religious history of mankind. But the little book does not limit itself to this purpose. It is as when some expert archaeologist conducts a party of generally receptive, but unarchaeological, tourists through a gallery containing the monuments of ancient art. As he warms to the business of explaining to them the significance of what they see, the points which are of special interest to him, the points about which he has had controversy with his fellow experts, leap up in his discourse so that although he explains rudimentary things, as to those who have no previous knowledge, his comments would contain fresh suggestion and challenge for archaeological students. It is in a similar way that this book is a contribution to the specialist study of the Apocalypses. And in the Appendices Professor Burkitt frankly leaves the ordinary reader behind and addresses himself to students. He has taken the occasion to put into the same book as his Schweich lectures a number of detached things which he had to say about the Apocalyptic literature—points of textual criticism, conjectural emendations, &c. The ordinary reader will no doubt stop at the end of the four lectures.

And what capital lectures they are! Here is scholarship combined with that easy, elastic, informal habit of mind which gets closer to actual nature than rigid categories, the modulations of a real voice talking, as in conversation, and making us feel that we have to do, not with an academic specialist, but with a man of larger human interests.

The first lecture 'The Apocalyptic Idea' discusses two main questions, (1) How is it that, in contrast with individualistic conceptions of the Other Life, found outside the Jewish sphere, the Jewish Apocalypses look forward to a Last Judgement as a cosmic event, to which history moves? (2) How is it that the Apocalypses were dropped by later Rabbinical Judaism? As to the first question, Professor Burkitt finds the answer in the fact that the Apocalypses were the product of a particular historical crisis, the struggle between Judaism and Hellenism which began under Antiochus Epiphanes. This caused the hard-pressed Saints to look forward to a triumph of their cause upon the field of the world—to a New Age. 'It is the New Age, the new state of things that will come about when the great agony has ended by God's

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victorious intervention on behalf of His Saints, when He comes, or sends His Representative to come, to set the world right.'

The close relation between the Apocalypses and their historical context is certainly the first thing the plain man has to be made to grasp, and Professor Burkitt enforces this in his telling way. And yet the Maccabaean struggle is not a complete explanation. Professor Burkitt admits that it only furnished congenial soil upon which seeds fell (p. 3). One would like him to talk more about those seeds some day. He allows a possibility of suggestion from Zoroastrianism. But he does not tell us what he thinks (it is rather surprising that he does not) about the relation of the Apocalyptic hope to the ideas of the older Hebrew prophecy. As to the second question, Why Rabbinical Judaism dropped the Apocalypses, Professor Burkitt's answer seems to be that when the Jewish community had been removed from the sphere of political nationalism, a quiet concentration upon the Law supplied its need, and on this point Professor Burkitt has sympathetic and judicious things to say about the 'wonderful achievement' of the Jewish religion, which deserve notice. I must confess that his explanation does not quite satisfy me. The Jewish community did not drop its hope of an Age to come. It is, of course, true as a matter of fact that it ceased to feel the same interest as the Apocalyptists had felt in the details of the picture, but Professor Burkitt does not really tell us why it did. Many religious communities, without national or political significance, have had great interest in eschatological doctrine.

The second lecture deals with the Book of *Enoch*. Some of it is introductory explanation for the man who is unfamiliar with its contents and to whom the principle of pseudonymity might be a puzzle. But there are new suggestions of an interesting kind in the lecture. One may call attention to Professor Burkitt's interpretation of the saying in the Gospels about the Unclean Spirit who wanders through waterless places and returns to his old abode. As against Dr Charles, Professor Burkitt maintains that the text of the Cairo MS is preferable to that of Syncellus. He regards the book as the composition of a single author, and infers from the few geographical names mentioned that this man's home was near the sources of the Jordan. The book, like the Gospel, comes from Galilee. The lecture ends by shewing the essential difference between the Apocalyptic view of the world and that of contemporary Hellenistic culture, as represented by Posidonius. 'In the last resort the difference . . . is symbolized in the sentence from 4 Ezra . . . "The Most High hath not made one world, but two." This is the essential thing, the central doctrine that animates all the Apocalypses. In one sense it is a confession of failure, a confession that the Universe cannot be reduced to a harmonious whole. Posidonius

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professed to do this, but he and his followers only achieved it by denying the existence of evil in the world' (p. 32).

The third lecture, 'The Minor Jewish Apocalypses', glances at the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Psalms of Solomon*, the *Assumption of Moses*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, and *Second Esdras*. In relation to the first of these, we may note the suggestion that the inhabitants of Northern Palestine and Peraea were still regarded as belonging to the Ten Tribes, and as a matter of fact inherited to a large extent the blood of the old Israelites. In the case of *Baruch* and *Second Esdras* as in that of *Enoch*, Professor Burkitt exhibits an aversion for the prevailing mode of splitting up the books into several documents with diverse tendencies, and he prefers to speak in each case of the author—'Whether we choose to call him "author" or "redactor".' 'Speaking generally it may be said that the division of Apocalypses into their original conjectured constituents is an extremely delicate task, for it assumes that these anticipations, these dreams of the future, will be self-consistent. A certain degree of consistency we must indeed expect. The work of the same man will, to a certain extent, always breathe the same spirit. But his pictures of the future will not always harmonize in detail.' And the suggestion is made that the difficulties and incoherencies of the Apocalyptic writings may be due to their following dreams actually dreamed. This is not only an interesting suggestion, but it indicates a whole line of enquiry. Whatever our view may be of the abnormal phenomena included in the field of 'Psychical Research', there they are, and the ordinary supposition that the Apocalypses were composed by men sitting down in a wide-awake, rational, deliberate, if somewhat emotional, state of mind—like that of a modern literary man composing a romance—is open to some doubt.

The concluding lecture, 'Early Christian Apocalyptic Writing', is mainly occupied with the *Ascension of Isaiah*, and here again Professor Burkitt protests against the dismemberment of the book by the critical saw. It is, he maintains, a unity and the work of a Christian throughout. The writer laboured under the difficulty of having a double crisis in his scheme, (1) the Incarnation of the Heavenly Christ and (2) the Last Judgement. The lecture ends with Professor Burkitt's summing up the permanent spiritual value of the Apocalyptic literature: to find their nconsistencies a stumbling-block is, he argues, to miss their distinctive quality.

It will be seen that Professor Burkitt's treatment of his subject brings it into close touch with larger questions of valuation in the sphere of the spirit and of human life. The eschatological school of which Professor Burkitt is a distinguished exponent, is itself but one manifestation of that movement in modern thought which finds something

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dull in the precise logic of the intellect and sees the expression of life rather in what is instinctive, bold, and elemental. Perhaps we might hit its character if we said that it tends to depreciate the common-sense which hugs the limits of the actual and discerns in the adventures of will and imagination the struggle after a Reality too great for the mind to grasp.

EDWYN BEVAN.

L'Eucharistie, la présence réelle et la transsubstantiation, by P. BATIFFOL. 5me édition refondue et corrigée. (Lecoffre, Paris, 1913.)

THE first edition of this book appeared in 1905, and was reviewed in this JOURNAL (vol. vii pp. 299–301). In the present edition the original work has been largely recast and its plan considerably modified. The merit of the earlier edition was that it presented a sketch, necessarily slight in parts, but admirably clear in arrangement and method, of the conceptions and beliefs entertained with regard to the Eucharist in the Church from the Apostolic age to the Council of the Lateran in 1215. The headings of the main sections in this earlier edition ('Le réalisme au second siècle', 'Premières théories du réalisme', 'Élaboration de la notion de conversion', 'Conversion et transsubstantiation') were singularly helpful in enabling the student to grasp the main stages in the developement of thought on the subject. In this last edition the period reviewed is much circumscribed, and concludes with the Council of Ephesus. In place of the illuminating headings to the sections in the earlier volume, the plan is adopted of reviewing the testimony of individual writers in more or less chronological order. The change can scarcely be considered a change for the better. Though there is greater fullness of detail and exposition the main lines of developement are less clearly indicated, and the book fails to carry the reader along with it in the same way as the earlier edition. Another and more important feature in which this latest edition differs from the first is the treatment applied to the evidence. In the review of M. Batiffol's first edition attention was called to the historical method exhibited in the book. 'The passages which have so often been the battleground of controversialists are here carefully analysed in the dry light of historical investigation and placed in their true setting' (*Journal* vol. iv p. 299). In this latest edition there are traces here and there of a different spirit asserting itself side by side with that of the purely historical enquirer. M. Batiffol at times abandons the rôle of the historian for that of the systematic theologian. The discussion of the words τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου (pp. 137, 162 note 1), and the remarks on the testimony of Justin (p. 31 note 2 (end)) and Irenaeus (pp. 181, 183) are illustrations of this tendency, and are in marked contrast to the

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earlier, and it must be said, the more historical treatment given to these same questions in the first edition of the book. In his 'Epilogue' (pp. 483 f) M. Batiffol has explained the circumstances which have led to the revision of the book, and this piece of autobiography is not the least interesting feature in this edition. But from the point of view of the strictly historical student this latest edition of M. Batiffol's book, in spite of its review of more recent critical theories and its fuller treatment of evidence on particular points, cannot be regarded as attaining to quite the same standard as his earlier book. M. Batiffol has some new and interesting remarks upon the prayers in the *Didache* and their connexion with Jewish prayers. He discusses afresh the prayers in the *de Sacramentis*, and treats of the thorny question of the conjectural restoration of the early Roman Canon, though his remarks on the subject seem somewhat elusive, and it is not quite clear how far he would go in this direction.

M. Batiffol regards the Egyptian anaphora contained in the Crum papyrus as more ancient in date than that in the liturgy of St Mark, and he thinks that the prayer in the latter πλήρωσον ὁ θεὸς καὶ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν κτλ. is a modification and alteration of the fuller Epiclesis found in the former. But the question may be asked whether the relation between the two prayers is not really the direct opposite of this, and whether the Epiclesis in the Crum papyrus may not be a filling out of the simpler prayer in St Mark.

The treatment of the anaphora in the Egyptian Church Order is not very satisfactory. M. Batiffol regards it as contemporary with that of the Crum papyrus, and finds in it confirmation of his theory that the latter is older than St Mark. But the Crum papyrus and the Egyptian Church Order represent very different stages of liturgical developement. In the former we have a fully developed Epiclesis of the later kind praying for the operation of the Holy Spirit on the elements and containing the request 'Make [ποίησον (?), the restoration of the text is conjectural] the bread the body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the cup the blood of the new covenant'. The position of this prayer, before the recital of the words of institution, does not alter the fact that in its contents it represents a stage in advance of the simpler Epiclesis of the Egyptian Church Order, which, as M. Batiffol says, asks God to send His Holy Spirit that He may sanctify the faithful who communicate in the offerings.

In dealing with the testimony of Jerome M. Batiffol well says: 'Saint Jerome is too learned to represent a homogeneous and a direct tradition.' The remark applies equally to Origen, Eusebius, and the Cappadocians, and needs to be borne in mind by writers on liturgical subjects when dealing with the testimony afforded to local liturgical

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traditions by patristic writers. The assumption that such writers may be relied upon to be giving the tradition of their own churches is one that needs to be tested in particular cases, and the failure to observe this caution is responsible for not a little misreading of early evidence.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

The Christian Eucharist and the Pagan Cults, by WILLIAM MANSFIELD GROTON, S.T.D. (Longmans, Green & Co., 1914.)

THE Bohlen Lectures for 1913, delivered in Philadelphia by the Dean of the Divinity School in that city, have now been published. The scope of the book is indicated by the title; after introductory chapters on cultic meals in general, and Eucharistic rites as found in Gnosticism and the mystery religions, the writer proceeds to a short discussion of the Eucharist in the New Testament and the sub-apostolic church as compared with parallel heathen institutions. The subject is of special interest at the present time, when a conviction of the pagan origin of the sacraments has become common in non-theological circles. Dr Groton aptly illustrates this by a quotation from Mr Winston Churchill's book *The Inside of the Cup*.

The author has read widely in the recent literature of the subject, but unfortunately his method of treatment has impaired the usefulness of the book to a serious extent. It is much too full of learned allusions to be of real help to the educated layman. Such a sentence as 'Lehman traces it to Shamanism' (p. 29) must have been bewildering to the hearers, since no account is given of Lehman or his work, not even a foot-note reference to his book, nor any explanation of what is meant by Shamanism. While phraseology of this kind, which is not unfrequent,—'Schmidt quoting Massuet, whom Struckmann apparently has followed, says emphatically' (p. 41)—is little better than learned ballast and quite out of place in lectures of this type. The chapter on the Gnostic Eucharist dispenses with any account of Gnosticism itself, and that on the mysteries omits to discuss the important question of date, which is, however, just touched upon in a later chapter.

Nor is the book likely to be of service to the scholar. Practically no use is made of the original documents, even the New Testament receiving but a cursory treatment, and the discussion is based entirely on the work of recent scholars. This being so, some account of the literature and the various schools of thought is needed, but nothing of the kind is provided, not even a bibliography. Some of the notes are presented in a way that renders them useless from a scholar's point of view. That on p. 4 runs thus:—

'St Thomas is represented in the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles

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as offering only bread, salt, and water. A mixture of milk and honey was also frequently employed at a comparatively late period. Extensive circles of Montanists used bread and cheese in the sacramental rite.'

The note on p. 37 assumes too much knowledge of theological literature, 'see T. U. viii 497'. On pp. 45, 46 the author has occasion to refer to the volume and page of three different serial publications. The first is printed ix, 696, the second 9. 871, the third I, p. 263. These are details, but carelessness on such points destroys the reader's confidence. In places I think that Dr Groton is too positive, as when he speaks of eucharistic sacramentalism and asserts that 'Semiticism in this particular was a non-conducting wedge between the East and the West' (p. 29), or else inaccurate, as when he declares that we know little of Jewish eschatology, which 'has left few traces behind it' (p. 102). Short as the book is, it could be shortened still further with advantage by the omission of passages that add nothing to the sense, for instance on p. 26 we are told that 'this idea (of feeding on deity) is more conspicuous by its absence than by its existence in the religious ceremonies of the Negro', and on p. 47 that the non-Jurors' conception of the Eucharist 'can hardly be connected genealogically with Gnostic views'.

By a misprint on p. 52 the writer is made to refer to the sacraments as 'the mysteries of the forgiveness of sins and of *immorality*'.

W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE.

Collected Essays of Rudolf Eucken, edited and translated by MEYRICK BOOTH. (Fisher Unwin, 1914.)

THERE is much interesting reading in this collection of essays by the distinguished scholar and thinker, who has made the Jena of to-day a centre of spiritual, as his colleague Professor Haeckel had already made it a centre of naturalistic, philosophy. Written at different times and on different occasions, they all, or nearly all, give expression to the writer's characteristic attitude towards the problems of thought and life. In their cumulative effect they set before the reader a highly cultivated and deeply serious mind, perhaps somewhat lacking in the quality of humour, and constantly preoccupied with a certain point of view, from which every subject is regarded; and have reminded the present reviewer of the collected essays of a wise Englishman of the last generation, the late Richard Holt Hutton.

The first three essays in this book deal with 'Religion and Civilization', 'Philosophy and the Religious Movement of To-day', and 'The Modern Man and Religion'. Professor Eucken insists that religion and civilization, though they may easily be made to appear as opponents,

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can neither of them dispense with the other. 'With the abandonment of all religion, civilization rapidly sinks into littleness, secularism, and mere humanism: it threatens to fall away from its own idea.' Witness is borne to the existence at the present time of 'a strong and ever-growing movement in the direction of religion'. We are told that far from the power of religion being 'less at the beginning of the twentieth century than it was at the beginning of the nineteenth', in fact 'the exact opposite is the case'; but we are at the same time justly warned that 'in a highly developed civilization religion cannot develope its full power unless it is able to justify itself to the scientific consciousness'.

Three essays follow, called respectively 'In Defence of Morality', 'The Moral Forces in the Life of To-day', and 'The Inner Movement of Moral Life'. This movement is described as twofold. 'The aggrandizement of man', says Prof. Eucken, 'is the most conspicuous feature of modern life; but it is not the whole of this life. It is remarkable that within the field of modern life an opposed movement, of no less strength, is working towards the diminution and subordination of man.'

Other essays deal with 'Thoughts upon the Education of the People', 'The Importance of Great Numbers', 'The Problem of Immortality'. In this last (which appeared first in the *Hibbert Journal*) it is strange to find so learned a student of the history of philosophy as Prof. Eucken speaking as though at the height of the Middle Ages there was 'of course not the smallest doubt about man's immortality; no laborious chain of proof was necessary'. What would he say of the Averroists? And at such a time how could the fact that Aristotle, as Prof. Eucken afterwards observes, 'with all his defence of an indestructible faculty of thought, never doubted the extinction of individuality', fail to have its effect on minds possessed by so great a reverence for his authority as those of the thirteenth-century schoolmen? Perhaps, however, Prof. Eucken does not mean by the immortality which was not according to him questioned among them the immortality of the individual, but merely the immortality of some element in human nature.

Some of the essays are devoted to individual thinkers. There is a sympathetic appreciation of Baron von Hügel's *Mystical Element in Religion* under the title of 'A Catholic Religious Philosophy of the Present Day'. To Kant are dedicated a study of his work published on the occasion of the centenary of his death ten years ago, another essay on his use of metaphors and similes, and a third, occupied with the consideration of Bayle as a precursor of the critical philosophy. Prof. Eucken also discusses 'Goethe in his Relation to Philosophy'. There are essays on 'Philosophical Parties' and on 'The Reflection of the Age in its Concepts'.

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At the present moment a very special interest attaches to the account of 'The Status of Religion in Germany'. Here the opinion of Bishop Bonomelli of Cremona, 'who, as chief pastor of the Italian workmen in Germany, has had excellent opportunities of comparing the religious conditions of that country with those of its neighbours', is quoted to the effect that 'the religious sentiment of the German people is deeper and more enduring than that of France, and far more powerful than that of Italy'. Still more timely is the attempt made in the following essay to answer the question 'Are the Germans still Thinkers?' In this we found no little light thrown upon the developement of the Germany with which we are at war to-day from that older 'romantic' Germany, of whose people (to quote Prof. Eucken) 'Jean Paul Richter, one of their greatest writers, justly says that "the empire of the sea belongs to the English, that of the land to the French, and that of the air"' (in how different a sense from that which the words would bear in a writer of the twentieth century!) '"to the Germans"'. 'How great', exclaims Prof. Eucken, 'is the change effected since then! For now, at the close of the nineteenth century, the Germans appear particularly great, by reason of their military organization, the energy and skill displayed in their work, and their restless advance in the technical, industrial, and mercantile domains.' Prof. Eucken justly points out that military prowess, commercial enterprise, and technical skill were already characteristic of the Germans in the Middle Ages, but that the absorption in the world of poetry and thought of their educated descendants in the earlier decades of the nineteenth century brought it about that the resumption by a later generation of more material activities led to a decline in her popularity with other nations. For this absorption had been 'exceedingly comfortable and agreeable to other nations. Germany, by reason of her philosophy and artistic creations, contributed greatly to the general enrichment of life; while, at the same time, she was not a troublesome competitor in the sphere of reality. The favour with which other nations regarded her, however, rapidly declined so soon as they perceived her ability to achieve distinction in the actual world and to solicit recognition. The nations had become so accustomed to see Germany dispense with these things, that they often actually regarded in her as a serious offence what in others had ever been considered as a self-evident privilege. Surely no fair-minded person would expect to see a great people permanently forgo a participation in active life and willingly become a mere spectator of the drama of history.' This paragraph, which puts very clearly the German feeling about their unpopularity with their neighbours, an unpopularity of which they are acutely conscious, notwithstanding the robust faith sometimes expressed by their spokesmen that the world would be made happy if it were

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Germanized. The candid English reader will not deny that there has been at least in the past some excuse for the feeling; but he will regret that the Germans—I am not now speaking of Prof. Eucken—are so much disposed to attribute to our countrymen prior to the present war a hatred of all things German of which most of us were quite innocent, a hatred similar to that towards ourselves which has lately found expression in certain notorious ballads, the sentiments of which even now, in the midst of a desperate conflict, very few, if any, Englishmen would be found ready to reciprocate.

In the light of recent events some passages in the book before us have a pathetic interest; such is that containing the following excellent observations on the nobler and less noble senses in which the individuality of a nation can be insisted on. In the nobler sense, says our author, 'the most powerful developement of a nation can constitute no disadvantage or danger to any other nation. If, however, the national character, in its immediate condition, is unconditionally retained, glorified, and recklessly and passionately defended, then not only must the inner developement of the nation come to a standstill, but there will arise a state of mutual repulsion and bitterness among the different peoples.' 'Formerly it was said, *Cuius regio, eius religio*; now we consider this barbaric. But will later generations think any better of the motto *Cuius regio, eius natio*, which has to-day attained to such power? But such possibilities need not necessarily develope into actuality.' The world has indeed reason to lament that precisely that conception of national individuality which Prof. Eucken here condemns, should be represented in arms by the great empire of which he is a citizen. But still more pathetic is it to read now the Professor's remark that 'the Thomism of the present day has not only two different complexions, but also two different centres—Rome and Louvain'.

The translation, though better than those published of some other works by Prof. Eucken, often lays itself open to criticism. 'Directed towards within', 'the unhappily deceased Tyrrell', 'neo-Trentian Catholicism' are not good English. We should rather say 'directed inwards', 'the lamented Tyrrell', 'Tridentine neo-Catholicism'. It is certainly not Bayle, and we feel sure it is not Prof. Eucken, who is responsible for calling 'Socinus' 'Socinius' and 'Pyrrho' 'Pyrrhus'; and, whoever is responsible for it, 'consubstantiality' is an odd rendering for '*l'union hypostatique*' in the quotation from Bayle on p. 299.

C. C. J. WEBB.

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Pantheon Babylonicum. Nomina Deorum e textibus cuneiformibus excerpta et ordine alphabetico distributa, adjuvantibus ROMEO PANARA, JOS. PATSCH, C.SS.R., NIC. SCHNEIDER, edidit ANTONIUS DEIMEL, S.J., Prof. Assyr. in Pontificio Instituto Biblico. Cum approbatione Superiorum. (Romae, Sumptibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1914.)

PROFESSOR DEIMEL has done all Assyriologists a great service by compiling and arranging, with the aid of his able assistants, a long list of all the divine names occurring in the Babylonian and Assyrian cuneiform texts so far published. The cuneiform system of writing was used by Elamites, Hittites, Armenians, and Cappadocians. The Tell el Amarna tablets shew its use in Syria and Palestine. Even Egypt had to learn to read and write it for foreign correspondence. Hence we have in this list many gods named who were neither Sumerian nor Babylonian.

The repeated invasions of Babylonia brought in many strange gods and, from early dates, every city had its own pantheon. The gradual supremacy acquired by one city-state over its neighbours led to the transfer of gods to new areas: and the intercourse of tribes or clans led to the transfer of divine attributes from one god to another. In the course of time, a partial consensus was reached in Babylonia as to the nature of the gods, which led to great similarity among them. Thus families, groups, triads, heptads, &c., emerged and a most complicated theology arose. The impression given by a list like this is one of great complexity and even confusion.

The reduction of this complexity to a relative simplicity is a task awaiting prolonged study. The Pantheon of a city changed in various ways through the thousands of years for which we know its history. Before we can study the theology we must distinguish between epochs, and know enough of the history to appreciate the significance of the importation of a new god or set of gods. Professor Deimel has done the essentially preliminary work of collecting much of the material.

He has also contributed to the understanding of the problems by acute and often successful attempts to shew the significance of the names of the gods. This is one of the most interesting features of the book, and will shew the reader to a considerable extent what were the underlying conceptions of divinity. Professor Deimel gives us the results of his studies of Babylonian theology in some deeply interesting chapters, *de Babyloniorum conceptu divinitatis*, in which he repels the modern efforts of Delitzsch, Zimmern, and others to derive Jewish and even Christian theology from Babylonia.

The alphabetic arrangement is excellent, but apt to puzzle, until one

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recognizes that the alphabet is Semitic and therefore *g* comes before *d*, and *z* before *ḥ*, *s* before *ṗ*, and *ṣ* before *ḳ*, while *u* follows *e*. This is the usual arrangement in Babylonian, but as many of the words are not Semitic, the Latin order might have been easier and equally correct. At the end is given a list of the signs which answer to the syllables used in the transcriptions, a most useful addition, especially for those who desire to control results.

The whole book is a most valuable and learned work and reflects the highest credit on the scholarship of the Biblical Institute of Rome.

Babylonian-Assyrian Birth Omens and their Cultural Significance. By MORRIS JASTROW, Junr. (A. Töpelmann, Giessen, 1914.)

THIS is the fifth *Heft* of the fourteenth *Band* of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, edited by R. Wünsch and L. Deubner. Dr Jastrow had occasion in his colossal work, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, to examine somewhat fully this branch of divination, along with astrology and hepatoscopy. It was necessary to discover, if possible, any connexion with religion. Incidentally, he made an extraordinary contribution to the understanding of the Omen-texts themselves, and it was an excellent idea to gather up what can be said intelligibly on this special subdivision of the omens. It is greatly to be hoped that Dr Jastrow will issue similar brochures on other branches of the omen literature of Assyria and Babylon.

This work is a very readable and thoroughly reliable account of the quaint and curious lucubrations of the 'wise men' of the East, as to the significance of abnormal births amongst men and beasts. It should provoke research into other obscure perversions of the human intellect based on acute observation and subtle argument from unsound premises. In this, as in other occult sciences, there is an unhealthy fascination for the untrained mind, but I can recommend this book as safe to those who are seeking material for a new religion. Nevertheless, they may meet with some startling warnings. The chief virtue it demands of most readers is a tolerant patience.

From the point of view of the student of comparative religion it is a useful study. Possibly a warning should be given that not everything that is foolish, absurd, or ludicrous, is therefore to be regarded as elementary religion. It may be of more interest to note how long the belief in prodigies and omens lasted into the Middle Ages and even later. Possibly modern physiologists may find side-lights on the ancient views about physiognomy from the long-continued series of ancient observations, just as modern astronomers have shewn deep interest in the old

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Babylonian records with a view to revising the elements of the moon's motion. Without advancing the sum total of human knowledge, this little book will amuse and instruct many who take an interest in the vagaries of the human mind and the thoughts of the men of old time. Let us hope that it may induce some one to provide a pittance for some of the scholars who spent long days and nights in worrying out such results from obscure hieroglyphs and ideograms.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

The Later Version of the Wycliffite Epistle to the Romans compared with the Latin Original: A Study of Wycliffite English. By EMMA CURTISS TUCKER, Ph.D. A Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. (Yale Studies in English xlix, New York, 1914.)

PHILOLOGY has now for some time been advancing towards a new branch which has intimate relations with psychology, the so-called semasiology or semantics of Abel and others. An attempt in this direction has been presented as a Yale thesis for the degree of Ph.D. by Miss E. C. Tucker, who defines her general purpose to be a discovery to some extent of 'the resources and capacities of the English language in the last quarter of the fourteenth century' (p. viii), and more particularly a discussion, based on these studies, of syntactical problems and of principles of semantic change in the English language (p. x). Miss Tucker has selected the Epistle to the Romans of the Later Wycliffite Version as a basis for her investigations, and she uses the English Hexapla and a fourteenth-century fragmentary version edited by the reviewer as the chief materials for her comparative study.

The results obtained by Miss Tucker have been worked out with extreme care and are of considerable interest, and it is to be hoped that the success of this study will lead Miss Tucker on to further investigations into the history of the mediaeval English Bible.

In conclusion, an important suggestion thrown out by Miss Tucker should be noted, viz. that 'one or both of the (Wycliffite) translators had actually before him a French version of the Bible' (p. xi); no direct evidence is available, but the indications in the portion of the text studied by Miss Tucker point to direct French influence upon the Wycliffite Versions. It is to be hoped that some future Yale Study will throw light upon this important point.

A. C. PAUES.

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The Religion of Israel. By HENRY PRESERVED SMITH. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1914.)

IN considering such a subject as the religion of Israel two methods of treatment are possible: either to take the leading ideas of the Old Testament and group them together in some philosophic arrangement; or to endeavour to trace out the course of developement which has led up to the statement of these ideas in their present form. This latter is the method which Dr Smith has adopted. For the purpose of the enquiry the history of the nation is divided into four periods, representing four phases in its religious developement: (1) Nomadic religion, (2) Agricultural religion, (3) Prophetism, (4) Legalism.

The treatment of the earliest period furnishes what is perhaps the most interesting part of the book. Many striking parallels are drawn from the religious beliefs of the modern Arabs; in fact Dr Smith goes so far as to say that the religious ideas of the Hebrews in the nomadic stage 'must have been similar to what we find among the Arabs of the same region at the present day'. This statement, it seems to me, goes much too far. The Arabs are admittedly slow to change their customs, but their religious beliefs are not impervious to outside influences: witness the case of Mohammed and all that he owed to Judaism and the corrupt Christianity of his Syrian neighbours. Primitive Arab beliefs must, in any case, have been greatly modified by the teaching of the prophet himself. Again Dr Smith says that the entrance into Canaan involved the amalgamation of the Israelites with the Canaanites and their adoption of the agricultural life, which is true enough; but it is surely an exaggeration to say that 'the adoption of Canaanite religion would follow'. That many religious customs and ideas, especially in connexion with agriculture, were taken over is hardly to be doubted; but on the other hand it is probable that much was rejected. The book contains several other statements of a similar nature. For example, Dr Smith seems to take it for granted that the 'Chabiri' are the same as the Hebrews, whereas the word from its meaning 'allies' may have 'no ethnological or historical significance' (S. A. Cook *Enc. Brit.* xx 606). On p. 67 there is what appears to be an actual contradiction: first it is stated that 'the conception of the divinity as possessor of a place . . . implies private property in land, something unknown to the nomad', and in the same paragraph it is also stated that 'the idea of the nomad is that the oasis . . . is the garden of God. Private property in land was first ascribed to the divinity'.

Traces of the primitive religion of Palestine are seen in the numerous traditions included in the historical books, such as those connected with various place-names. Dr Smith accounts for the transfer of the legends

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to Jahweh as being due to a desire to emphasize the fact that it was by His pledge that the people had its title to the lands of Canaan. The early Hebrews who incorporated these legends (which originally referred to other deities) apparently exercised very little discrimination. Perhaps the most striking example of this is the story contained in Ex. iv 24–26 where 'the divinity attacked Moses and would have slain him' but for the quickness of Zipporah who drove Him away by the charm of circumcision blood. Dr Smith, who sees in the original of this story the attempt of a local demon to punish Moses for intruding upon his territory, remarks that 'the cruel night demon who thus throttles strangers has little in common with the covenant God who sent Moses to deliver his people'. It is interesting to notice in this connexion that later Jewish opinion held that it was the evil one who thus attacked Moses (Jubilees xlviii 2).

In dealing with the prophets Dr Smith's treatment of the subject is sometimes rather slight. He recognizes clearly, however, that the earlier prophets looked upon the wilderness period as one of harmony between Jahweh and Israel (Hos. xi 1–3; Jer. ii 2 f) and that they 'categorically deny that sacrifice was either commanded or offered in the wilderness' (Am. v 25; Is. i 11–15; Jer. vii 22). The prophetic movement as a whole stood for spirituality and freedom in religion and for the exaltation of morals above ritual; but a different process was going on at the same time which in the end triumphed over it, and by a strange irony the most vigorous exposition of the opposing idea comes from one who is himself recognized as a prophet. 'Amos declared God's scorn for offerings, sacrifices, and the festivals; Isaiah is equally emphatic in his condemnation; Jeremiah denied that Jahweh had given a law concerning ritual. Ezekiel, with sublime indifference to these declarations, makes ritual Jahweh's first concern. Ecclesiasticism has triumphed and will increasingly dominate Jewish thought.'

The new movement began according to Dr Smith with the publication of Deuteronomy. He would place this event in the early years of Josiah, identifying it with the discovery of the Book of Law. But in view of the ever-increasing recognition of the difficulties which are caused by placing Deuteronomy thus early, such an identification is at least open to question. For example, would it have been likely that Jeremiah would have proclaimed publicly that Jahweh gave no command as to sacrifice if the main part of the Deuteronomic legislation had been in existence? Many critics, whilst attributing the Book of Kings to the Deuteronomic school, fail to recognize the extent to which these writers have adapted the events of history to their own particular point of view. It seems much more likely that the reform movement begun in Josiah's reign had lasting effects, in spite of its apparent failure, and that during

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the exile the teaching of this movement, which for a better name may be called 'Deuteronomic', resulted in the production of the book which we now possess. It was not the book which produced the movement, but the movement which found permanent expression in the book. It will be noticed that Dr Smith himself admits that but for the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar 'the legalism introduced by Deuteronomy would not have become effective'.

Legalism, then, was the predominant feature of Jewish religion from the exile onwards, though not to the exclusion of all other points of view. Indeed the developement of Judaism was marked by a reaction against excessive legalism. This reaction took various and oftentimes opposing forms. In the first place there was the sceptical reaction as exhibited in books such as Job and Ecclesiastes, in which many beliefs taken for granted by the orthodox were challenged and even denied. Secondly there was the allegorical school who endeavoured to spiritualize the law by giving up its primary meaning. The typical exponent of this school in the pre-Talmudic period was of course Philo, though the Wisdom writers in general made use of the same method. The remarkable feature of their work is that they took up the challenge of the Greeks 'which claimed culture and wisdom as Greek possessions' and endeavoured to shew that the law was 'the supreme source of wisdom'. The third form which the reaction against legalism took is exhibited in the Apocalyptic books. If the law is divine and to be obeyed by all Jews, and if foreign oppressors and the power of the Gentiles prevent this obedience, surely God must reveal His mighty power and bring in His kingdom 'by an act of miraculous intervention'.

Dr Smith's book is an excellent summary of the present views of somewhat advanced criticism on the religion of Israel; its contents are presented in a clear and plain manner, and it should be an invaluable help to those who have no special knowledge of Old Testament subjects. But at the same time it is to be regretted that the author has given so little attention to the most important question in the whole religious history of the Jewish people—the rise of monotheism.

L. Elliott Binns.

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MISCELLANEA.

Religion in an Age of Doubt. By the Rev. C. J. SHEBBEARE. (Robert Scott, 1914.)

MR SHEBBEARE'S book is a plea for a revised method of Christian apologetic, and contains a compressed but very able statement of what may be expected from the use of such a method. While agreeing that Christianity is a historical religion, he declines to begin with historical considerations, on the ground that a Christ accepted on such grounds would be a Christ at second-hand. We must begin with what we know, with the only thing we know, with self. The real court is moral. Conscience is the only judge. To will and to do according to the verdict of conscience will reveal to us spiritual laws 'valid for every rational being'. The real appeal of Christ is to this moral judgement. He does prove His capacity to be the Saviour. He does deliver from guilt. Therefore a high doctrine, the highest doctrine, of His Person is abundantly justified. 'The question turns on what "moral divinity" means. If we merely call Jesus God by courtesy because He is the best of good men, the divine title has here no theological worth. But if we recognize His absolute supremacy in the moral sphere—in such a sense that we identify the "Will of Jesus" with the "Will of God"—we shall then not hesitate to "honour the Son even as we honour the Father", and Jesus in the fullest sense of the word will have for us "the value of God"' (p. 137). So we are led by non-metaphysical means to a doctrine which is itself metaphysical. 'The "Trinitarian" problem, then, is far from being a gratuitously accepted burden. It arises in the first place because the Christian Church from the beginning has been compelled by the clear witness of experience to recognize the Godhead of the Holy Ghost' (p. 180).

But it must be a better doctrine than that hitherto accepted. Mr Shebbeare does not merely deprecate (p. 161) 'the shallowness of popular theology' which he contrasts with 'the profundity and correctness of popular religion', but he feels, as do so many, that the Definition of Chalcedon is not the last word. He echoes the suggestion of Sir Oliver Lodge that theology has not yet found its Newton. On what lines, then, is the great simplification to be? On Ritschlian lines? 'The third volume of Ritschl's *Justification and Reconciliation*—though not free from philosophical defects—may reasonably be regarded as the greatest religious book of our time' (p. 123). Ritschl, who is defended from the charges of being a Pragmatist and unduly subjective, is right in the former of his main contentions, that theology does depend on the

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appeal to Christian experience, but mistaken in supposing that religious and physical knowledge cannot be united in one scheme. Theology is a real and ruling *regina scientiarum*. And there is room, for example, for an 'argument from Design', an argument which is admirably re-stated in chapter fifteen.

But this comes later. We must first be sure about duty. And about this we can be sure. Kant is regarded as having established the unconditional imperative. This leads us straight to Christ. The 'good will' is identified with St Paul's justifying faith. An illuminating chapter on the historical Jesus leads to the conclusion that 'He stands, as no one else can do, for the Moral Law'. The classical method of apprehending Christ is Evangelicalism, and the classical school of Evangelicalism is the Keswick School. 'It cannot be impossible for those who believe in Duty but not in God to apply the Keswick method in practice. Nor should this be regarded by them as a mere experiment' (p. 119). From this follows the necessity, and the possibility, of formulating a doctrine of benevolent creation, of a future life (Mr Shebbeare has some wise reflexions about the resurrection of the body), of the Trinity, and the Incarnation.

It is difficult to resist the impression that the age which Mr Shebbeare has under consideration is not in all respects the present age. He protests with generous indignation against the light-hearted dismissal of Haeckel by the 'elegant critic' who murmurs gently to himself 'A. D. 1860'. No doubt this is out of place. Haeckel is not to be dismissed like that. But there are post-Haeckelians, and there is a post-Haeckelian apologetic. The method of proceeding from the known to the unknown is clearly right. But does Mr Shebbeare make full use of it? It may be granted that the order of the Apostles' Creed —the Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, the Church—is only suitable for the two actual purposes of that Creed, namely the convenience of those who wish either to learn or to recite the elements of the Christian faith in its own logical order. In a word, the order is that of dogmatic theology. If, on the other hand, it is desired to dispense with presuppositions and to commend the faith to alien or neutral ears, we must begin at the other end. But let us begin really at the end. St Paul in Ephesians iv begins 'There is one body'. Mr Shebbeare does not say much about the Church. And this is where he might strengthen his position. Because the great discovery of recent years is the re-discovery of the Church—not, of course, of the Church as a compeller of unwilling allegiance, but simply as the initial, leading fact, which gives coherence to the individual experiences of Christians: as, in a word, the super-fact.

For the rest, the chief exceptions likely to be taken to the case

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presented in the book are of three kinds. The unbeliever will say, 'You profess to avoid "the familiar assumptions of orthodoxy", and yet you assume more than I am prepared to grant'. (But at the same time the unbeliever would have to admit that the book is far more reasonable than most books of its sort. There are many passages of wise and Christian ἐπιείκεια, which it would be a pleasure to quote.) Of believers, some will say, 'You are too logical. You do not leave room for that plunge of the imagination which is essential to religious faith.' And others, 'In your reaction from Greek theology, you unduly disparage metaphysics. We know that you do not propose to dispense with them, because you say that the theologian should lay to heart the advice of Mr Bradley to be "in earnest with his metaphysics", and you add that "a theology which consistently refuses to be philosophical must in the end degenerate into mythology". But we think that you postpone your metaphysics to too late a stage. And if you allege that the moral is the metaphysical, we cannot believe it.'

But no one can fail to be impressed by the power and gravity of the book. It is a notable addition to a useful series.

Common Objections to Christianity. By the Rev. C. L. DRAWBRIDGE, M.A., Hon. Organizing Secretary to the Christian Evidence Society. (Robert Scott, 1914.)

IT is peculiarly difficult to criticize this book. It is written out of a long and strenuous experience of popular evidential work. A reader without any such experience will feel like one of the awed and silenced multitude at the Council of Jerusalem when Barnabas and Paul were rehearsing what signs and wonders God had wrought among the Gentiles. A reader with any measure of such experience will recognize in Mr Drawbridge a master of the craft. Some may be surprised to find that he devotes so much space to the discussion of materialism and analyses so exhaustively the common misuse and real meaning of terms like Rationalism and Secularism. But the reason is that the author knows his business. 'I mention Herbert Spencer's thought, and also a good deal of the thought of his day, not because I agree with the Rationalist Press Association that it is "*Modern* Thought" in the world of culture to-day, but because it appears to be regarded as "modern" thought by the bulk of the masses, whose ideas are always a generation or two behind those of the world of culture' (p. 215). We may be assured that there is hardly a sentence in the book that has not been hammered out in the course of actual controversy. In this respect it resembles the Creeds of the Catholic Church, and it may be said of it, as of them, that although a few highly-educated persons may consider

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that it deals in places with dead issues, it really meets a need which is both widespread and permanent.

The tone is sympathetic. All evidential workers are agreed that their prime duty is to make themselves acquainted with what is being said on the other side. And Mr Drawbridge is thoroughly versed in the arguments of Secularists. He is merciless in exposing things that ought to be exposed. 'The members of that Society, the official organ of which is called the *Freethinker*, the most bitterly biased and the most vituperative paper I have ever seen, are by no means enamoured of thought, nor are they at all fond of study' (p. 45). 'Atheism, agnosticism, secularism have done nothing to lift either anti-theists themselves or their theistic fellow-men to a higher spiritual or ethical level' (p. 197). He quotes from the Annual Reports of the Metropolitan Hospital Sunday Fund for the last six years some figures to shew that in London 'the various religious bodies have contributed on an average £38,000 a year . . . whereas the maximum sent in to the Fund by all the non-religious and anti-theistic bodies put together . . . never once equalled fourteen shillings in any one year' (p. 199). (Incidentally, it may be remarked that the value of his foot-note, in which he disclaims any attempt to determine the individual contributions of secularists, would be increased by a reference to the Hospital Saturday Fund.) But he nowhere shews any trace of a desire to raise a laugh by making a merely personal score against an antagonist. He repudiates (p. 27) the advice 'Don't argue with a sceptic, but ask him to what deadly sin he is in the habit of giving way', and adds 'The strength, *such as it is*, of the various anti-Christian positions is chiefly due to the ideals, such as they are, which each of them advocates'. He discusses clearly and usefully the meaning of truth, orthodoxy, and free thought, and he has excellent chapters on Pain and Suffering, Evolution, Determinism, Anthropomorphism, &c., characterized by abundant knowledge and willingness to face difficult issues.

The book appears to have two defects, and one serious omission. One of the defects is presumably unavoidable. The Christian Evidence Society is undenominational. Its lecturers are therefore precluded from using, or, at any rate, from using to the full, the strongest of all apologetic arguments, the argument of 'Come and see'. The other is that the book deals with objections to Christian Theism much more than with objections to Christianity. No doubt a Park lecturer has to deal with his opponents' position, but Mr Drawbridge does not always seem to play his strongest lead. The absence of the heading 'Christ' from the index, though it does not represent the volume, is not without significance.

And the omission is this. It would obviously be impossible to

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embark for a long voyage on the vast sea of Comparative Religion. But the book ought surely to deal with some of the Christ-Myth theories, by which Mr Drawbridge must have been confronted in actual experience again and again.

Democracy and Christian Doctrine: an Essay in Reinterpretation. By W. H. CARNEGIE, M.A., Canon of Westminster and Rector of St Margaret's, Westminster. (Macmillan, 1914.)

THIS is, in some respects, a disappointing book. The title raises expectations that a certain very urgent and fundamental problem of the day will be discussed. It suggests that there will be a comparison and an attempted reconciliation of the idea of Revelation and the idea of Democracy. Can Christianity, for example, be resolved into 'devotion to the beloved community'? Or is it the case, as Professor Overstreet, of New York, has maintained, that Theism has had its day, and that the only conception of God which can be retained by modern democrats is the 'democratic conception' of a God growing with the world? These expectations are not fulfilled. Thus, Canon Carnegie's Preface, which refers to Nietzsche and Treitschke, and describes the present war as 'a war between principles: between the democratic principle . . . and that of brute force embodied in . . . militarism', and his anticipation of benefits to be derived from closer association with Russia, prepare the reader for a discussion of the nature of authority. But the writer assumes that every one knows what is meant by the word 'God'. He takes democracy for granted. And it appears that his real aim is to commend the Christian religion, not to the person who believes that the democratic principle is true, but simply to the plain man who insists on the importance of conduct. He rightly describes Christianity as Churchmanship, he rightly insists on the social implications of Churchmanship, and he explains, clearly and attractively, the relation between the two meanings, both sacramental, of 'the Body of Christ', but he does not attempt to determine the relation between the Transcendence and the Immanence of God. Nor does he, for example, suggest a way in which ecclesiastical authority, whether as in the long run depending on popular acceptance, or for any other reason, may be really democratic after all. His first chapter is an examination of the breach between the Church and the majority of the British nation, and the remainder of the book is a reinterpretation of some Christian doctrines.

As such, it is very good. Clear thinking is expressed in simple language. Theologically, the thought seems a little old-fashioned, but it is independent, and there are some instructive illustrations. There are readers who will miss the evangelical touch, and readers who will question the implication that devotion is not an end in itself, but the

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book will be widely useful to those for whom it is mainly intended. They will find in it the sensible, genial apologetic of a cultured and sympathetic mind.

S. C. CARPENTER.

The Man of Nazareth. By F. K. ANDERSON, D.D. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1914.)
The Lord of all good life. By DONALD HANKEY. (Longmans, 1914.)
The Call of the Carpenter. By BOUCK WHITE. (Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1913.)

ALIKE to some extent in subject and sincerity these books quickly illustrate a diversity which reaches from style and diction to method of presentment, equipment, conception, point of view, aim, and outlook. Each one is a revelation of its author's type of mind and temperament. It discloses his nationality; in two cases, it may be, his calling and pursuits. The remaining volume is all the more welcome in that it presents features which are scarcely suggested by the writer's walk in life.

Taking the books one by one I do little more than indicate the nature of their varied contents.

Dr Anderson is Professor of New Testament Interpretation in Newton Theological Institution. He essays to answer questions about Jesus which rise in the thoughts, but rarely pass the lips, of the ordinarily intelligent man for whom he now writes; and in so doing the more important problems about Jesus and His career are approached and handled by him 'so far as possible from the view-point of Jesus Himself'. At the outset he advances proof that the power behind the history of our era is the personality of the Man of Nazareth. From a survey of the situation in the days of Jesus he passes to the vexed question of the Messiahship; and, after defining the attitude of Jesus to Messianism and Legalism, he dwells on the positive teaching of One who in the region of morals and religion is absolutely supreme. Jesus, it is at once added, is far more than 'The Great Teacher'; towering above the world's greatest empire-builders, He is nothing short of founder, by spiritual means, of a spiritual kingdom which He still dominates and guides, and which will reach its 'glorious final perfect stage' when, in a Coming of Dr Anderson's conjecture, He shall 'come again'. The closing chapters treat of the Character and Finality of Jesus; the secret of His unique personality, we read, will never be wholly revealed; He Himself 'could not reveal it'; within that sacred sphere of reserve and mystery we cannot enter. He 'demands and deserves the wonder, reverence, love, and supreme devotion of every human being'. There is room for doubt whether Dr Anderson would

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score an all-round victory in 'the scholarly arena' (there are points on which I, for one, should wish to take him to task), but it is safe to say that he has produced a readable and suggestive work.

The next book is 'a study of the greatness of Jesus and the weakness of His Church' by a Rifle Brigade Sergeant; and, falling into two main sections, it includes three appendices on the Virgin Birth and the Empty Tomb, the Miracles, and the relative value of the Gospels. In Mr Hankey's pages on the Life and Work of Jesus there is really good matter; he has read widely and thought much; and in the circumstances it goes against the grain to enumerate instances of mistake and lapse. His home, evidently dear to him, the Church of England, he displays 'the orthodoxy of a heretic and the catholicism of a Protestant' when, in the second part of his work, he strikes out in all directions, and, if exaggeration and misapprehension there be, he often hits the mark. He has a keen eye for shortcoming and defect. Casting about for remedy he offers practical suggestions, and these, sometimes crude and sometimes much to the point, hinge in the main on a sentence which rightly urges that 'the Bible, the Creeds, and the Prayer Book were made for man, and not man for them'. Judged from his book as a whole he is surely one of those who, to quote his own words, 'feel that in Jesus Christ and His Church . . . there is power and love and life of which they are in sore need'; and hence I willingly regard some vulgarisms, which, unhappily, are a disfigurement to his book, as foreign to the man himself.

Ex pede Herculem. That in the book which comes from the Head Resident of Trinity House, New York, Mary figures as the would-be upheaver of an empire, her Son as one who 'planned to make the Jews the nucleus of a federation of the world's proletariat', Paul—'a stockholder in Rome's world corporation'—as 'object lesson of the hazards which beset the religious life once it lets go its holdfast in economics', is enough to indicate the gist and manner of its contents, not to say the farrago of extravagance and wild assertion which riots in its pages. Mr White, I doubt not, means well; in all likelihood he is an enthusiastic worker for the cause he has at heart; it is, however, quite impossible to take him seriously throughout, and I rub my eyes with amazement when I find him claiming that, 'a piece of cool scientific history', his work 'slavishly follows the ancient records', and, 'by grace of the critical scholarship of our day', enables us to gaze on and understand the real Jesus. His book is the fanciful production of an undisciplined mind, and it is deplorable that, accepted guide (as it would appear he is) of thousands of readers, he should be their leader on so wrong a road.

H. LATIMER JACKSON.

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Concordantia ad quattuor libros latine scriptos De Imitatione Christi a Thoma Kempensi. By RAYNER STORR. (Oxford University Press, 2nd edition, 1911.)

THOSE who are in the habit of reading in the original Latin that great classic among the devotional books of Christendom, the *de Imitatione Christi*, will be grateful to Mr Storr for the help which he has given them in this Concordance. The value of a Concordance for the study of such a book is admirably expressed by the author in the Preface (the Latin of which is the work of Fr. Rickaby). It enables the reader to see as it were at a glance the character of the author's vocabulary, to understand his use of words, and to interpret him by himself. The work is designed on a liberal scale, and the author has in each case given sufficient of the context of the word cited to enable the reader to see the particular sense which it bears. The text used is that of Hirsche's second edition (Berlin 1891), which is based upon the autograph preserved in the Royal Library at Brussels. In two tables at the beginning of his volume Mr Storr has given a list of printer's errors found in Hirsche's edition, and a list of readings in which its text varies from Hirsche's earlier edition of 1874. The quantities of the Latin words are marked. In this connexion two errors may be noticed, i.e. *fŭtūrus* for *fŭtūrus*, and *impĕdĭmentum* for *impĕdimentum*. The book has evidently been a labour of love and is the product of great care and industry. It is printed in good and clear type, and forms a handsome volume.

J. H. SRAWLEY.

L'Idéal monastique et la vie chrétienne des premiers jours. Par DOM GERMAIN MORIN. Deuxième édition. (Parker & Son, Oxford, 1914.)

DOM MORIN as a scholar is well known to readers of this JOURNAL. Here he appears in a new light. Some twenty years ago he was requested at short notice to give the addresses at the annual retreat of a religious community. The notes used on this occasion were laid aside for years, until at last the demand for their publication became so insistent that Dom Morin could not well refuse to put them into book form. The plan of the book is to shew that the characteristic marks of the Apostolic Church as described in Acts form the model for the 'religious' life of to-day. While designed primarily for Benedictine monks, it is full of instruction and suggestiveness for Christians living in the world. The general tone and style are so beautiful that it is hard

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to give adequate praise without seeming to exaggerate. Nowhere could Protestants get a better idea of what the best type of monastic piety really is, and what in consequence the Roman Catholic Church has to offer the modern world. The book is remarkably cheap—it costs two shillings—and deserves to become a devotional classic. One quotation may be allowed—Dom Morin has been insisting on obedience to the will of God as the very centre of religion.

'Le moine aussi peut dire : Qui me séparera de l'obéissance? Est-ce tel ou tel changement de lieu, d'occupation, de personne? Non. On pourra m'expulser, comme tant d'autres, des murs paisibles du cloître, on pourra me priver de toutes les consolations de la vie religieuse, on pourra disposer de moi de diverses façons imprévues : il est cependant une chose que jamais on ne pourra me ravir, c'est le bonheur d'obéir : celui-là, il m'accompagnera jusqu'à la mort.' (p. 33.)

These brave words may be commended to the attention of all those who are inclined to despair of the Christian republic.

W. K. LOWTHER CLARKE.

Vital Problems of Religion. By the REV. J. R. COHU. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1914.)

EVERY generation is faced by problems which it considers to be vital, and progress may be tested by comparing the problems which are so classed by different generations. In this volume Mr Cohu sets out with his usual skill some of the problems which are at present exercising the minds of educated people of no special theological or scientific training, and he supplies answers suited to those for whom they are intended. Mr Cohu is excellently equipped for his task, and the manner in which the reader is led from one point to another is admirable.

The questions dealt with in the volume are such as would be expected to receive treatment in a work of this kind : Evolution, the Problem of Evil, Freedom of Will, Personality, &c. Though Mr Cohu does not desire to claim originality for the ideas put forth, yet he presents them with much freshness and vigour.

L. ELLIOTT BINNS.

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CHRONICLE

THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS.

THE Stockholm Society for the Scientific Study of Religions is proposing to issue a series of *Beiträge*, the first of which is already published by Dr Nathan Söderblom, Professor of the History of Religions at Leipzig. His *Natürliche Theologie und allgemeine Religionsgeschichte* (Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1913) is a new enquiry into a familiar problem in the light of the modern comparative study of religions. The opening chapter (pp. 1–25) points out that the first stage of 'Natural Theology' was a preliminary and preparatory one, and draws attention to the different attitudes of early Christian writers to non-Christian thought, in particular, their respect for Greek thought. The second stage is quite definite; it is that of Medieval Scholastic teaching. While the third can be characterized by the formula, 'All religion is natural religion', the fourth is primarily associated with Schleiermacher and the formula, 'There is no natural religion'. The third and fourth stages have their modern representatives in the conflicts touching the claims of reason, tendencies to Platonism, anti-Hellenic tendencies, &c.; but meanwhile a fresh stage has come into being, and the new study of religions forces a reconsideration of the old problems. The author shews that the non-Christian religions are characterized by a certain obligatoriness; the application of the *Tabus* may change, but the recognition remains of something unconditioned. With J. H. Newman it can be said that all religions have in them something of a revelation (p. 64), and this raises new questions for Christian theology. The writer then proceeds to consider the importance of the study of non-Christian religious experience, and in his concluding chapter (pp. 80–110) suggests the lines upon which some aspects of the superiority of Christianity can be demonstrated. Here he lays special emphasis upon the historical continuity, the activity, and the markedly personal factors in the developement. The book is of great interest for its treatment of some of the problems which the study of the non-Christian religions sooner or later raises.

The *History of Religions* by Prof. G. F. Moore is a valuable addition to the 'International Theological Library' (Clark, Edinburgh, 1914). The author is a well-known Old Testament scholar, and Professor of the History of Religion in Harvard University. The present volume handles the religions of China and Japan (in 143 pp.), Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria (100 pp.), India (110 pp.), Persia (50 pp.), Greece and

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Rome (nearly 200 pp.); a second volume is to be devoted to Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, 'three religions so intimately related in origin and history as to constitute a natural group'. The aim is to describe the several religions in their relation to race, environment, and national life and civilization, and to trace their progress and vicissitudes. Attention is paid to the religious conceptions as they are implicit in myth and ritual, or made explicit by poets, prophets, and others. The higher developements in theology, ethics, and religious philosophy are carefully observed; and especially so where they have persisted or have contributed to more modern religious systems. The effort is made to bring out the distinctive features of the various religions rather than the features common to all; but the Index is so planned that the reader can easily enquire for himself into those points of resemblance or of difference which the book does not discuss. The general treatment is adequate, and a select bibliography at the end gives a useful survey, including monographs on special questions. In the nature of the case a book of this kind, covering so wide a field, hardly lends itself to review. It must suffice to say, therefore, that Prof. Moore is a competent authority; he presents the evidence fairly; and his book has that unity and cohesion which are wanting when a single author is replaced by a number of specialists. It provides the reader with a good store of knowledge, and is a valuable introduction to the further study, whether of the individual religions or of religion in general.

Prof. Sayce has prepared a second edition of his Gifford Lectures for 1900–1902, and *The Religion of Ancient Egypt* (Clark, Edinburgh, 1913) now appears separately, the lectures on the religion of Ancient Babylonia being left for another volume. The evidence is conveniently arranged so that the reader gains a sound idea of the main features of the religion, though not, perhaps, of its historical developement. In the Introduction there are some sensible remarks on the method of studying ancient religions, and the reader is rightly warned that, dependent as we are on literary material for our knowledge of them, we are at the mercy of such evidence as happens to be preserved. Besides this, we have the ideas of the more conspicuous individuals rather than of the rank and file, and chap. ix, on 'the popular religion', gives a very interesting account of the beliefs and customs of the ordinary people. At the same time, this chapter illustrates the psychological characteristics of the natives, and actually justifies some of the 'anthropological' methods at which Prof. Sayce is elsewhere inclined to look askance (p. 17 sq.). The new edition does not call for any detailed notice; it preserves the distinctive features of the old one, and is throughout more popular than technical.

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Three technical works may next be noticed. Dr Johann Schwab publishes a doctoral dissertation: *Der Begriff der Nefes in den heiligen Schriften des Alten Testamentes* (Noske, Leipzig, 1913). This is an elaborate little monograph of over 100 pages, crowded with detail and often unnecessarily ponderous. It is, however, an interesting contribution to the ideas of the soul in pre-Christian Palestine, and is quite worthy of consideration. The psychological and anthropological sides are rather weak. Highly technical, though of very real importance, is the work by Prof. James A. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (University Museum, Philadelphia, 1913). The work is the third volume of the publications of the Babylonian section of the Museum, and, extending outside the field of the Nippur texts, deals with 'bowl' inscriptions and ancient magical literature. There are forty-two texts, Jewish, Syriac, and Mandaic, with forty plates. Apart from their philological and other features of technical importance, the value of the texts lies also in the light they throw upon popular religious and magical ideas in Babylonia about the sixth to eighth centuries A.D. They furnish positive evidence for the character of popular thought in a land when its civilization has decayed; and this opportunity of comparing the vicissitudes of the higher and lower forms of thought enables one to test current notions of the 'evolution' or developement of religion. Very noteworthy is the retention of much of the Old Babylonian stock of names, ideas, &c.; on the other hand, hardly a trace of Zoroastrianism can be found, and the question arises whether the influence of Persia has been overrated, or whether it had spent itself. The third work is a small pamphlet on 'Babylonian Oil Magic' in the Talmud and in the later Jewish literature, by Dr S. Daiches (Jews' College, London, 1913). He discusses eleven texts found in MSS of the fifteenth and succeeding centuries, and belonging to Dr Gaster; full explanatory and illustrative notes are provided. Of more general interest, perhaps, is no. 11, on account of the use made in it of verses from the Psalms. This practice finds an exact analogy in the Old Babylonian custom of using hymns and psalms in their incantations. In view of certain theories of the priority of magic over religion and of spell over prayer, it is useful to observe how, in the history of a cult, people, or area, the distinctively magical and allied features may represent a later and secondary stage.

Dr Rendel Harris returns once more to his far-reaching study of the distribution and significance of Twins. His latest work, *Boanerges* (University Press, Cambridge, 1913), takes us to the Bible, and in particular, as the title hints, to the Gospel narratives. The bulky volume (about 450 pp.) has a value of its own for the store of material collected by the author himself, by Mr R. H. D. Willey, and by others. There is much in it that is entertaining and suggestive. On the other hand, the

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method is open to serious objection. Cults of twins may be freely admitted, and no doubt twins were (and are) often the object of beliefs and practices that are sporadic, isolated, and unsystematized. But it is unmethodical to suppose that every twin-datum presupposes a systematic twin-cult or even an organized body of ideas concerning twins. People acquainted with the Dioscuri or with any twin-cult were doubtless wont to 'dioscurize'; and though this may have been done in the past (see pp. 248 sq., 254 sqq.), the modern student must be more cautious. It is simply astonishing, therefore, to read that the book of Genesis is 'heavily dioscurized' (p. 275). The redness of Esau is taken to be 'dioscuric', though another *motif* could easily be found, and when Esau's hatred of Jacob is gravely supplemented by the extra-biblical tradition that Jacob killed Esau (p. 277), it is overlooked that according to another traditional fancy Esau was killed by a son of Dan. Hence if there is Dioscurism, it appears only in one of the very late stories, and the method adopted by Dr Rendel Harris would also shew that Genesis is heavily coloured with ophiolatry, or dendrolatry, or phallicism, or astral-mythology—according to our choice. In a word, grateful though one must be for this patient collection of data, the argument as a whole is endangered by the method of interpretation and the failure to distinguish between possibility and probability. Two especially provoking arguments deserve the pillory. Since the names Liveing and Livingstone primarily involve the *Levin* or thunderbolt, and since the former name can be seen on the main street in Birmingham, Dr Harris permits himself the enlivening remark that 'sons of thunder can be found here as well as in Palestine' (p. 295). Again, since the symbol of the two fingers suggests twins, which are either a curse or a blessing, when 'our ecclesiastical superiors' give the benediction with two fingers raised, this means either 'may you all have twin children!' or, 'may the twins themselves bless you and take care of you!' (p. 315). The unfortunate reviewer is in a difficulty: is he to take this seriously or as a joke? If it is meant for a joke, may it not deceive the serious? and if it is meant seriously—but this is incredible.

STANLEY A. COOK.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, October 1914 (Vol. lxxix, No. 157: Spottiswoode & Co.). A. C. HEADLAM Nature Miracles and the Virgin Birth—C. E. GRIFFINHOOFE Benjamin Webb and St Andrew's, Wells Street—F. KENYON Von Soden's edition of the New Testament—H. A. STRONG *Religio Iuventutis*—C. R. NORCOCK St Gaudentius of Brescia—H. D. OAKELEY German Thought: the real conflict—THE DEAN OF DURHAM Christianity and War—F. B. JEVONS Magic and Religion—The outbreak of War—Short Notices.

The Hibbert Journal, October 1914 (Vol. xiii, No. 1: Williams & Norgate). EARL ROBERTS The supreme duty of the citizen at the present crisis—THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE The Ethics of War—THE EDITOR Mechanism, Diabolism, and the War—HENRY JONES Why we are fighting—GILBERT MURRAY Thoughts on the War—J. W. ROLLESTON Literature and politics in modern Germany—G. DAWES HICKS German Philosophy and the present crisis—W. M. SALTER The Philosopher of 'The Will to Power'—J. W. MARRIOTT Modern Utopians in conflict—M. BOOTH Religious Belief as affecting the growth of population—H. A. OVERSTREET God as the Common Will—J. E. CARPENTER An ancient Buddhist University—J. GIBB Goethe's friendship with Lavater—Discussions—Reviews.

The Expositor, October 1914 (Eighth Series, No. 46: Hodder & Stoughton). B. W. BACON Will the Son of Man find faith on the earth? B. D. EERDMANS Pharisees and Sadducees—H. R. MACKINTOSH Studies in Christian Eschatology: 9. The Life Everlasting—J. A. HUTTON The sense of Sin in great literature: 4. The redemption of our solitude—J. A. S. WILSON The Jerusalem visits of Jesus—A. SOUTER The Freer (Washington) MS of the Gospels—A. E. GARVIE Notes on the Fourth Gospel: The Arrest, the Trials, and the Crucifixion—J. MOFFATT Literary illustrations of the Book of Ecclesiasticus.

November 1914 (Eighth Series, No. 47). J. STALKER The Religion of our Classics and the Classics of our Religion—B. W. BACON The Christ-Party in Corinth—D. S. SHARPE Resemblances between the Discourses of Epictetus and the New Testament——J. A. HUTTON

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The sense of Sin in great literature: 5. Here and There—A. E. GARVIE Notes on the Fourth Gospel: The Resurrection; the Appendix—M. JONES The integrity of the Epistle to the Philippians—J. MOFFATT Literary illustrations of Philippians.

December 1914 (Eighth Series, No. 48). A. VAN HOONACKER The literary origin of the narrative of the Fall—A. E. GARVIE Notes on the Fourth Gospel: Summary of the argument—D. PLOOIJ The Work of St Luke: A historic apology of Pauline preaching before the Roman Court—RENDEL HARRIS Dr Moffatt's new translation of the New Testament—THE BISHOP OF CARLISLE The Bible and War—R. MACKINTOSH The life story of Albrecht Ritschl.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, October 1914 (Vol. xviii, No. 4: Chicago University Press). R. KNOPF Paul and Hellenism—G. B. SMITH The Christ of Faith and the Jesus of History—E. D. HARDIN Nietzsche's service to Christianity — D. C. MACINTOSH The new Christianity and world-conversion (*concluded*)—E. D. BURTON Spirit, Soul, and Flesh: III πνεῦμα, ψυχή, and σάρξ in Greek writers from Epicurus to Arius Didymus (*concluded*)—Critical Note—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, October 1914 (Vol. xii, No. 4: Princeton University Press). B. B. WARFIELD Kikuyu, Clerical Veracity, and Miracles—W. P. ARMSTRONG The Resurrection of Jesus—Reviews of recent literature.

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The Journal
of
Theological Studies

APRIL, 1915

DOM MARIUS FÉROTIN.

L'HISTOIRE DE L'ESPAGNE CHRÉTIENNE ET DE LA LITURGIE MOZARABE.

Le 15 septembre 1914, à midi et demi, mourait à Southampton, chez les sœurs franciscaines de Bugle Street, le R. P. Dom Marius Férotin dont les travaux sur l'histoire ecclésiastique de l'Espagne et sur la liturgie mozarabe sont bien connus des érudits.

Sa vie, qui avait été modeste et tranquille, s'éteignit sans bruit; et, au milieu du fracas de la guerre, et de l'anxiété qui oppressait tous les cœurs et ne laissait place à aucune autre préoccupation, la nouvelle de sa mort passa presque inaperçue, en dehors d'un petit cercle d'amis et de spécialistes qui s'intéressaient à ses travaux.

Il paraît juste cependant que la mémoire de cet humble savant ne soit pas complètement oubliée, et les lecteurs du *Journal of Theological Studies* me pardonneront, je l'espère, de leur rappeler en quelques pages les travaux et la carrière d'un érudit qui laisse aux hispanisants et aux liturgistes de l'avenir quelques ouvrages de première valeur.[1]

Dom Marius Férotin était né le 18 novembre 1855 à Châteauneuf-du-Rhône, diocèse de Valence. Il était le cinquième enfant d'une modeste, mais vieille famille, où l'honnêteté et le travail étaient de tradition.

Élevé dans l'abbaye cistercienne d'Aiguebelle, diocèse d'Avignon, au milieu de jeunes *alumni* dont la plupart se destinaient à la vie monastique, il se distingua de bonne heure par son amour pour l'étude et par de rares dispositions pour l'histoire et l'érudition. Une heureuse mémoire, une curiosité très éveillée et qui paraissait insatiable, une activité au travail presque fébrile, une vive et riche imagination qui se traduisait dans la conversation par le récit d'histoires dont l'invraisemblance aurait pu rendre jaloux le baron de Münchhausen en personne, mais qui sera sévèrement tenue en laisse dès qu'on entrera

[1] J'espère que l'une ou l'autre de nos Revues bénédictines donnera une notice sur la vie monastique de notre cher confrère dont je ne puis m'occuper ici.

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sur le domaine de l'érudition, tels étaient les dons que l'on remarquait dans l'adolescent et qui arrivèrent à leur maturité dans l'homme fait. Aussi, à la fin de ses humanités, parut-il à ses maîtres et à ses directeurs qu'il était plus fait pour la vie des bénédictins que pour celle des trappistes. Il vint donc à Solesmes, et, après une retraite, sa vocation pour la vie bénédictine se déclara.

C'était en l'année 1874; Dom Guéranger vivait encore. Il devait mourir l'année suivante, après avoir donné au jeune novice l'habit bénédictin. Solesmes paraissait alors un foyer pour la science ecclésiastique en France, et encore que les études n'y fussent pas méthodiquement organisées, quelques-uns des disciples de Dom Guéranger, comme Dom Piolin, Dom Chamard, surtout Dom Pitra, alors cardinal, s'étaient distingués dans les recherches historiques.

Durant les premières armées de sa vie monastique, Dom Férotin travailla un peu en franc-tireur de l'érudition. Tout semblait l'intéresser à la fois, l'histoire, l'archéologie, la bibliographie, les langues orientales, la littérature. Dans cette riche bibliothèque de Solesmes, il allait de rayon en rayon, d'armoire en armoire, se posant partout, comme un papillon, ne s'arrêtant nulle part. Il était, après quelques années de cette vie active, en apparence un peu stérile, arrivé à ce point où un mentor avisé eût pu le diriger à volonté vers l'une ou l'autre de ces voies qui s'ouvrent devant l'étudiant. Malheureusement, ou, si l'on veut, heureusement, ce directeur intelligent ne se trouva pas. Ce furent les évènements qui se chargèrent de lui tracer un programme d'études.

La vieille abbaye de Silos, au diocèse de Burgos, venait à cette époque d'être relevée de ses ruines par un bénédictin de Solesmes actif et intelligent, Dom Alphonse Guépin, devenu ensuite abbé de ce célèbre monastère. Plusieurs moines de Solesmes et de Ligugé y avaient été appelés pour concourir à l'œuvre de restauration. Dom Guépin demanda son jeune confrère pour s'occuper à classer un riche fonds d'archives que les moines avaient retrouvé à Silos. Il ne se doutait probablement pas qu'il venait d'introduire dans le vieux monastère celui qui en serait un jour l'historien.[1]

L'abbaye de Silos, comme tous les monastères espagnols, avait été ruinée et pillée par les révolutions et les guerres du XIXe siècle. De

[1] Je laisse à mes confrères de Silos le soin de raconter la carrière monastique de Dom Férotin à Silos. Je n'ai à m'occuper ici que de ses travaux littéraires.

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la magnifique bibliothèque, les moines français ne retrouvèrent en 1880 que quelques manuscrits. Mais les archives, par un hasard providentiel, avaient été conservées au complet.[1]

Dom Férotin se mit à déchiffrer ce riche trésor. Déjà maître d'une érudition étendue quoique un peu disparate et tumultuaire, possédé d'une vraie passion pour les documents de ce vieux passé monastique, il compléta lui-même son éducation scientifique avec un instinct qui le trompa rarement, et devint en peu de temps paléographe, chartiste, hispanisant d'un rare mérite. J'entends dire par des lettrés espagnols qu'il était arrivé à parler et à écrire dans le plus pur castillan.

Ce que sont ces archives de l'abbaye de Silos au point de vue de l'histoire religieuse de l'Espagne, je l'ai dit ailleurs et ne puis le répéter ici.[2] Il suffit, pour établir leur importance, de rappeler que le gouvernement français, malgré toutes les difficultés que devait présenter à cette époque une pareille publication, n'hésita pas, sur l'intervention de MM. de Rozières et Morel-Fatio, d'entreprendre à ses frais la publication de l'ouvrage du docte bénédictin. Ce travail occupa Dom Férotin pendant plusieurs années. Rappelé à Solesmes en 1892, il y prépara la publication de ces deux œuvres magistrales : *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Silos*, et *Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos*.[3]

Ces deux ouvrages se complètent, et, en somme, n'en font qu'un. Le

[1] Les manuscrits de Silos formaient une bibliothèque wisigothique qui n'avait pas sa pareille au monde. La collection se conserva jusqu'en 1877 ; elle fut alors mise en vente à Madrid et revendue à Paris en 1878. Le lot le plus précieux fut acquis par la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, grâce à l'initiative de Léopold Delisle ; un autre lot fut acheté par le British Museum ; quelques-uns seulement sont revenus, comme nous l'avons dit, à Silos.

Sur cette question intéressante au point de vue de l'histoire des Bibliothèques au moyen âge cf. L. Delisle *Mélanges de paléographie et de bibliographie* pp. 53–116; Bachelin-Deflorenne *Catalogue de livres rares et de manuscrits du IXe au XVIIIe siècle*, 1878, avec fac-similés ; sur le lot acquis par le British Museum, cf. Edward Maunde Thompson *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1876–1881* (les manuscrits de Silos sont compris sous les numéros 30844–30857) ; cf. l'*Athenæum* du 27 juillet 1878, article de M. Bond ; voir surtout l'excellent chapitre de Dom Férotin dans l'*Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos*, intitulé : *Les manuscrits de Silos* pp. 257–288.

[2] Cf. notre article, *L'abbaye bénédictine de Silos en Espagne*, Revue des questions historiques, juillet 1897, t. lxii, pp. 187–198.

[3] *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Silos* par Dom Marius Férotin, un vol. in-4° de xxii–623 pp. Imprimé par autorisation du Gouvernement sur l'avis du Comité des impressions gratuites. Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, Leroux éditeur, 1897 ; *Histoire de l'abbaye de Silos*, avec 2 plans et 17 planches hors texte. Paris, Leroux, 1897, un vol. in-4° de x–370 pp.

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premier forme la partie documentaire. Sauf de rares exceptions, il se compose de documents inédits, dont plusieurs ont la plus haute valeur au point de vue historique. On y trouve des bulles de papes depuis Gélase II (1118) jusqu'à Jules II ; des chartes, des diplômes et vidimus royaux. Depuis les origines de la monarchie castillane, il n'est presque pas de roi ou de reine qui ne soit représenté dans les archives de Silos par quelque document. Nous y lisons les noms de Ferdinand Ier, de Sanche le Fort, d'Alphonse VI, d'Alphonse VII, de la reine Uracca, de S. Ferdinand, de Pierre le Cruel, de Henri de Trastamare, de Ferdinand et d'Isabelle, de Jeanne la Folle. Tous ces documents sont édités soigneusement, ornés de notes savantes qui les éclairent et en indiquent la valeur.

Ce cartulaire devait être précédé d'une introduction dans laquelle l'auteur aurait coordonné ces matériaux et montré à ceux qui ne sont pas en état de se livrer à l'étude directe des pièces l'intérêt qu'elles présentent. L'introduction se développa peu à peu, déborda en dehors des limites d'abord fixées, jusqu'à devenir enfin une véritable *histoire de l'abbaye de Silos* ; c'est le sujet du second volume. L'auteur y fait preuve d'impartialité et d'une critique sévère qui écarte impitoyablement tous les documents suspects ou les témoignages légendaires. C'est l'histoire d'une abbaye dont les origines remontent aux temps visigothiques. Au XIe siècle, elle eut un abbé qui devint illustre sous le nom de saint Dominique de Silos, et auquel le monastère dut sa fortune. Silos joua un rôle important dans l'histoire de l'Espagne catholique à travers les siècles du moyen âge, traversa victorieusement les révolutions, jusqu'à l'année 1835, où un décret d'expulsion mettait fin à l'existence de l'abbaye, en attendant que des moines français, sous la conduite de Dom Guépin, la relevassent de ses ruines, et qu'elle trouvât parmi eux un historien digne de ce nom, qui en a écrit l'histoire pour la postérité.

Dom Férotin ne devait rester à Solesmes que le temps de préparer la publication de ces deux volumes. En 1895, il était envoyé des premiers dans une nouvelle fondation, le prieuré, aujourd'hui abbaye de Farnborough, diocèse de Portsmouth, en Angleterre. Il faut avouer que les évènements politiques en France ne favorisaient guère les études dans les monastères français. Le départ de D. Férotin pour Silos en 1880 et son transport en Angleterre quinze ans plus tard avaient pour cause, au moins indirecte, les craintes que présentait l'avenir pour

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Solesmes, et qui ne devaient que trop se réaliser plus tard. Transplanté pour la seconde fois dans une terre étrangère, à un âge où on ne reprend plus racine, il semblait perdu, non seulement pour les études hispaniques, mais encore pour toute étude sérieuse. Ce n'était qu'un intermède. Il fut rempli par l'étude de la langue et de la littérature anglaises auxquelles il s'adonna avec sa fougue et sa facilité ordinaires, et s'en rendit maître en peu de temps, comme il avait fait pour l'espagnol, au point de pouvoir, après quelques mois, le parler et l'écrire correctement et même élégamment.

Mais l'Angleterre ne pouvait lui faire oublier l'Espagne. Dans cette abbaye de Farnborough où les études liturgiques étaient en honneur, il se sentit poussé à continuer des recherches déjà commencées à Silos sur la liturgie de l'Espagne, dite liturgie mozarabe. Parmi les trois ou quatre manuscrits de la bibliothèque de Silos échappés au naufrage, se trouvait un *Liber Ordinum* qu'il avait copié durant son séjour à l'abbaye. Il le remit sur le chantier. L'impératrice Eugénie qui avait fondé Farnborough, et qui n'oubliait pas son Espagne, voulut bien s'intéresser aux travaux de Dom Férotin. Grâce à elle, il put entreprendre un nouvel *Iter Hispanicum* qui lui permit de comparer le texte silésien du *Liber Ordinum* avec d'autres manuscrits espagnols. De là sortit, au bout de quelques années, un magnifique ouvrage sur la liturgie mozarabe.[1]

Ce *Liber Ordinum* représente à peu près le Pontifical de l'Église mozarabe avant le XIe siècle. Mais en dehors des formules et des rites de bénédiction et d'ordination qui forment le fond même du Pontifical, le manuscrit édité par Dom Férotin contient le texte d'un grand nombre de messes votives dont l'intérêt au point de vue liturgique est considérable. Nous ne nous arrêterons pas davantage sur ce livre, ayant eu l'occasion d'en faire ailleurs une étude plus détaillée.[2]

Une fois engagé sur cette piste, rien ne devait plus l'en détourner. Après le *Liber Ordinum* vint le *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, ou sacramentaire de l'ancienne Espagne. Ses travaux avaient attiré l'attention d'une société américaine consacrée aux études sur l'Espagne. Il

[1] *Le Liber Ordinum en usage dans l'Église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du Ve au XIe siècle*, 1 vol. gr. in-4° de xlvi-800 pp. Paris, Picard, 1904. Ce volume forme le tome V de la collection *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*, dont les tomes I, II, V, et VI ont été déjà publiés, Paris, Didot et Picard, 1900-1914.

[2] Cf. notre article sur la « Liturgie mozarabe et le Liber Ordinum » dans la *Revue des questions historiques* t. lxxvii pp. 173-185, et, dans nos *Origines liturgiques*, p. 211 sq.

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en fut élu membre et la société lui facilita généreusement les moyens d'un nouveau voyage en Espagne, qui devait être le dernier.[1] Si l'on voulait s'arrêter ici au côté anecdotique, il y aurait maints incidents curieux et pittoresques à raconter sur ce voyage. Lui-même en a laissé passer quelques-uns dans les notes de ce dernier ouvrage qui ne manquent pas de saveur.[2] Dans les notes seulement, car le texte lui-même garde son austérité scientifique.

Le *Liber Mozarabicus* contient un sacramentaire inédit de Tolède et complète heureusement l'œuvre de Lesley; il nous donne un document authentique et ancien qui nous manquait pour l'étude de cette liturgie. La seconde partie du volume, qui représente un travail plus considérable encore, est consacrée à l'étude de tous les manuscrits de liturgie mozarabe que l'auteur a pu consulter dans ses nombreux voyages, en particulier ceux de Tolède, de Silos, de San Millan, de Léon, de Compostelle, de Cardeña, de l'Escurial, de Tuy en Galice. Les introductions, les notes, les appendices et surtout les *indices* et les tables de ce volume, comme ceux du *Liber Ordinum*, sont une preuve du soin diligent que l'auteur apportait dans son travail et rendront d'inestimables services à tous ceux qui voudront étudier la question de la liturgie mozarabe.[3]

Au *Liber Mozarabicus* devait faire suite le *Liber Orationum* qui aurait constitué avec les deux précédents une sorte de trilogie sur la liturgie mozarabe, et sur lequel il avait recueilli déjà de nombreuses notes.[4] Après cela, nous disait-il, il aurait le droit de se reposer. L'heure du repos a sonné, hélas! plus tôt qu'il ne pensait et avant qu'il n'eût accompli toute sa tâche.

En dehors de cette œuvre monumentale sur la liturgie d'Espagne et de ses deux volumes sur Silos, Dom Férotin ne laisse que quelques

[1] C'est l'*Hispanic Society* de New-York, fondée par un généreux et intelligent mécène, et qui a déjà rendu de signalés services aux études hispaniques. Dom Férotin en fut élu membre le 8 mars 1905.

[2] Le *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum et les Manuscrits mozarabes*, un vol. gr. in-4°, Paris, imprimé chez Didot, édité par Picard, 1912; ce volume forme le t. VI de nos *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*.

[3] Je dois dire que quelques-unes des conclusions de Dom Férotin sur la liturgie mozarabe ont été contestées par Dom de Bruyne, dans un article, 'De l'origine de quelques textes liturgiques mozarabes,' dans *La Revue bénédictine*, octobre 1912, p. 421 sq. A rapprocher aussi des remarques de Mgr Mercati, *More Spanish Symptoms*, dans *Journal of Theological Studies*, t. viii, pp. 423-429, 1907.

[4] Nous espérons pouvoir publier sans trop tarder ce volume dans nos *Monumenta Liturgica*.

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rares articles. Il avait pour principe qu'une fois engagé dans un grand travail, on ne doit pas l'abandonner pour battre les broussailles de côté et d'autre, au risque de dépenser sa vie en de petites dissertations de minime importance. C'est pourquoi, à côté de ses grands ouvrages, nous ne pouvons citer qu'un petit nombre d'articles ou de mémoires. Dans son *Apringius de Béja*, il nous donne un commentaire inédit de cet écrivain espagnol du VIe siècle, sur l'Apocalypse.[1] Nous relevons encore parmi ces articles *Une lettre inédite de S. Hugues, abbé de Cluny, à Bernard d'Agen*, archevêque de Tolède, 1087[2]; une note *Sur deux manuscrits wisigothiques de la bibliothèque de Ferdinand Ier, roi de Castille et de Léon*[3]; la légende de sainte Potamia (VIe siècle).[4]

Le plus intéressant de ces petits mémoires est incontestablement celui sur la *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*, dite d'abord *Peregrinatio Silviae*, qu'il avait rencontrée sur sa route, et qui l'intéressa à cause de son origine. Il eut le mérite de fixer le monde savant sur ce point très discuté. Malgré toutes les hypothèses contraires, son flair lui avait fait découvrir dans ce latin des hispanismes. Le hasard — un hasard qui ne sert que les gens habiles — le fit tomber un jour sur les pages d'un vieil auteur espagnol du VIIe siècle, le moine Valérius, bibliophile, maître d'école, voyageur et anachorète, qui dans une lettre *ad fratres Bergidenses* fait l'éloge d'une certaine vierge *Etheria*, laquelle n'est autre, Dom Férotin le démontre très ingénieusement, que l'auteur de la *Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*.[5]

Entre temps, l'Académie d'histoire de Madrid, qui suivait avec intérêt les travaux de notre savant confrère et l'avait déjà nommé son correspondant, lui accorda le privilège bien rare et très envié de membre

[1] *Apringius de Béja, Son commentaire de l'Apocalypse, écrit sous Theudis, roi des Wisigoths* (531-548), in-8°, 90 pp. Paris, Picard, 1900.

[2] Dans la *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* tome lxi, 1900; cf. complément de la lettre de Saint Hugues, au tome lxiii, 1902, même collection.

[3] *Ibid.* tome lxii, année 1901.

[4] *Analecta Bollandiana* t. xxi, pp. 40-42 (1902), et notes additionnelles; *ibid.* pp. 401-402 (1902). Il y a aussi quelques articles bibliographiques de valeur, indiqués dans *Bibliographie des Bénédictins de la Congrégation de France*, in-8°, Paris 1906, pp. 43, 44.

[5] 'Le véritable auteur de la Peregrinatio Silviae, la vierge espagnole Etheria,' dans *Revue des questions historiques*, octobre 1903. Je crois que tous les érudits, à peu près sans exception, ont adopté l'identification de Dom Férotin, qui est en effet incontestable. Les disputes ont porté sur la forme et l'orthographe du nom : est-ce Egeria, Etheria, Eucheria, etc.? *Certant et adhuc.* Au sujet des discussions sur la date de cet ouvrage, cf. notre 'Chronique d'archéologie et de liturgie' *Revue des questions historiques*, 1914, t. xcv, pp. 190, 191.

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d'honneur. Hélas, cette belle récompense, qu'il eût tant appréciée en d'autres temps, lui arrivait sur son lit de mort, à un moment où les titres de la terre perdent une partie de leur valeur.[1]

Sa santé, qui depuis plusieurs années était ébranlée, déclina rapidement en 1913. Il portait au travail une ardeur fébrile qui l'usait vite ; durant ses voyages, son humeur, qui était restée aventureuse, le poussait à des fatigues au-dessus de ses forces ; son imagination était toujours jeune, mais son corps avait vieilli ; à cinquante ans, il en paraissait soixante. Ses cheveux qui avaient blanchi avant l'âge lui donnaient l'aspect d'un vieillard. Depuis le printemps de 1913, il ne fit plus que traîner. La longue maladie qui devait l'emporter ne lui laissait guère de trêve. Elle paralysait son activité et arrêtait tout travail sérieux et suivi. Mais elle allait avoir pour effet de le faire avancer rapidement dans la voie de la perfection.

Nous n'avions ici qu'à retracer sa carrière scientifique et littéraire : il ne nous sera pas interdit pourtant de dire un mot de sa vie spirituelle.

Appartenant à une de ces vieilles familles patriarcales fortement chrétiennes, il s'était de bonne heure distingué par sa piété et par une foi que n'ébranla jamais aucun doute. Le monde n'avait rien qui pût l'attirer. Il vint au monastère tout naturellement et il resta toujours fidèlement attaché à sa vocation. Ce qu'il vit plus tard du monde ne lui fit pas regretter la résolution qu'il avait formée tout jeune de l'abandonner. Durant sa longue vie monastique, il se fit toujours remarquer par son assiduité aux offices du chœur, par une régularité exemplaire. L'épreuve de la souffrance devait le purifier et l'élever en peu de mois à ce détachement parfait qui rend facile le sacrifice de sa vie, de ses espérances, des joies les plus nobles et les plus pures, après celles de la prière et de la contemplation, la recherche de la vérité par le travail intellectuel.

Très simplement, très courageusement, il fit dès la première heure le sacrifice qui lui était demandé et ne regarda plus que du côté du ciel. Les longs mois qui suivirent ne furent qu'une lutte douloureuse et pénible, avec quelques relâches, qui faisaient espérer à ses amis une guérison possible.

Lui n'avait guère d'illusions. Il souriait à ces espérances, sans les

[1] Parmi ceux à qui cette dignité a été accordée, citons les noms de Mommsen, de Hübner, de Léopold Delisle, du duc de Broglie, de Gaston Paris.

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décourager, mais sans trop y croire et sans se reprendre. A mesure que les forces baissaient, que le corps se dégradait, l'âme se dégageait, se purifiait, et arrivait à l'abandon parfait dans les mains de Dieu.

Son grand désir eût été de mourir dans son monastère de Farnborough. Mais son état ne laissait plus la possibilité de l'y transporter. Du reste, le *Franciscan convent* où il avait passé ses derniers mois, où il était admirablement soigné, c'était presque encore son monastère, et il y recevait de fréquentes visites de ses amis de Quarr Abbey et de Farnborough.

Ne pouvant mourir dans son monastère, il avait souhaité d'y dormir son dernier sommeil. Ce désir fut réalisé. Sa dépouille mortelle, ramenée de Southampton, fut enterrée, avec les rites liturgiques, à l'ombre de cette église où, pendant ces vingt dernières années, il avait chanté les louanges de Dieu, au milieu de ses frères. Ceux-ci n'oublieront pas l'excellent et dévoué confrère, le travailleur assidu qui, pendant si longtemps, leur a donné l'exemple de l'observance monastique, de la prière et du travail.

A ceux qui ne connaissent de lui que ses ouvrages, il laisse un trésor d'un prix inestimable. Les rites de l'antique Église espagnole étaient bien insuffisamment connus. Grâce à lui, on pourra les étudier en détail. Si la liturgie mozarabe ne lui a pas livré tous ses secrets, il en a retrouvé les principaux titres, qui permettent d'en suivre l'histoire et les développements. Il mérite ainsi de prendre place, une place d'honneur, à côté des Lesley, des Bianchini, des Pinius, des Lorenzana, non loin des Goar, des Georgi, des Renaudot, des Mabillon, de Tommasi et de Bona.

F. Cabrol.

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DOCUMENTS

AN ANCIENT HOMILIARY: II.

VIII. SERMON FOR INNOCENTS' DAY

In natale infantum

[*fol.* 58 *a*] De beatis infantibus hodie locuturus, fratres, ipsorum preces mihi ad auxilium posco. amicorum enim Dei facilis est pro nobis ad inpetrandum oratio, si tamen nostra devotio promta fuerit ad petendum; habemus enim pollicitationem et Domini nostri Christi dicentis PETITE ET ACCIPIETIS, QUAERITE ET INVENIETIS, PULSATE ET APERIETUR VOBIS. ergo 'efficaciter' impetramus quidquid 'fideliter' postulamus.

Hodie in psalmo presenti convenienter pro sollemnitate infantium recitatum est EX ORE INFANTIUM ET LACTANTIUM PERFECISTI LAUDEM. ipse dicitur PERFECISSE LAUDEM EX ORE INFANTIUM ET LACTANTIUM Dominus Christus, qui et dicebat in sancto aevangelio NOLITE PROHIBERE INFANTES VENIRE AD ME, TALIUM EST ENIM REGNUM CAELORUM; si omnium infantium est regnum caelorum, multo magis pro Domino occisorum. ad ipsum propheta David in principio et in fine huius psalmi dicit DOMINE, DOMINUS NOSTER, QUAM ADMIRABILE EST NOMEN TUUM IN UNIVERSA TERRA: in principio et in fine (fol. 58 *b*) Christus est, quia ipse est INITIUM ET FINIS, A ET ω, Deus et homo, caput et pedes. caput in illo tenet divina substantia, pedes humana.

Ergo EX ORE INFANTIUM ET LACTANTIUM PERFECISTI LAUDEM, ut qui necdum adhuc noverant loqui in terris perfectas laudes Domino decantarent in caelis, et qui necdum noverant inter homines fabulari discerent Dominum inter angelos conlaudare. PROPTER INIMICOS inquid TUOS, UT DESTRUAS INIMICUM ET DEFENSOREM, id est diabolum, INIMICUM OMNIS innocentiae adque IUSTITIAE, DEFENSOREM inpietatis malignitatisque suae, benivolentiae inimicum malitiae amicum, qui malis DEFENSIONEM temporalem ostendit, bonis omnibus INIMICUS existit. sed audiens hoc non timeat omnis christianus, quia maior est Dominus ad protegendum quam diabolus ad inpugnandum.

INIMICUM ET DEFENSOREM iterum Herodem illum pessimum demonstrabat, in quo ipse (fol. 59 *a*) certissime diabolus habitabat, qui in odio salvatoris factus est INIMICUS infantium et quasi DEFENSOR regni sui,

VIII. 5. querite *cod* 9, 10. ipse . . . dns xps *scripsi*: ipsi . . . dno xpo *cod*

VIII. 2. Cf. Cypr. *Ep.* lxxvi 7 (833. 13) 4. Mt. vii 7, Lk. xi 9 6. *Sacr. Greg.* c. 175. 5 8. Ps. viii 2 10. Mt. xix 14 14. Ps. viii 1, 9 16. Rev. xxi 6 22. Ps. viii 2 *b* 24. Act. xiii 10 27. Cypr. *ad Fortunatum* tit. x (320. 24)

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nesciens in*felix* *q*uia illa eius defensio magis et †permanet cruciatio†. quaerens Domini necem mittit in Betlhem ut omnes infantes A BIMATU ET INFRA crudeliter necarentur. iam et hinc significabatur quod omnis infantia in hoc saeculo esset laboratura pro Christo. ibant itaque impii ab Herode missi carnifices, et venientes IN BETLHEM ET IN OMNIBUS FINIBUS EIUS invenerunt infantes nunc ad ubera matrum, nunc in patrum conplexu pendentes. rapiunt, ferociunt, *c*aedunt, partim conlidentes ad terram, partim *h*astis infigentes, alios mucronibus dividentes; passimque ab impiis predonibus hinc inde diffusa innocens calcabatur infantia. flebant crinibus effusis matres et dulcia obscula iacentibus parvulis infigebant.

O vere miseros! o infelices quibus peccare licebat, qui tantum (fol. 59 *b*) nefas *a*gere *n*on deerit impiis *c*elestis carcer de quibus be*a*ti infantes cum Domin et de terrenis angustiis liberat*i* de mundo vere*an*tur desideratam felicitatem dignatione Domini per . o beati nimis isti infantes, quibus contigit pro Domino ante p*a*ene pati quam nasci, ante Domini sui fieri comites quam homin*is*, ante regnare quam *viv*ere, ante esse martyres quam fideles. 'aetas necdum habilis ad pugnam idonea facta est ad choronam': prevenerunt chorona*e* merita: sine illa bonorum praerogativa factorum gratuito choronantur honore. de ipsorum enim sunt numero de quibus apostolus dicebat QUOS PRESCIIT, ET PREDESTINAVIT CONFORMES FIERI IMAGINIS FILI SUI et cetera. PRETIOSA IN CONSPECTU DOMINI et MORS istorum SANCTORUM EIUS: pretiosa magna et preclara quae fecit inmaculatas aetates (fol. 60 *a*) as contingi. ergo *istius diei solemnia c*eleb*r*antes semper *deo patri per Christum gratias agamus.*

IX. SERMON FOR ST JOHN BAPTIST'S DAY

In natale sancti Iohannis

De beati Iohannis praecursoris Domini nativitate dicturus Dei patris auxilium per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum exoro, UT ipse DET VERBUM IN APERTIONE ORIS nostri qui et sanctissimi Zaccariae hodie vinculum linguae aperuit et Iohannis nomen ut loqueretur effecit.

Ergo hic est sanctus Iohannes de cuius hodie sollemni nativitate locuturi sumus. iste beatus, fratres, ex genere sacerdotali ortus visceribus sanctis hodie in hac luce profusus est. pater enim eius Zaccarias SACERDOS fuit, mater vero Elissabet et ipsa ex sacerdotali genere veniens

38. cedunt *cod* 39. astis *cod* 41. et: *bis cod* oscula *cod*^{2} 48. pene *cod* 49. hominis *scripsi*: homines *cod* bibere *cod** 51. chorone *cod* 55. et *cod*: *fortasse legendum* est 56. magna *cod*: *fortasse legendum* magis
IX. 3. aperitione *ut vid cod**

33. Mt. ii 16 50. Cypr. *ep.* lviii 6 53. Rom. viii 29 54. Ps. cxv 6 (cxvi 15)
IX. 2. Eph. vi 19 8. Lk. i 5

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DE FILIABUS AARON summi sacerdotis, ut fidelis lectio evangelica protestatur. repente nuntiante sibi angelo in templo iste Zaccarias sacerdos de nativitate Iohannis NON CREDIDIT, et statim ommutuit. incredulitatem taciturnitatis (fol. 60 *b*) poena secuta est; qui non *cre*didit loqui non potuit, unde credens David dicebat CREDIDI, PROPTER QUOD LOCUTUS SUM: ommut*u*it ergo Zaccarias.

Nam signum et hoc fu*it* per silentium Zaccariae, quia cessaturum erat sacrificium vetus Iudaeorum novo videlicet adventante sacrificio christianorum, cessatura erant sacrificia carnalia ut spiritalia potius prevalerent, cessaturum erat sacrificium terrenum ut caeleste procul dubio emineret. loquitur nunc Zaccarias in nativitate Iohannis ET VINCULUM LINGUAE EIUS DISSOLVITUR. nativitas fili laetificavit patrem. et hoc signum fuit quoniam iam illa quae clausa erant in lege et prophetis adventante isto beato Iohanne aperienda revelandaque fuissent.

Iste est igitur Iohannes sanctissimus Domini precursor, de quo dixerat Deus pater ad Christum filium suum ECCE EGO MITTO ANGELUM MEUM ANTE FACIEM TUAM QUI PARA*BIT* VIAM TUAM (fol. 61 *a*) ANTE TE: VOX CLAMANTIS IN DE*SER*TO PARATE VIAM DOMINI RECTAS FACI*TE* *SE*MITAS DEI NOSTRI. et iterum de eo d*icitur* per David prophetam PARAVI *LUCE*RNAM CHRISTO MEO, INIMICOS EIUS IND*UAM* CONFUSIONEM. de ista LUCERNA, *id* est de Iohanne, et Dominus dicebat in sancto aevangelio ILLE ERAT LUCERNA ARDENS ET LUCENS. ARDEBAT et LUCEBAT: ARDEBAT calore Spiritus sancti, LUCEBAT lumine Christi. PARAVI inquid LUCERNAM CHRISTO MEO: ista LUCERNA de Christo accepit procul dubio lumen, ut in nocte luceret, id est ut tenebrosos Iudaeos et ceteros gentiles in ignorantiae nocte positos inluminaret et velut lucerna ante diem et lucifer ante solem ita adventum Domini preveniret. decebat enim ante Dominum ser*v*um precedere, de verbo VOCEM sonare qui verbi mysteria nuntiaret.

Nam et idcirco Zaccarias pater eius prophetico Spiritu dicebat ad ipsum Iohannem ET TU, PUER, PROPHETA ALTISSIMI VOCABERIS. (fol. 61 *b*) c*u*ius ALTISSIMI dicit*ur qui* tur Domini Christi, qui . . . pat*ri* *in* omnibus. tale est quia DEUS est non *creatus* ac ante omnia genitus *saec*ula, et q*uia* *QUI* DE CELO DESCENDIT *SUPE*R OMNES EST: humilior patre qu*ia* QUAE VIDIT ET AUDIVIT HAEC TESTIFICAT*UR* et quia DATA

IX. 9. aeuangelica *cod** 10. nuntiantes sibi *cod* 14. ommutit *ut vid cod* 17. petitus *ut vid cod* 20. dissolbitur *cod** 25. ante faciem . . . viam tuam: *bis per homoeoteleuton cod* parauit *cod* 26. deserto: *perierunt ob defectum codicis nonnullae litterae ad initia linearum fol.* 61 *a, ad finem linearum fol.* 61 *b* 32. paravi: paravit (*fortasse etiam l.* 28 *supra*) *cod* 36. serbum *cod* 40. *conicio* Cuius 'altissimi' dicitur qui propheta 'altissimi' uocatur? Domini Christi, qui *etc.*

11. Lk. i 20 13. Ps. cxv 1 (cxvi 10) 15. Cypr. *Test.* i 15–17 19. Mk. vii 35 24. Mk. i 2, 3; Is. xl 3 28. Ps. cxxxi (cxxxii) 17, 18 30. Jn. v 35 39. Lk. i 76 43. Jn. iii 31, 32 44. Mt. xxviii 18

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EST illi OMNIS POTESTAS IN CAELO ET IN TERRA, et quia DONAVIT ILLI pater NOMEN QUOD EST SUPER OMNE NOMEN. Ergo ET TU, PUER, PROPHETA ALTISSIMI VOCABERIS.

Sequitur: PREIBIS ENIM ANTE FACIEM EIUS, ut diximus 'sicut lucerna ante diem et lucifer ante solem' et minister ante dominum suum, AD DANDAM SCIENTIAM SALUTIS PLEBI EIUS: idcirco dicebat de Christo ipse Iohannes HIC EST AGNUS DEI QUI TOLLIT PECCATA MUNDI, et iterum testabatur de illo HOMO QUI POST ME VENIT ANTE ME FACTUS EST, CUIUS NON SUM DIGNUS CALCIAMENTA PORTARE, adhuc autem aiebat quia EGO VIDI ET AUDIVI QUONIAM HIC EST IPSE FILIUS DEI. con (fol. 62 *a*)

. . .

. . .

FRUMENTUM novum et BONUM ab AGRO huius SAECULI abscissum HORREIS esset caelestibus reponendum.

Et ideo in tanto natalicio beatissimi Iohannis, fratres, amici et precursoris Domini exultemus et *l*aetemur in Domino quia et hoc olim predixerat Spiritus sanctus dicens MULTI IN NATIVITATE EIUS GAUDEBUNT. vere MULTI GAUDENT, gratias Domino! multi gaudent. pauci tristantur, id est populi Iudaeorum, qui sunt, sicut scribtura dicit, IN CAUDA positi; gentes multae laetantur et christiani populi, qui sunt IN CAPITE constituti. ergo alacri desiderio votisque omnibus in huius precursoris Domini nativitate *l*aetantes per Christum Dominum nostrum Deo patri omnipotenti gratias agamus, CUI EST GLORIA IN SAECULA. amen.

X. SERMON FOR ST STEPHEN'S DAY

(fol. 62 *b*) **In natale sancti Stephani**

Hodie, fratres, iu*v*ante Domino beati Stephani passionis sollemnia celebramus. hic eius est natalis dies quando de mundo sublatus est et aeternas sedes gloriosus martyr intravit. MORTUUS est saeculo UT VIVERET DEO, mortuus est huic mundo ut regnaret cum Christo. relinqui*t* abditas regiones ut inveniret lucidas mansiones. egregius miles Christi pugnavit et vicit, vitamque moriendo possedit.

Hesterna die natalem Domini celebravimus, Deo gratias! et hodie natale sancti Stephani celebramus. o res mirabilis! natus est Christus in terris ut Stephanus nasceretur in caelis: ingressus *est* Dominus mundum ut Stephanus ingrederetur caelum: altus ad humilia descendit

45. Phil. ii 9 48. prebibis *cod* 50. plevi *cod* 60. fratris *cod** 61. letemur *cod* 67. letantes *cod*

X. 1. iubante *cod* 5. relinquid *cod* veniret *cod** mansiones: *om. cod** 6. vitaque *cod** 9. est *supplevi*: *om. cod*

48. Lk. i 76, 77 51. Jn. i 29 52. Jn. i 15; Mt. iii 11 54. Jn. i 34 58. Mt. xiii 10, 38 62. Lk. i 14 65. Deut. xxviii 44

X. 3. Gal. ii 19

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ut humilis ad alta conscenderet: filius Dei factus est filius hominis ut filios hominum faceret filios Dei. DEDIT inquid EIS POTESTATEM FILIOS DEI FIERI, HIS QUI CREDUNT IN NOMINE EIUS. (fol. 63 *a*)

Ergo hodie sanctus Stephanus pro*tomartyr* martyrii culmen adeptus est. iste semper Domini fidelis servus et ex ser*v*o amicus, qui diaconus constitutus et ab apostolis ordinatus totum mente in*bib*erat Christum ut merito diceret MIHI AUTEM VI*V*ERE CHRISTUS EST ET MORI LUCRUM. hoc primo cogitavit Stephanus mente, quod postea Paulus locutus est. fide ergo sciens iste beatus Stephanus nihil esse melius vita aeterna, vixit IN PRECEPTIS DOMINI inmaculatam transigens vitam, castitatis cultura egregius, pauperum fidelissimus dispensator, misericors mitis humilis, NON REDDENS MALUM PRO MALO AUT MALEDICTVM PRO MALEDICTO, uere Christum gestans in corde gestans in moribus.

Hodie passionis choronam devota mente suscepit. lapidabatur undique a perfidis Iudaeis, nec timor nec metus inerat, sed securus caput ad vulnera preparabat, ut de lapidum ictibus choronas sibi susciperet trihumforum, quantasque poenas tantas sibi (fol. 63 *b*) gloria*e*

. currebat sa*nguis* tis vulneribus et impleverant

SOS AD CAELUM o*culos* et suam tanti muneris

in*ha*erens Deo exclamat in conspectu omnium dicens ECCE VIDEO CAELOS APERTOS ET FILIUM HOMINIS STANTEM A DEXTRIS DEI, adque adorans ait DOMINE IESU ACCIPE SPIRITUM MEUM. consideremus, fratres, verba huius sancti: ECCE inquid VIDEO CAELOS APERTOS, prout diceret 'Quid insanitis, o Iudaei? quid frustra in mea c*a*ede laboratis? ecce subtrahitis mihi terram, sed patent caeli; subtrahitis temporalia, sed tribuuntur aeterna. VIDEO iam FILIUM HOMINIS STANTEM A DEXTRIS DEI, illum quem NEGASTIS, illum quem non creditis resurrexisse a mortuis, quem furatum putastis a discipulis suis et abditis quibusque locis inclusum. ecce in caelis est A DEXTRIS DEI FILIUS HOMINIS. hunc VIDEO qui in eadem carne (fol. 64 *a*) quam resuscitavit ascendit et velut rex in purpura constitutus videtur mihi in ips*a pal*am carne, velut Deus in templo inhabitan*s*, sacerdos in agno, in illo scilicet agno in quo TULIT PECCATA MUNDI. VIDEO eum STANTEM A DEXTRIS DEI SUPER OMNEM PRINCIPATUM ET POTESTATEM ET DOMINATIONEM ET VIRTUTEM. hunc adorant angeli omnesque caelestes virtutes, et ideo dico et ego DOMINE IESU, ACCIPE SPIRITUM MEUM'. bene se, fratres, Domino commendavit Christo, sciens quia NEMO VENIT AD PATREM NISI PER ipsum filium. et ipse est sacerdos animarum sanctarum qui offert Deo patri pias

14. protomartyr *scripsi, nescio an recte*: pro *cod* 15. serbo *cod* 16. inviverat *cod* 17. vibere *cod* 21. aegregius *cod* 28. . . tis: *fortasse* . . us 30. inerens *ut vid cod* conceptu *ut vid cod* 34. cede *cod* 41. palam *scripsi*: *perierunt nonnullae litterae* 45. et ego: *om. cod**

11. Cf. Cypr. *de op. et el.* 1 (373. 6) 12. Jn. i 12 15. Cf. Jn. xv 15 16. Act. vi 6 17. Phil. i 21 20. Cf. Lk. i 6 22. 1 Pet. iii 9 29. Act. vii 55 30. Act. vii 56, 59 (55, 58) 37. Act. iii 14 38. Mt. xxviii 13 43. Jn. i 29 Eph. i 21 47. Jn. xiv 6

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preces suorum omnium electorum. ET CUM HOC DICERET sanctus Stephanus inclinato capite OBDORMIVIT.

Adoravit in exitu suo et optatam requiem in humilitate suscepit, exaltationis gloriam in regnis caelestibus possessurus. quale putamus tunc fuisse gaudium angelorum in caelis quando iste primus martyr aeternas illas habitationes (fol. 64 *b*) martyrio choronatus intravit? quis potest enarrare tantam laetitiam angelorum? si sic angeli sancti laetantur IN CAELIS SUPER UNO PECCATORE PENITENTIAM AGENTE, quanto magis super iusto gaudeant confitente?

Ergo huius passionis sollemnia celebrantes semper Domino gratias referamus, CUI EST GLORIA IN SAECULA. AMEN. ergo dicamus ISTE DIES QUEM FECIT DOMINUS, EXULTEMUS ET LAETEMUR IN EO HYMNIS PSALMIS CANTICIS SPIRITALIBUS, dicentes iterum cum propheta FACTUS EST IN PACE LOCUS EIUS, ET HABITATIO EIUS IN SION, in illa HIERUSALEM CAELESTI quae dicitur 'Civitas pacis': HABITATIO EIUS IN SION, in illa invisibili sede, ubi aeterno regi aeternae referuntur laudes. et nos, fratres, gratias referamus CUI EST GLORIA IN SAECULA. AMEN.

XI. SERMON FOR SS. PETER AND PAUL

De passione sancti Petri et Pauli

Legimus in quodam divinarum scribturarum libro sic esse veritatis praecones ut radios solis qui ubi (fol. 65 *a*) apparuerint fugatis omnibus tenebris totum mundum desiderato lumine et serena luce perfundunt. unde bene dicitur ad eosdem VOS ESTIS LUX HUIUS MUNDI. NON POTEST CIVITAS ABSCONDI SUPRA MONTEM POSITA; NEQUE ACCENDUNT LUCERNAM ET PONUNT EAM SUB MODIO, SED SUPRA CANDELABRUM UT LUCEAT OMNIBUS QUI IN DOMO SUNT. SIC LUCEAT LUMEN VESTRUM CORAM HOMINIBUS UT VIDENTES OPERA VESTRA BONA MAGNIFICENT PATREM VESTRUM QUI EST IN CAELIS.

Hodie donante Domino, fratres, beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli passionis sollemnia celebramus. isti sunt vere beati, qui audierunt verbum Domini et custodierunt, unde Dominus dicebat BEATI QUI AUDIUNT VERBUM DEI ET CUSTODIUNT. et qui audierant fideliter salvatorem dicentem NOLITE TIMERE EOS QUI OCCIDUNT CORPUS ANIMAM AUTEM NON POSSUNT OCCIDERE et iterum QUI ME CONFESSUS FUERIT CORAM HOMINIBUS, CONFITEBOR ET EGO EUM CORAM PATRE MEO (fol. 65 *b*) QUI IN CAELIS EST, hi*i* praeceptorum *memore*s ei*us*

50. Stefanus *cod** 55. letitiam *cod*
XI. 2. fucatis *cod* 5. potes *cod** (*corr m p*) 17. hii : his *ut vid cod* memores eius : *conieci cum l* 27

49. Act. vii 60 56. Lk. xv 7 60. Ps. cxvii (cxviii) 24 61. Eph. v 19; Ps. lxxv (lxxvi) 2 62. Heb. xii 22
XI. 1. *Testamentum Levi* § 14?! 4. Mt. v 14–16 12. Lk. xi 28 14. Mt. x 28, 32

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non mortes non cruces non vincula non carceres non ulla tormenta timuerunt.

Ibant MISSI a Domino UT OVES IN MEDIO LUPORUM, simplicitate mites, benignitate tranquillitate caritate concordes, lacteam doctrinam veritatis candore fulgentem et †fide tribus ferboranst cum tegumentis nuptialibus omnibus exhibentes. voluptates saeculi omnesque luxurias non solum ipsi calcabant, sed et a discipulorum moribus et sensibus repellebant, mediocri ci*b*o contenti et pane et oli*v*is vel oleribus adsueti. ibant IN MEDIO LUPORUM latrantium adque ululantium veritatem fiducialiter predicantes, memores praeceptorum Domini dicentis ECCE EGO MITTO VOS SICUT OVES IN MEDIO LUPORUM, prout diceret 'Itis quidem inter medios lupos, sed nullus vos concutiat timor, pastoris vestri non est neglegens sed diligens cura. si adversarius vigilat (fol. 66 *a*) adversum vos, sed non vos deserit Christus. ECCE EGO MITTO VOS inqu*it* IN MED*IO* LUPORUM: ESTOTE ASTUTI SICUT SERPENTES ET SIMPLICES SICUT COLUMBAE. SICUT SERPENTES CUSTODITE CAPITA VESTRA, in quibus maxime salus est vobis; cavete ab ictibus inimici. in capite vestro est salus omnis fidei vestrae et cum SERVATIS CAPUT, hoc est fidem vestram, cetera membra erunt sine l*a*esione manentia. ESTOTE ET SIMPLICES SICUT COLUMBAE, non dentibus frendentes, hoc est non INVICEM MORSIBUS dividentes sed societate concordes, volatu invicem coherentes tamquam ad superiora pergentes et per diversa spiritali flatu currentes.

Sancto Petro ecce et sanctus Paulus de Iudaeis veniens in fide Christi sociatur, et non solum in fide fortis sed et in passione hilaris invenitur. TOLLUNT IUGUM Christi ambo, rumpentes vincula Satanae; omniumque errorum resistentium nodos sua disputatione solventes, multiplicant credentium numerum. hii uno (fol. 66 *b*) in tempore contra Simonem magum divinis armis induti fortiter dimicabant: utebantur itaque spiritalibus armis a*d*que caelestibus, SUCCINCTI LUMBOS mentis suae IN VERITATE ET INDUTI LORICAM IUSTITIAE, CALCIATI QUOQUE PEDES IN PRAEPARATIONE AEVANGELII PACIS, habentes etiam SCUTUM FIDEI IN QUO possent OMNIA IACULA MALIGNI IGNITA EXTINGUERE, ET GALEAM SALUTARIS ET GLADIUM SPIRITUS, QUOD EST VERBUM DEI, PER OMNEM ORATIONEM ET OBSECRATIONEM, ORANTES IN OMNI TEMPORE SPIRITU ET IN ILLO VIGILANTES: sicuti dicebat et sanctus Petrus VIGILATE ET ORATE, QUIA ADVERSARIUS VESTER DIABOLUS TAMQUAM LEO RUGIENS CIRCUIT QU*A*ERENS QUEM DEVORET.

20. obes *cod* 22. fide tribus *cod ut vid*: *fortasse legendum* fidei viribus 25. civo *cod* olibis *cod* 29. pastoris vestri ... cura *cod**, *cf.* XII. 46 *infra*: pastor vester *cod*^{2} 34. cavete: *fortasse* caventes *cod* 36. lesione *cod* 41. Sancto... hilaris: *correxit cod*^{2} (*vel secundis curis ipse scriba*) sanctus Petrus ecce et sanctus Paulus de Iudaeis venientes ... sociantur ... fortes ... hilares inveniuntur 46. itaque *cod*: *sed dubium mihi videtur; fortasse legendum* utrique adque *scripsi*: absque *ut vid cod* 54. querens *cod*

20. Mt. x 16 30. Cf. 1 Pet. v 8 31. Mt. x 16 33, 35. Gen. iii 15 37. Gal. v 15 42. Mt. xi 29 44. Cf. Act. vi 7, v 14 46. Eph. vi 14–18 53. 1 Pet. v 8

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Ille autem Simon magus, satellis demonum, factiosa temeritate SUCCINCTUS et elatus turrem sibi praeparari mandaverat; qua ascensa ibat volando per aerem super*bi*ae suae poenas velociter expensurus. ad vere beati apostoli genibus nixis simplici prece (fol. 67 *a*) ipsi magis ad superiora tendebant, ut *in*de colligatum ad terram deicerent *magum*, cordis et labiorum officio preces offerebant ad Dominum. nitentem adhuc illum magum et in caelum intrare cupientem—quod fieri omnino non poterat, quia cla*v*es inde Petrus acceperat—manu potenti perculsus precipiti per aera cursu dilapsus ad terras concidit in conspectu omnium et mortem quam merebatur accepit.

Victores igitur sancti et gloriosi apostoli ab impio Nerone ducuntur ad mortem. ducebantur ad temporalem mortem, sed a Christo ducebantur ad vitam aeternam. Paulus capite caeditur, qui ut CAPUT in sese Christi SERVARET totiens contra hostes inprobos dimicaverat. Petrus vero tra*n*sversus cruci figitur: sic enim se ipse cruci figi rogaverat, ut inclinato capite VESTIGIA Domini Iesu Christi, quae semper fuerat subsecutus, et in ipsa passione adoraret. unde nos in tantam sollemnitatem gloriantes et exultantes, carissimi fratres, (fol. 67 *b*) Deo omnipotenti per Christum eius Dominum nostrum laudes et gratias referamus IN SPIRITU sancto ET VERITATE *ad*ora*ntes* per omnia saecula saeculorum. amen.

XII. SERMON FOR ST CYPRIAN'S DAY

De natale sancti Cypriani

Iucundi*tate plen*us pro natale sancti martyris Cypriani hodiernus nobis dies illuxit, fratres. die isto debita pro honore martyris sollemnitas celebratur. amoenitas temporis iucunditatem nobis largiorem efficit, vindemiarumque rubor ad cruorem martyris nostri concordat. suscepit aeclesiae torcular devotum sanguinem martyris sancti, et de eo purpureos flores parturiens totam IN ODOREM SUAVITATIS IMPLEVIT aeclesiam. intexuit choronas capiti eius Dominus Deus duplices adque multiplices 'liliis rosisque' permixtas, hoc est et 'de opere candidas et de passione purpureas'. iste divina electione episcopus et martyr et disciplinam gregis Christi diligentissime custodivit (fol. 68 *a*) et trihumfales palmas a Domino pro me*rito* confessionis acce*pit*. digne *ergo* et convenienter hodie in eius natale dicimus cum beato David propheta ISTE DIES QUEM FECIT DOMINUS, EXULTEMUS ET LAETEMUR IN EO.

57. superviae *cod* 62. clabes *cod* 68. Christi: *fortasse legendum* Christum; *cf.* Col. ii 19 69. trasversus *cod* 71. adoraret: *ita cod, sed dubium videtur* 72. Deo (dŏ) *scripsi*: Domino (dño) *cod* 74. spiritu: pŝu *cod, cf.* V 68 unus pŝs *supra* adorantes *scripsi*: *cf.* XIII 51 *infra*

67. Gen. iii 15, cf. Col. ii 19 70. 1 Pet. ii 21 74. Jn. iv 23
XII. 6. Eph. v 2, Jn. xii 3 8. Cypr. *Ep.* x 3 (493. 3–5) 12. Ps. cxvii (cxviii) 24

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In isto die convenienter et in presenti psalmo cantatum est PRAETIOSA IN CONSPECTU DOMINI MORS SANCTORUM EIUS. PRAETIOSA MORS, quae fudit sanguinem in terris, ut trihumfos haberet in caelis. per istam mortem sanctus martyr contempsit terrena ut inveniret caelestia, relinquit temporalia ut potiretur aeterna. stetit in proelio miles Christi fidei armis indutus, et contra veritatis hostes fortiter dimicavit: pugnavitque et vicit non feriendo sed patiendo, vitamque moriendo quam optabat accepit. arbitror et istum semper in precibus suis dixisse cum propheta David CREDO VIDERE BONA DOMINI IN TERRA VIVENTIUM: et iterum aiebat QUANDO VENIAM ET APPAREBO ANTE FACIEM DEI? ut acciperet illud quod NEC OCULUS VIDIT NEC AURIS (fol. 68 *b*) AUDIIT NEC IN COR HOMINIS ASCENDIT, QUAE PREPARAVIT DEUS DILIGENTIBUS SE.

Iste bene audierat Dominum Christum dicentem NOLITE TIMERE EOS QUI OCCIDUNT CORPUS, ANIMAM AUTEM NON POSSUNT OCCIDERE: percussum corpus non post se trahit animam, sed substantia corporis vadit in terram substantia vero animae pergit ad caelum. hunc frequenti tuba praedicationis suae erudierat et beatus Paulus apostolus dicens QUIS NOS SEPARABIT A CARITATE CHRISTI, TRIBULATIO AN ANGUSTIA AN PERSECUTIO AN FAMES AN NUDITAS AN PERICULUM AN GLADIUS? QUONIAM PROPTER TE MORTIFICAMUR TOTA DIE, AESTIMATI SUMUS UT OVES OCCISIONIS. SED IN HIS OMNIBUS SUPERVINCIMUS PRO EO QUI DILEXIT NOS: quia et ille QUI DILEXIT NOS Dominus Christus viam nobis per suam passionem ad caelum aperuit, qui prior ipse SICUT OVIS AD OCCISIONEM DUCTUS EST, ET SICUT AGNUS CORAM TONDENTEM SE SINE VOCE IN (fol. 69 *a*) HUMILITATE pertulit omnia, ut suos moneret discipulos per humilitatem passionis ad regna venire caelestia. ipse et in sancto mandabat aevangelio dicens 'ECCE EGO MITTO VOS SICUT OVES IN MEDIO LUPORUM: mitto vos in simplicitate fortes ad tolerandos impetus fremitusque luporum. ne trepidetis, ne terreamini! tolerare vos volo, non perire; exerceri vos volo in humilitate in patientia, ut perpetuas accipiatis pro passione choronas. licet persequantur vos lupi, tamen pastoris vos non deseret cura; ECCE enim EGO VOBISCUM SUM OMNIBUS DIEBUS USQUE AD CONSUMMATIONEM SAECULI'.

Steterunt in fide fortes, in confessione victores, civitatisque caelestis mansiones aeterno gaudio possederunt, semper patri per filium gratias agentes, CUI EST GLORIA IN SAECULA. AMEN.

XII. 18. relinquid *cod* 27. Christum: *fortasse* xp̄m ei *cod* 32. separavit *cod* 42. ovis *cod* 48. in confessionem *cod*

14. Ps. cxv 6 (cxvi 15) 22. Ps. xxvi (xxvii) 13 23. Ps. xli (xlii) 2 24. 1 Cor. ii 9 27. Mt. x 28 32. Rom. viii 35-37 37. Is. liii 7, 8; Act. viii 32, 33 41. Mt. x 16 46. Mt. xxviii 20

A. SPAGNOLO.
C. H. TURNER.

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NOTES AND STUDIES

EARLY ORDINATION SERVICES.

THE object of this paper is to recover two early tractates concerning Ordination, which lie hidden among the materials which were used by the Compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions* at the beginning of Book VIII. They appear also at various other stages in the developement of the earlier Church Orders. From these documents it may be possible to work back to their original form, to guess at their original date, and to make a conjecture as to their authorship. Moreover, it will also be possible to trace the developement that takes place in the successive manipulations which the tracts undergo.

I

The first of the two tracts is found only in the documents of one stage of the developement, i. e. (*a*) in *Apostolic Constitutions* (AC) VIII i, ii; (*b*) in the *Constitutions of Hippolytus* (CPH) § 1; (*c*) in the third section of the *Statutes of the Apostles*—Ethiopic § 49, Arabic § 48, Saidic § 63, and Bohairic § 63.[a] There are slight differences in these authorities, the more important of them being between the two Greek texts; for the oriental versions are here of no special significance.[b]

First as regards the heading, AC has a composite title referring to Book VIII as a whole: Περὶ χαρισμάτων καὶ χειροτονιῶν, καὶ κανόνων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν. CPH, dividing the same material into several sections, has several successive headings: for the first tract, Διδασκαλία τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χαρισμάτων; and for the second, Διατάξεις τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χειροτονιῶν διὰ Ἱππολύτου. This second title nominally covers the twenty-six sections which compose book II, but it really belongs to §§ 1–16. Thenceforward the headings of the sections take a new shape, and the term used in AC, κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοί, begins to appear. The heading of the oriental versions is always a double one, referring to both Treatises, 'Concerning the gift[s] and the office[s]' (i. e. Περὶ χαρισμάτων καὶ χειροτονιῶν); and probably either that composite phrase was the original title of the two tracts, or else (as seems more likely) the former of the two had the heading Περὶ χαρισμάτων and the latter the heading Περὶ χειροτονιῶν.

[a] The first three versions are in Horner *Statutes of the Apostles* (London 1904) pp. 186, 266, 332; the fourth in Tattam *Apostolical Constitutions* (London 1848) p. 94. CPH is printed in Lagarde *Reliquiae Juris* (Leipzig 1856), see pp. 1–4, and in Funk *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* ii 72–96. See below, pp. 370, 371.

[b] Arabic omits a piece through homoioteleuton; Ethiopic adds at the end a considerable passage taken from *Didache* xi and *Didascalia* xii.

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There is a general agreement as to the contents in all the sources, which seems to shew that we have the former tract, preserved substantially in its original form, in AC and in CPH. Such slight modification as appears to have taken place lies in the credal passage (AC VIII i 9–11).

(i) For *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος πιστεύσας διὰ Χριστοῦ εἰς τὸν Θεόν, ὃς οὐκ εἴληφεν χάρισμα πνευματικόν,*

CPH has *διὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ πατέρα καὶ τὸ πανάγιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα, ὃς* κτλ.

The oriental versions vary thus

in Christ the Son of God *Eth.*

in God by His holy Son *Ar.* and (substantially) *Said.* and *Boh.*

(ii) Again, while AC continues thus

αὐτό τε γὰρ τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆναι πολυθέου ἀσεβείας
καὶ πιστεῦσαι Θεῷ πατρὶ διὰ Χριστοῦ,
χάρισμα ἔστι Θεοῦ,

CPH has *Θεῷ ζῶντι καὶ ἀληθινῷ, χάρισμα* κτλ.

Eth. has 'believed in God the Father and in Christ His Son'.

Ar. has 'the entrance into the faith of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit'.

The two Coptic versions substantially agree with *Ar.*

(iii) A little later, where AC has

συγχωρήσει θεοῦ σταυρὸν ὑπέμεινεν αἰσχύνης καταφρονήσας, ὁ θεὸς λόγος,

and the oriental versions agree,

CPH has *οἰκείᾳ συγχωρήσει καὶ βουλῇ σταυρὸν . . ., θεὸς ὢν λόγος.*

(iv) Once more, where AC, followed by the oriental versions, has

διάφορα γάρ εἰσι τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίσματα, παρ' αὐτοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ διδόμενα,

CPH has *διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος διδόμενα.*

These four modifications shew some theological and christological sensitiveness, especially on the part of CPH.[a] They belong to a passage which on other grounds is suspected to shew, at any rate in AC, the hand of the compiler, because its language is characteristic of

[a] Funk deduces from them that CPH is later than AC (see his *Testament unseres Herrn* pp. 180 and ff, and his *Didascalia* II xiv), but if they both had the same original before them and treated it differently, this conclusion does not follow. There is a similar occurrence in the prayer of the bishop in § 5: where again CPH seems to give the later form of the passage in question, but the earlier and uninflated form of the prayer as a whole.

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him and parallel with other passages in AC.[a] There has also been some other editorial hand busy in CPH: but probably independently of AC. Setting this passage aside, as suspect on both grounds, we may yet incline towards the conclusion that the main bulk of the treatise has not been substantially modified by its successive editors.[b]

The scope and object of this part of the work are fairly clear. The writer feels it necessary to define the position with regard to two points—charismatic gifts and ordination. He writes in the name of the Apostles. Possibly the phrase in § 2, which contains this adoption of Apostolic style, *τούτων τῶν χαρισμάτων πρότερον μὲν ἡμῖν δοθέντων τοῖς ἀποστόλοις*, is due to an editor: for the editor in the case of AC and CPH was all along working on that line. But the equivalent of the phrase is found in the oriental versions also; and there the editor was not otherwise working on that line: for he does not put the subsequent directions into the mouths of Apostles, as do the editors of AC and CPH. Therefore it seems more probable that the treatise was originally thus written in the name of the Apostles.

The purpose of the writer in the former tract, *Περὶ χαρισμάτων*, is to secure a right estimate of charismatic gifts. They exist for the sake of the unbeliever, that he may be convinced of Christian truth; not for the sake and credit of those who have them. They often fail to convince now, as they did in Biblical days. Those who have such gifts, then, must not esteem themselves over those who have not. Further, it is insisted that all Christians have some *charisma*, for conversion from heathenism or heresy can only come about through such a gift. Therefore, those who have an unusual gift have no cause to exalt themselves over those who have the ordinary gifts. 'Let no man therefore exalt himself above his brother, even though he be a prophet or a wonder-worker.' Those in authority, whether civil or ecclesiastical, must not despise others; for that would destroy all corporate life. The bishop must not exalt himself above the deacons or the presbyters; nor the presbyters above the laity. All authority is simply due to the gift of God.

In the second section (AC VIII ii) the writer goes on to deal with false claims to charismatic gifts. Not every one who prophesies or exorcizes is holy. There are false prophets as there were of old, and people in office who do not deserve their title (*ψευδώνυμοι*). This is said, not to discredit true prophecy, for which there is excellent precedent, among women as well as men; but to shew up impudent charlatans. Finally,

[a] Achelis *Canones Hippolyti* (in *Texte und Untersuchungen* vi, Leipzig 1891) . pp. 272–274, 278.

[b] The biblical references which constantly appear in the Treatise may as well be part of the original as part of the compiler's work.

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it is noted that humility is the sign of the true recipient of *charismata*, whether man or woman.

This summary of the first treatise will help to determine its provenance and date. It probably comes from a Greek-speaking source; for the oriental versions, and especially the Coptic pair, seem to point to a Greek original. The points controverted are those which became crucial after the rise of Montanism. There are two ways in which the need and significance of modesty are emphasized and the reverse is deprecated. In VIII i 12 and 17 the arrogance contemplated is that of the man who claims *charismata*, setting himself up against the ordinary Christian: but in § 20 ecclesiastical aggression is also deprecated, though, so far, in general terms. In VIII ii, when false prophecy is in question, a more pointed criticism is made of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Neither gifts nor office make up for personal unworthiness. The bishop may be disqualified ἀγνοίᾳ or κακονοίᾳ; then he is no bishop but ψευδώνυμος, and such false bishops and presbyters shall not escape the judgement of God. The writer seems here to digress from his main subject on to other ground; he soon returns, but the digression may be significant.

II

It is quite possible that the Περὶ χαρισμάτων had a prologue; but if

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Ethiopic Version, Horner, p. 196, l. 20.

And this word shall not be hidden concerning the gifts which God gave to the youths as they wished, and as they acquire the similitude of those who dwell in falsehood, and are moved because of alien spirits. And God appointed impious men to be such as either prophesied or did signs.

And now the word will guide us to that which is better for the ordinance of the Church: that ye indeed, the bishops whom we ordained and sent from ourselves by the commandment of our Lord Jesus Christ—if ye know this ordinance from us—that ye might do all and not neglect anything, as our Lord Jesus Christ commanded, as the ordinance which we gave to you. And ye know that he who heard from us is he who heard from Christ, and he who heard from Christ heard from God the Father; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Arabic Version, Horner, p. 273, l. 4.

First we sent out these words concerning the gifts which God gave to the men according to His will. As they indeed acquire for themselves the similitude of those who take to falsehood and are moved by alien spirits: so God causes reprobate men to prophesy and work signs.

And now the words will draw us on to come to the chapter which is for the definitions of the Church, that ye who have become bishops through us by the command of Christ having learnt this arrangement from us,

might do everything according to the commands of Christ as the statute which he gave to you: And know that he who receives from us receives from Christ and receives from God the Father; to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

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so, it has not been preserved. There is, however, extant an epilogue, which serves to sum up the first tractate, Περὶ χαρισμάτων, and to lead on to the second one. A very similar passage is prefixed as a prologue to the Περὶ χειροτονιῶν. When we reach it, our real difficulties begin. It will be well therefore to have the epilogue before us, that we may use its help in understanding the Second Treatise with its prologue. This epilogue is not to be found in CPH, but the Greek Text, as given in AC VIII iii, is as follows:—

Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα τοῦ λόγου ἐξεθέμεθα περὶ τῶν χαρισμάτων, ὅσαπερ ὁ θεὸς κατ' ἰδίαν βούλησιν παρέσχεν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ ὅπως τῶν ψευδῆ ἐπιχειρούντων λέγειν ἢ ἀλλοτρίῳ πνεύματι κινουμένων ἤλεγξε τὸν τρόπον, καὶ ὅτι πονηροῖς πολλάκις ἀπεχρήσατο ὁ θεὸς πρός τε προφητείαν καὶ τερατοποιΐαν. Νυνὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κορυφαιότατον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διατυπώσεως ὁ λόγος ἡμᾶς ἐπείγει, ὅπως καὶ ταύτην μαθόντες παρ' ἡμῶν τὴν διάταξιν, οἱ ταχθέντες δι' ἡμῶν γνώμῃ Χριστοῦ ἐπίσκοποι, πάντα κατὰ τὰς παραδοθείσας ἡμῖν ἐντολὰς ποιῆσθε, εἰδότες ὅτι "ὁ ἡμῶν ἀκούων, Χριστοῦ ἀκούει, ὁ δὲ Χριστοῦ ἀκούων, τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἀκούει". ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

The four oriental versions have preserved the epilogue; they interpret it with varying degrees of success, as may be seen below; but we need not concern ourselves much with them at this point.

Bohairic Version in Tattam, p. 114.

We have put forth this first discourse concerning the gifts which God gives to men according to his holy will; and how he reproved the appearance of those who attempted to speak falsehoods, being moved by strange spirits. And that God has been pleased that the wicked should prophesy and should perform signs and wonders.

But now the discourse draws us to come to the principal point of the constitution of the Church; that you, who have been ordained bishops by us, at the command of Christ, when you have known this order from us, may do everything according to the command which has been delivered unto you: knowing that he who hears us, hears Christ, and he who hears Christ, hears God the Father, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

Saidic Version, Horner, p. 340, l. 2.

In the first (part) of this discourse we have declared concerning the gifts which God is wont to give to men according to his holy will. And how he rebuked the form of those who set to work to speak lies, being moved by the alien spirits; and that God is often wont to cause wicked ones to prophesy and do signs and wonders.

Now then the word leads us on to enter upon the chief matter (*kephalaion*) of the ordinance of the Church, that ye who have been ordained bishops by us, with the commandment of the Christ, when ye know this order through us, may do every thing according to the commandment which was delivered unto you, knowing that he who hears us is hearing the Christ, and he who hears the Christ is hearing God the Father; to whom be the glory for ever. Amen.

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III

When we approach the second tract, Περὶ χειροτονιῶν, there is a more complicated task before us; and we must describe more fully those four groups into which the documents fall, the third of which was the group to which all the authorities for the former tract belonged. These four groups are as follows:—

1. A Church Order, to be found in five versions, Ethiopic, Arabic, Saidic, Bohairic, and (in part) Latin. This is here called CO[1]. The first three versions are in Horner *Statutes of the Apostles*, the fourth in Tattam *Apostolical Constitutions*, the fifth in Hauler *Didascaliae Apostolorum Fragmenta*.

2. *The Canons of Hippolytus* (CH). These are to be found in Arabic in Haneberg's edition with a Latin translation which is printed in a revised form by Achelis and in *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica*. A German version from an improved text is in Riedel. Professor Burkitt has been kind enough to make an English version for use in this enquiry.

3. The second Church Order, to be found in two Greek forms (AC and CPH) and in four oriental versions (see above): called CO[2].

4. *The Testament of our Lord* (*Test.*), printed in Syriac with a Latin version by Rahmani: and in an English version by Cooper and Maclean.[a]

These four groups probably fall, historically speaking, into the order in which they are set above—at any rate so far as the documents now in question are concerned: though in some respects a later source may retain an earlier form; and *Test.* does so especially.

The handling of the two treatises in these documents varies considerably. The former tract (Περὶ χαρισμάτων) was not utilized by the compiler of CO[1]. The controversy which had evoked that tract was probably over, and the compiler therefore made no use of this, while he adopted and enlarged the second tract. His object was apparently liturgical. The compilers of CH and *Test.* seem to have had similar objects and ideas: hence they also ignored the former tract and adopted the latter as the basis of part of their liturgical prescriptions.

Consequently Περὶ χαρισμάτων appears only in the third group, where a literary interest seems to have existed beside the practical one: but Περὶ χειροτονιῶν appears in all four groups.

The method of handling this tract in the different documents composing the first and third groups also varies. Therefore, in order to gain a clear view of it, we shall do well to have before us in detail the evidence to be gained from the earliest group and from CH; and to compare with this, where necessary, the evidence to be drawn from the various components of the third group, and from *Test.*

[a] Full references are given at p. 371 below.

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Latin Version; from Hauler, p. 101.

lxvii

Ea quidem quae verba fuerunt digne posuimus
de donationibus quanta quidem deus a principio secundum propriam voluntatem praestitit hominibus
offerens sibi eam imaginem quae
aberrauerat. Nunc autem ex caritate,
quam in omnes sanctos
habuit, producti ad verticem
traditionis quae catechizat ad ecclesias
perreximus, ut hi qui bene
docti sunt eam, quae permansit usque nunc,
traditionem, exponentibus nobis,
custodiant;
et agnoscentes firmiores maneant
propter eum, qui nuper inuentus est,

per ignorantiam lapsus vel error:
et hos qui ignorant
praestante sancto spiritu perfectam
gratiam eis qui recte credunt ut
cognoscant quomodo oportet tradi et

custodiri omnia eos qui ecclesiae praesunt.

Ethiopic Version; from Horner, p. 162.

40 CONCERNING THE ORDINANCE OF THE GIFT WHICH IS OF THE APOSTLES, ACCORDING TO THE ORTHODOX WORD.

We have written concerning graces
so far as God our Lord has granted to us of his own counsel.
Formerly he gave it to man while
bringing near to him that which had
gone astray in type: and now (He gave)
the beloved Son who is in all the holy
ones. Having come to the source of the
proper tradition in the churches
we have attained that (men) should learn
well what has been (received) until now;
they handed them on and kept them as our
ordinances:
yet though they knew that they were
quite firm concerning that which had been
found for them,
now unawares they slipped away. And
those indeed who knew not, (to them) the
Holy Spirit is giving the perfection of
grace. For them who believe rightly as
they know, how seemly it is that they
should hand on and keep those things
which are established in the Church.

Canons of Hippolytus.

PROLOGUE.

1. First of all we will speak of the holy and true faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God. We have stated it in a faith whereto we assent with all steadfastness. We say then in truth that the Trinity which is equal and perfect in honour is also equal in majesty, and It has no beginning or ending. The Word is the Son of God and creator of all creation visible and invisible. This we have stated, and we hold concerning those, who err and speak monstrous things about the Word of God, as our Lord Jesus Christ has spoken about them. And so we have united all the closer together with power in God, and have separated them because they do not agree with the Church in God, nor with us the disciples of the Scriptures. On this account we have separated them from the Church and left their affair to God, who shall judge the creation in righteousness. To the ignorant we make this known without prejudice, in order that they may not fall upon an evil death as heretics, but may attain eternal life, and teach their children and successors this one faith.

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The Prologue to the Περὶ χειροτονιῶν is less well attested than the tract is as a whole. It has survived only in two of the available sources: (i) in CO[1] Latin, where it occupies its proper place; and (ii) in CO[1] Ethiopic, out of place, being prefixed to an interpolated section concerning Baptism.

It is to be interpreted in conjunction with the Epilogue of the Περὶ χαρισμάτων. The use of the first person plural continues as in the previous document; so this tract also must be taken as written in the name of the Apostles jointly and addressed by them to the bishops whom they have ordained.

The first sentence of the Prologue corresponds with the second half of the preceding Epilogue, and the Greek of the latter explains the Latin of the former.

Nunc autem ex caritate,	Νῦν δὲ
quam in omnes sanctos habuit, producti	
ad verticem traditionis	ἐπὶ τὸ κορυφαιότατον τῆς
quae catechizat ad ecclesias	ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διατυπώσεως
perreximus,	ὁ λόγος ἡμᾶς ἐπείγει,
ut hi qui bene . . .	ὅπως καὶ κτλ.

It would seem that the Latin translator was puzzled by some Greek phrase similar to that of the Epilogue, which the Saidic translator there rightly turned thus:—

'The word leads us on to enter upon the chief matter (*kephalaion*) of the ordinance of the Church.'[a]

We must attempt therefore to get behind his version.

Both in the epilogue and in the prologue there is one chief point to be made, viz. the transition from one subject to the other. Leaving the *charismata*, and embarking upon the question of the ministry, the author in the former case describes it as 'the chief matter of ecclesiastical ordinance', in the latter as *verticem traditionis quae catechizat ad ecclesias*. The Ethiopic has 'Having come to the source of the proper tradition in the churches'. In view of these versions the Greek may perhaps be reconstructed as follows:—

Νῦν δέ, τῇ ἀγάπῃ τῇ εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους (Eph. i 15) ἀναχθέντες, ἐπὶ τὸ κορυφαιότατον (or τὴν κορυφὴν) τῆς παραδόσεως ἣ καθήκει ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις κατήλθομεν,

and this may account for the differences in the versions. The Ethiopic translator's word 'source' seems to be a mistake; but the end of his sentence is then correct. The Latin translator would seem to have dealt correctly with the first half; but to have mistaken καθήκει for

[a] Above, p. 327.

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κατηχεῖ, and so produced the meaningless phrase *quae catechizat ad ecclesias.*

Thenceforward all is clear. Writing in the name of the Apostles the author goes on to deal with the main point of ecclesiastical tradition, namely, the ministry. He notes that some are already firm in the tradition, and only need to be encouraged by the apostolic exposition of the subject, in face of a recent lapse or error; while others are ignorant, and need by the grace of the Holy Spirit to be instructed in the right tradition and observance of Holy Order.

If this is a right interpretation of the passage, and of the position in general, the view of Scherman is mistaken, and his position is not tenable.[a] He divorces this treatise from the Περὶ χαρισμάτων; takes the writer here to be Clement of Rome, speaking in the plural; he strikes out the *ad* before *ecclesias*, and then interprets *verticem traditionis quae catechizat ecclesias* of the papacy.

What was the new error which the writer wished to oppose? Its general character seems clear. It was apparently an attempt made by those who relied upon spiritual gifts against the apostolic tradition of the ministry. This is the well-known position of Montanism. Its adherents opposed the *spiritalem hominem* to the episcopate,[b] and gave to the spiritual man the powers of the ministry: they made great boasting of *charismata.* It seems probable then that these little tracts form a reply to Montanism. Every line of the first one has Montanist claims in view, and notably the passage about female prophets; while the second one equally fits into the position. They seem also to belong to the early stage of the controversy; for in meeting the claims of the new prophecy they do not adopt the policy of denying the survival of prophecy in the Church, but maintain the opposite point of view—that prophecy is continuing, only the false needs to be distinguished from the true. This point of view is that of the end of the second century: while later, in the third century, the other and more negative policy was adopted, and the Church came to regard prophecy as extinct.

The prologue to the Canons of Hippolytus is of quite a different character, and has in view a different set of circumstances altogether. The treatise *Concerning Gifts* is not to the compiler's purpose, so he does not use it; and with it he omits its epilogue and the prologue to the treatise *Concerning Ordinations.* In place of the last, there is an introduction concerning a right faith, in which the Apostles collectively expound the doctrine of the Trinity and then proceed to condemn

[a] *Ein Weiheritual der Römischen Kirche am Schlusse des ersten Jahrhunderts* (München-Leipzig 1913) pp. 4 sqq.

[b] Tert. *De pudic.* 21.

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excommunicate heretics who teach pernicious views about the Word of God. This change in atmosphere prepares us to find the treatise in a modified form in this source; though, in point of fact, change is not so evident in the body of the work as in the prologue. The chief thing which the redactor seems to have kept is the name Hippolytus; for it seems likely that that name stood at the head of the two little tracts and that he took it thence to give a good introduction to his compilation of Canons.

IV

We have next to determine, as far as may be, the length and contents of the original treatise *Concerning Ordinations*. It is linked with other material in all the four collections in which it figures, viz. the first Church Order (CO^1), *The Canons of Hippolytus* (CH), the second Church Order (CO^2), and the *Testament*. A comparison of the four indicates fairly clearly the point at which the original treatise ended.[a] The first six sections of CO^1 contain the rites for Bishop, Priest, Deacon, Confessor, Widow, Reader, Virgin, Subdeacon. These correspond fairly with the sections 2–9 of CH; and (a little less closely) with sections 1–14 of CPH; also in different degrees with the corresponding passages in the rest of the group of documents classed together as representing CO^2. It may be supposed therefore that at least these six sections formed part of the treatise.

Was there also more? The next section in CO^1 deals with the proving of converts; it does not therefore seem to belong naturally to a treatise *Concerning Ordinations*.

On the other hand, it is found also in CH, in CO^2, and in *Test.*; and it is the only section besides those six which is common to all these four sources. This seems to suggest that it should be reckoned with them.

But against this are to be set two contrary arguments. First the section itself varies greatly in contents and wording in the different sources, and lacks therefore the uniformity which characterizes the previous sections. Secondly in CPH this section is not only separated from the preceding, but is distinguished from them by a different heading, and by a different method of statement; and in *Test.* this section is still further marked off by forming the beginning of Book ii.

It seems wisest therefore, at any rate for the present purpose, to exclude this section; and to reckon as belonging to the original treatise no more than the six sections directly concerned with Ordinations. Even the whole of these six may prove not to have been part of the original document. But a discussion of that question and also of

[a] See the comparative table printed below, pp. 370, 371.

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the additional sections on Ordination which are added in CO^2 will come best at the later stages.

We have now to go through the successive sections, to discover as far as may be the original form of the Περὶ χειροτονιῶν, and to note first the modifications that take place in the four main groups of sources—CO^1, CH, CO^2, Test.—and secondly, any variations that there are of importance in the different authorities comprised under the general headings of CO^1 and CO^2.

Since CO^2 belongs to the second half of the fourth century, and *Test.* is later still, we can watch the transition that the tract goes through in the course of perhaps a couple of centuries.

V

First we note as regards the heading of the section about the Bishop that in AC and CPH it is introduced by a new attribution of the Constitutions to the Apostles, with whom are now associated St Paul and St James the bishop, with the rest of the presbyters and the Seven Deacons.

This is a fuller developement of the more reticent use of the character of the apostles in the original tract which we have already noted. St Peter begins a series of apostolic pronouncements by laying down this constitution. There has been much modification: but in spite of the alterations, which they have undergone, these sources are particularly valuable because they help to determine the original Greek of the Treatise.

The directions for the Bishop's consecration consist of three parts: (*a*) the preliminaries, (*b*) the service, and (*c*) the Ordination prayer. In all we have to attempt to ascertain the original form of the Treatise, and then note the later modifications.

CO^1 Latin seems to have preserved the old form; and the Greek in CO^2 (CPH and AC) goes closely with it so far as (*a*) is concerned, though with considerable additions.

(AC VIII iv 2.)	(Hauler, p. 103.)
ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονεῖσθαι	(*a*) Episcopus ordinetur,
ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἐκλελεγμένον.	electus ab omni populo:
οὗ ὀνομασθέντος	quique cum nominatus fuerit,
καὶ ἀρέσαντος	et placuerit omnibus,
συνελθὼν ὁ λαὸς	conueniet populus
ἅμα τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ	una cum presbyterio
καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐπισκόποις	et his qui praesentes fuerint episcopi,
ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ	die dominica.
(+CH συνευδοκείτω)	
* * * * *	
	(*b*) Consentientibus omnibus,
	imponant super eum manus,
	et presbyterium adstet quiescens.
καὶ σιωπῆς γενομένης	Omnes autem silentium habeant

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(AC VIII iv 6.)	(Hauler, p. 103.)
	orantes in corde propter descensionem spiritus.
εἷς τῶν πρώτων ἐπισκόπων	Ex quibus unus de praesentibus episcopis ab omnibus rogatus, imponens manum ei qui ordinatur episcopus,
λεγέτω πρὸς θεόν·	oret ita dicens.

The oriental versions of CO[1] agree together in (*a*) except that they substitute 'deacons' for 'bishops' at the end, and modify the beginning

Ethiopic Version, Horner, p. 138.	*Latin Version*, Hauler, p. 103.
22. CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF BISHOPS, AND THE RIGHT ORDER OF THE OBLATION.	
The Bishop shall be ordained as we have already spoken;	Episcopus ordinetur
one who has been chosen by all the people together,	electus ab omni populo:
	quique cum nominatus fuerit, et placuerit omnibus, conveniet populus una
with the presbyters and deacons on the day of the Sabbath.	cum presbyterio et his qui praesentes fuerint episcopi die dominica.
And all the bishops shall go with mutual consent	Consentientibus omnibus,
and lay their hands upon him;	imponant super eum manus,
and the presbyters standing by keep quiet, and all of them together	et presbyterium adstet quiescens. Omnes autem silentium
in silence and praying in their hearts that the Holy Spirit may help them and descend upon him. And every	habeant, orantes in corde propter descensionem spiritus.
one of the bishops shall pray, and all of them severally standing up shall lay their hands upon him who is ordained bishop, and they shall pray over him thus, saying:	Ex quibus unus de praesentibus episcopis ab omnibus rogatus, imponens manum ei qui ordinatur episcopus, oret ita dicens:

of (*b*) accordingly. In CH very little of (*a*) is preserved. On the other hand in (*b*) a developement begins to shew itself in CH which is continued in CO[2], namely the elaboration of a ceremony of Confirmation or Recognition which CH calls ἐξομολόγησις. In CO[2] this finally takes a triple form[a]; and as this developement comes in, a primitive feature disappears. The original Treatise seems to have prescribed first a joint laying on of hands by the assembled episcopate. In this the presbytery in some way co-operated; but all was done in

[a] AC VIII iv 2–6.

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silence, while all prayed in their hearts for the descent of the Holy Spirit.

Only when this was over did a single bishop, chosen for the purpose, say the Consecration prayer, accompanied by the imposition of his hand. This double imposition of hands did not find favour as time went on. Divergences begin to appear in the oriental versions of CO[1]. Ethiop. makes all the bishops give the second imposition of hands and say the Consecration prayer. Arab.,[a] Said., and Boh. add that all are to stand during the prayer, but keep the two different impositions.

Arabic Version, Horner, p. 244.

21. Concerning the Ordination of the Bishops at the beginning of the Kiddas.

The Bishop shall be ordained, as we have already said.
He shall be chosen from all the assembly without fault.
When they have made mention of him and are satisfied with him, all the people shall assemble together and the presbyters and the deacons on Sunday.
And all the bishops shall walk one with another joyfully, and they shall lay their hands upon him. And the people (*sic*) standing up

in silence together shall pray in their hearts that the Holy Spirit may descend upon him.
And they shall ask one of the bishops; and, while every one stands, he shall lay his hand upon him who is ordained bishop, and shall pray over him thus.

Saidic and *Bohairic Versions*, Horner and Tattam.

31. Concerning the Bishops.

The bishop shall be ordained, according to the word which we said before, having been chosen from all the multitude and being without sin.
When he has been named and they are pleased with him, the whole people shall assemble themselves together and the presbyters with the deacons on the Lord's Day with the consent of all the bishops

[b] who have laid their hand [b] upon him. And the presbyters also stand by waiting. And they all hold their peace together and pray in their heart that the Holy Spirit may come upon him.
And [c] they request one of [c] the bishops, while all stand up, [d] that he should lay his hands [d] upon him who is to be made bishop and pray over him.

CH. 2. Concerning the Bishops.

The bishop shall be chosen out of the whole assembly. He shall be without reproach, as is written of him in the Apostle.[e] In the week in which he is ordained let all the people say 'We have chosen him'. And there shall be silence in all the flock after the exhomologetas (ἐξομολόγησιν); and all shall pray for him and say 'O God, establish him whom Thou hast prepared for us'. And one of the bishops and presbyters shall be chosen and he shall lay his hand upon his head, and pray and say:—

[a] It is probably merely by mistake that Arab. substitutes 'people' for 'presbytery'.
[b–b] B 'and the bishops shall lay their hands'.
[c–c] B 'He who is worthy out of . . .'
[d–d] B 'putteth his hand'.
[e] Tit. i 7; 1 Tim. iii 2.

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In CH and CO[2] the first imposition has disappeared and the ἐξομολόγησις seems to fill the place. The double imposition is, however, preserved in *Test.*, side by side with much of the original phraseology: but after the silence a prayer is provided for the bishops to say jointly during their laying on of hands. Thereupon follows the second imposition by the one bishop, and the Consecration prayer.

In CH the single consecrator is described as 'one of the bishops and presbyters'—a phrase which apparently points to a stage in which a bishop is always regarded as a presbyter, but one differentiated from the rest by the episcopal authority which he possesses.

We must note also a fuller developement of the ceremonial in CO[2]. The consecrator is supported by two bishops, following Apostolic Canon no. 1. He stands with them near the altar and says the prayer alone, while the other bishops and presbyters pray in silence. The deacons meanwhile hold the open Gospel-book over the head of the candidate. Curiously enough in the process of revision CO[2] has lost all express directions for any laying on of hands.

Ethiopic Version (continued).	*Latin Version* (continued).
God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ	Deus et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi,
Father of mercies and Lord of all comforts,	pater misericordiarum et deus totius consolationis,
who dwelt with the lofty and yet sees the humble	qui in excelsis habitas et humilia respicis,
and who knew all before it came to pass.	qui cognoscis omnia antequam nascantur,
Thou gavest an ordinance to the Church by the word of Thy grace;	Tu qui dedisti terminos in ecclesia per verbum gratiae tuae
Thou who foreordainedst originally a	praedestinans ex principio genus
family of righteous men from Abraham thou ordainedst judges and priests;	iustorum Abraham, principes et sacerdotes constituens
and Thou didst not leave Thy sanctuary without ministers;	et sanctum tuum sine ministerio non derelinquens:
And ever since the creation of the world Thou hast desired to be glorified	Ex initio saeculi bene tibi placuit
in the (place) which Thou choosest.	in his quos elegisti praedicari:
Now pour out from Thee the might of the Holy Spirit	Nunc effunde eam virtutem quae a te est principalis spiritus,
which Thou gavest to Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ	quem dedisti dilecto Filio Tuo Iesu Christo,
which Thou grantest to us Thy holy apostles Thy helpers in Thy Church	quod donauit sanctis apostolis qui constituerunt ecclesiam per singula loca
with the plough of Thy cross	

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(*c*) The Ordination prayer, which survives in CO[1] Latin and Ethiopic, is probably the prayer of the original tract, though in some degree modifications are traceable. With these two sources the Greek of CPH is in close agreement, while AC and *Test.* have enlarged forms of the same prayer.* It is not suggested that the text in CPH is exactly the original text, for it gives a suspiciously different phrase as compared with Eth. and Lat. in the central passage beginning with Καὶ *νῦν ἐπίχεε*, where there is some divergence. It is to be observed that the prayer itself is not in CPH (nor Latin) put into the mouth of the Apostles: it is so in Ethiop.,† but then there are other signs there of alteration at this point. On the other hand CPH has

* Here as in § 1 greater theological propriety is found in CPH than in AC: and it has apparently modified a passage in the original which AC took over unaltered. See Zahn II xiv, and above, p. 324. AC has *πνεύματος, ὅπερ διακονεῖται τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ σου παιδί*: thus agreeing with CO[1] in speaking of the Holy Spirit as given 'to our Lord and to the Apostles', instead of 'through our Lord to the Apostles'.

† But in a later passage even in Ethiop. the apostles are mentioned in the third not the first person.

CH (*continued*).	CPH § 4; Funk, ii p. 78.
3. THE PRAYER FOR HIM WHO IS TO BE MADE BISHOP; AND THE ORDERING OF THE KIDDAS.	
O God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ	Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Πατὴρ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ
Father of mercies and God of all consolation,	Χριστοῦ, ὁ Πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως,
who dwellest in the highest and beholdest the lowly	ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν,
who knewest all things before they were made,	ὁ γινώσκων τὰ πάντα πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν,
Thou who hast appointed the frontiers of the Church,	Σὺ ὁ δοὺς ὅρους ἐκκλησίας
Thou who hast ordained from Adam that there should remain a righteous race	διὰ λόγου χάριτός σου,
through this bishop who is the great one,	ὁ προορίσας τε ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γένος
Abraham: Thou who hast appointed prelacies and princedoms:	δίκαιον ἐξ Ἀβραάμ, ἄρχοντάς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς καταστήσας
	τό τε ἁγίασμά σου μὴ καταλιπὼν ἀλειτούργητον,
	ὁ ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εὐδοκήσας
Look upon N. Thy servant with Thy power and a ruling spirit[a]	ἐν οἷς χειροτονῆσαι δοξασθῆναι· Καὶ νῦν ἐπίχεε τὴν παρὰ Σοῦ δύναμιν
whom (*sic*) Thou gavest through our Lord Jesus Christ Thine only Son	τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεύματος, ὅπερ διὰ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου σου παιδὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
to the holy apostles,	δεδώρησαι τοῖς ἁγίοις σου ἀποστόλοις,
those who founded the Church in every place	οἳ καθίδρυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τόπον ἁγιάσματός σου

[a] *πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῷ*, Ps. l (li) 14.

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lost (perhaps by mere inadvertence) the bracketed words in the phrase [ποιμαίνειν] σου τὴν ἁγίαν [ποίμνην] which are in AC and are represented in the Latin and Ethiopic versions.

The same prayer underlies the form found in CH: the opening is identical, but differences begin after a few lines, through some omissions and the introduction of a reference to Adam as well as that

Ethiopic Version (continued).	*Latin Version* (continued).
and in the place of Thy holiness— To Thee be glory and praise unceasingly to Thy name. Give, Thou knower of the heart, and send the Holy Spirit upon Thy servant whom Thou hast chosen for the pontificate, that he may feed Thy flock	sanctificationem tuam in gloriam et laudem indeficientem nomini tuo. Da, cordis cognitor pater, super hunc seruum tuum, quem elegisti ad episcopatum, pascere gregem sanctam tuam ;
and minister as priest to thee without blame, serving thee by day and night, and supplicating to see Thy face worthily.	et primatum sacerdotii tibi exhibere sine reprehensione seruientem noctu ac die ; incessanter repropitiari uultum tuum.
That he may offer Thine oblation in Thy Holy Church ; In the holy spirit of the priesthood	Et offerre dona sancta ecclesiae tuae ; spiritu primatus sacerdotii
having authority to forgive sin according to Thy commandment and to give the ordination of Thine ordinance, and loose all bonds of iniquity according to the authority which Thou gavest to Thine apostles ;	habere potestatem dimittere peccata secundum mandatum tuum, dare sortes secundum praeceptum tuum, soluere etiam omnem colligationem secundum potestatem quam dedisti apostolis ;
and that he may please Thee with gentleness and purity of heart, offering to Thee a sweet savour, through Thy Son Jesus Christ, through whom to Thee be glory and might and honour, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, in Thy holy Church, now and always and for ever and ever. Amen.	placere autem tibi in mansuetudine et mundo corde, offerentem tibi odorem suauitatis, per puerum tuum Iesum Christum per quem tibi gloria et potentia et honor, patri et filio et spiritui sancto, et nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

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to Abraham. In the central section CH supports CPH when the divergence in the CO[1] group takes place. After *καρδιογνῶστα πάντων* CH omits the term *ἐπισκοπήν*, perhaps because it has already been brought in through the earlier modification, and is to appear again. It has the phrase about feeding the flock, and adds after it a piece of its own about the bishop's moral pre-eminence and example. Thenceforward the

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3. THE PRAYER FOR HIM WHO IS TO BE MADE BISHOP; AND THE ORDERING OF THE KIDDAS (*continued*). — CPH § 4; Funk, ii p. 78(*continued*).

for honour and glory to Thy Holy Name.	*εἰς δόξαν καὶ αἶνον ἀδιάλειπτον τοῦ ὀνόματός σου.*
Because Thou art He that knoweth each one's heart, grant him that	*καρδιογνῶστα πάντων, δὸς ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον,*
he may see Thy people without sin,	*ὃν ἐξελέξω εἰς ἐπισκοπήν,*
that he may be worthy to feed Thy flock, the great and the holy.	*[ποιμαίνειν] σου τὴν ἁγίαν [ποίμνην],*
And grant that his life may excel that of all the people without accidents, and that he may be envied for his excellence by every one.	
And accept his prayers and oblations which he presents to Thee day and night,	*καὶ ἀρχιερατεύειν σοι ἀμέμπτως, λειτουργοῦντα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἀδιαλείπτως τε ἱλάσκεσθαι τῷ προσώπῳ σου*
and let them be to Thee a strong savour.	
	καὶ προσφέρειν σοι τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας,
And give unto him O Lord the episcopate and a mild spirit, and	*καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀρχιερατικῷ*
authority to forgive sins,	*ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν σου,*
	διδόναι κλήρους κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμά σου,
and give him power to loose all the bonds of iniquity	*λύειν τε πάντα σύνδεσμον κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀποστόλοις,*
of demons, and to heal all weaknesses, and bruise Satan under his feet shortly:	
	εὐαρεστεῖν τέ σοι ἐν πραότητι καὶ καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ προσφέροντά σοι ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας,
in our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom be the glory to Thee with Him and the Holy Spirit, for ever and ever. Amen.	*διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν, μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα, κράτος, τιμή, σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

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differences multiply; the most notable one is that which introduces a reference to gifts of exorcism and healing. An express order for the congregation to say 'Amen' follows the prayer, which is found also in an enlarged form in AC.

VI

In CPH the section closes with this Amen, and the next section takes

Ethiopic Version (continued).	*Latin Version* (continued).
And after the bishop has been ordained every one of them shall salute him with the mouth kissing him who has become a bishop, and to whom this grace has been imparted.	Quicumque factus fuerit episcopus, omnes os offerant pacis, salutantes eum quia dignus effectus est.
And the deacon shall bring to him the oblation; and he then having laid his hand upon the oblation with all the holy ones and the presbyters shall say, thus giving thanks:	Illi uero offerant diacones oblationem, quique imponens manus in eam cum omni presbyterio dicat gratias agens:
The Lord (be) with you all. And the people shall say: Perfectly with thy Spirit may he be. And the bishop shall say: Lift up your hearts.	Dominus uobiscum. Et omnes dicant: Et cum spiritu tuo. Susum corda.
And all the people shall say: We have (them) with the Lord our God.	Habemus ad dominum.
And the bishop shall say: Let us give thanks to the Lord. And the people shall say: Right, it is meet and just. And then the bishop shall say the (words) of the oblation as follows: We give thanks to thee O Lord . . . . for ever and ever. Amen.	Gratias agamus domino. Dignum et iustum est. Et sic iam prosequatur, Gratias tibi referimus deus . . . . in saecula saeculorum. Amen.
Concerning the oblation (of oil) Oil he shall offer according as the ob- lation of bread and wine, giving thanks as in that ordinance. Whenever he does not speak the same words, he shall give thanks according to the various meaning of each one but also with the other words, saying thus:	Si quis oleum offert secundum panis oblationem et uini non ad sermonem dicat sed simili uirtute gratias referat. dicens:

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up the question of the presbyter. In all the other sources some references to the Eucharist follow. CO[1] Arabic and Coptic, which have not given the ordination prayer, fall now into line again with CO[1] Latin and Ethiopic, prescribing the kiss of peace, and apparently a special acclamation of Ἄξιος ἐστι.[a] This may be regarded either as the end of the ordination or as the beginning of the Eucharistic Anaphora which follows.

CH (*continued*).

And let all the people say Amen.
And after this let all turn to him
kissing him in peace
because he is worthy of this.

HERE FOLLOWS THE BISHOP'S FIRST MASS.
And the deacon shall come with the offerings.
And he that has become bishop shall lay his hand on the offerings
with the presbyters, and he shall say:

Ὁ Κύριος μετὰ πάντων.
And the people shall say:
And with thy spirit.
And he shall say:
Ἄνω ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας.

And [the people] shall say:
Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.

And he shall say:
Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ.
And it shall be said:
Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον, which is It is meet.
And after this he shall say the prayer and finish the Mass.

And if there be oil

he shall pray over it thus:
and if they have none, these sentences only.

Arabic Version (continued from above, p. 335).

And when he has become bishop
every one shall salute him and kiss
his mouth.

Saidic (and *Bohairic*) *Version* (continued).

And when he is made bishop let every one give peace to him with their mouth, saluting him.
[*The same: the Arabic version is similar.*]
Let the deacons then offer to him the oblation.
And having put his hand upon the oblation
with the presbyters let him say in giving thanks (eukharistou):
Ὁ Κύριος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. [ἡμῶν *Boh.*]
And all the people say:
Μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.
And he says:
Ἄνω ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας. [Where are your hearts *Arab.*]
And the people say:
Εὔχωμεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον. [They are with the Lord *Arab.*]
And he says again:
Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τὸν Κύριον.
And all the people say:
Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.
And let him pray also thus, and say the things which come after these according to the custom of the holy oblation. [End.]
[And he shall say what comes after this in the rule of the Kiddas. [End.] *Arab.*]

[a] Cp. *Test.* i 21.

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Ethiopic Version (continued).

Having sanctified oil . . . who receive it.

And the people shall say :
As it was, is, and shall be to generation of generation and to age of age. Amen.
The bishop shall say :
[Further prayers of the Bishop and Deacon containing the rest of the Liturgy in outline.]
And the deacon shall say Go forth in peace
And after (that) the Keddase is finished.
[End.]

CH (*continued*).

And if there be firstfruits of anything for food

which any one have brought, let him pray over them and give a blessing over the fruits of which they have brought to him some in the prayer.
And at every prayer there shall be said over everything (there shall be said) at the end of the prayer,
Glory to Thee, O Father and Son and Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.
[End.]

Latin Version (continued).

Ut oleum hoc sanctificans . . . praebeat.
Similiter si quis caseum et oliuas offeret ita dicat :
Sanctifica lac hoc . . . . . sperant in te.

In omni uero benedictione dicatur :

Tibi gloria patri et filio cum sancto spiritu in sancta ecclesia et nunc et semper et in omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

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In CO¹ and CH the next point mentioned is the Offertory.

CO¹ Latin has: 'Illi uero offerant diacones oblationem: quique imponens manus in eam cum omni presbyterio dicat gratias agens, *Dominus uobiscum*', &c.

The oriental versions agree, and so does CH; but since the divergences following are so great,[a] it is probable that the original Treatise did not include more than (at most) the first cues of the prayers; and that all the rest concerning the Liturgy has been added by the compiler of CO¹.

When we consider CO² we observe that further change has taken place. The act of ordination is set back to an earlier point in the service, preceding the Lessons. This involves further changes, as will be seen from the four forms of CO² here subjoined.

AC VIII v 9–11.	CO² *Said.* (and *Boh.*) (Horner, p. 341).
καὶ μετὰ τὴν προσευχήν,	And when he has finished praying for him,
εἷς τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀναφερέτω τὴν θυσίαν	let one of the bishops place the oblation
ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ χειροτονηθέντος.	upon the hands of him who is ordained,
καὶ τῇ ἑωθεν ἐνθρονιζέσθω εἰς τὸν αὐτῷ διαφέροντα τόπον παρὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων	and let the other bishops set him upon the seat which is proper for him.
πάντων αὐτὸν φιλησάντων τῷ ἐν κυρίῳ φιλήματι,	And when they have saluted him with the salutation which is in the Lord,
καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου . . .	let them read in the Holy Gospels, &c.

CO² *Arab.* (Horner, p. 274).	CO² *Ethiop.* (Horner, p. 198).
And one of the bishops shall offer incense	And the bishops
over the hand of him who is to be ordained.	
And the bishops shall cause him to sit	shall sit down
upon a seat which was prepared for him.	upon seats
	[b] and they shall say, He is worthy of it.[b]
And when they have all kissed him	And then all shall salute him
with the kiss of the Lord,	with the kiss of the Lord,
let them read in the Holy Scriptures, &c.	and they shall read the Holy Scriptures, &c.

[a] CO¹ Arabic and Coptic have the versicles down to Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον and there stop. CO¹ Ethiopic and Latin agree in adding the consecration prayer and a Blessing of Oil, but then they diverge; the Latin adds merely a Blessing of Cheese and Olives, but the Ethiopic continues the Anaphora. CH, after the versicles, gives merely a direction for the rest of the Liturgy, but adds blessings of oil and of first-fruits. In CO² and *Test.* much larger developements take place.

[b–b] Over erasure.

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What underlies these variants? It seems fairly clear that when the consecration was put before the lessons, the bringing to the new bishop of the oblation by the deacons was out of place: for he was not, in these altered circumstances, proceeding at once to the Anaphora. Ethiop. therefore omits the whole sentence. The rest change 'deacons' into 'bishops', while Arab. goes further and changes 'oblation' into 'incense'.

An enthronement is introduced, and the kiss of peace is made to belong to this ceremony, being now out of its eucharistic place. Finally AC seems to postpone the enthronement to the next day.

The Testament seems not to make these changes but to keep the earlier plan.

VII

The service for the ordination of a presbyter is briefly described in CO[1] Latin, and much of its language is paralleled in the Greek of CPH and AC (VIII xvi 2).

πρεσβύτερον χειροτονῶν, ὁ ἐπίσκοπε,	Cum autem presbyter ordinatur,
τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐπιτίθει αὐτός,	imponat manum super caput eius episcopus,
τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου παρεστῶτός σοι, καὶ τῶν διακόνων.	contingentibus etiam presbyteris,
καὶ εὐχόμενος λέγε . . .	et dicat secundum ea quae praedicta sunt, sicut praediximus super episcopum.

Here the original seems to have ended: the same prayer was used for the presbyter as for the bishop. This procedure, however, soon seemed strange; and we trace in the various documents successive

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Ethiopic Version, Horner, p. 143.

CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF PRESBYTERS.

If the bishop desires to ordain a presbyter, he shall lay his hand upon his head;

and all the presbyters shall touch him and shall pray over him; in the form which we said before

Latin Version, Hauler, p. 108.

Cum autem presbyter ordinatur,
imponat manum super caput eius episcopus,
contingentibus etiam presbyteris,
et dicat secundum ea quae praedicta sunt,
sicut praediximus
super episcopum,

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changes which were made. CO[1] Arabic and Saidic perhaps are witnesses to the unchanged state of things; they have no prayer for the presbyter, but only the passage contained in the Latin text above. But as they give no prayer for bishop or deacon either their witness here is doubtful. CO[1] Latin and Saidic add a prayer for the ordination of the presbyter regardless of the direction (which they retain) to use the form already given (for the bishop).

Further confirmation of the original state of things comes from CH. There is no special prayer provided there for the presbyter because his ordination is to be exactly the same as the bishop's, except that the term 'bishop' is not used. This exception is newly added: and an explanation is also given of the relation of presbyter and bishop, which corresponds with what was said above about bishop-presbyters in CH. We see then the old situation preserved here, but needing some further explanation.*

The bishop's prayer made no mention of episcopal as distinct from sacerdotal functions and no mention of the power of ordination. It was therefore available, with a change of word, for the presbyter. The later prayer which is substituted for it is found in CO[1] Lat. and Ethiop. and also in different stages of further expansion and modification in CPH, AC, and *Test.* The differentiating of presbyter from bishop is clearly conceived in its thought and expressed in its choice of precedents and phraseology.

* That explanation is still more fully given in Haneberg's text of CH than in Riedel's.

CH.	*Arabic Version* (*Saidic* and *Bohairic* in notes), Horner, pp. 245, 307; Tattam, p. 34.
4. Concerning the Ordination of Presbyters.	22 (32). Concerning the Ordination of the Presbyter.[a]
And when a presbyter is ordained,	When the bishop desires to ordain the presbyter, he shall lay his hand[b] upon his head; and all the priests touched him,[c] and he prays over him according to the pattern which we have said
all things concerning him shall be done as concerning a bishop, [d]except taking his seat on the throne. And the bishop's prayer shall be said over him entire,[d] except the name bishop' only. The bishop is in all	concerning the bishop.

[a] SB 'Concerning the Presbyters'.
[b] SB 'hands'.
[c] S 'all the presbyters touching him': B 'shall touch him'.
[d–d] Riedel omits.

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Ethiopic Version (continued).

he shall pray, saying :
My God the Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ
look down upon this Thy servant,
and impart to him the spirit of grace and the gift of holiness,

that he may be able to direct Thy people with pure heart.
As Thou lookedst upon Thy chosen people
and commandedst Moses to choose presbyters
whom Thou filledst with the Holy Spirit which Thou grantedst to Thy servant and minister Moses :
So now, Lord give to this Thy servant the grace which fails not, preserving to us the spirit of Thy favour :
And vouchsafe to us, whilst Thou fillest us with Thy worship
in our heart to glorify Thee :
through Thy Son Jesus Christ,
through whom to thee (be) glory and power, to the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit in the holy Church,
now, &c.

And all the people shall say :
Amen and Amen. He is worthy of it.

Latin Version (continued).

orans et dicens :
Deus et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi
respice super seruum tuum istum
et impartire spiritum gratiae et consilii,
praesbyteris ut adiuuet
et gubernet plebem tuam in corde mundo,
sicuti respexisti super populum electionis tuae,
et praecepisti Moysi ut elegeret praesbyteros
quos replesti de spiritu tuo
quod tu donasti famulo tuo ;

Et nunc domine praesta indeficienter conseruari in nobis spiritum gratiae tuae :
Et dignos effice
ut credentes tibi ministremus
in simplicitate cordis laudantes te :
per puerum tuum Christum Iesum
per quem tibi gloria et uirtus
patri et filio cum spiritu sancto
in sancta ecclesia
et nunc et in saecula saeculorum.
Amen.

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CH (*continued*).

respects the equivalent of the presbyter, except in regard to the throne and ordination. Because he was not given authority to ordain.

Extracts from CPH (Funk, ii 80).

ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον . . . .
καὶ ἔμπλησον αὐτὸν πνεῦμα χάριτος καὶ συμβουλίας
τοῦ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι
καὶ κυβερνᾶν τὸν λαόν σου ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ,
ὃν τρόπον ἐπείδες ἐπὶ λαὸν ἐκλογῆς σου,
καὶ προσέταξας Μωϋσεῖ αἱρετίσασθαι πρεσβυτέρους,
οὓς ἔπλησας πνεύματος,

ὅπως ἐμπλησθεὶς ἐνεργημάτων ἰαματικῶν
καὶ λόγων διδακτικῶν ἐν πραότητι
παιδεύῃ σου τοῦτον εἰλικρινῶς ἐν
καθαρᾷ διανοίᾳ καὶ ψυχῇ θελούσῃ,
καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἱερουργίας
ἀμώμως ἐκτελῇ,
διὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ σου, μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα
καὶ σέβας σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς
αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

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VIII

In the present form of the Περὶ χειροτονιῶν in CO[1], the theory of ordination is more fully expounded in the section concerning the deacons than anywhere else. It is not very easy to say how much of the exposition belongs to the original form of the tract. In both CO[1] and CH there is considerable disorder, indicating that some interpolation has taken place. Further, this disorder and interpolation is not found in CO[2], where the section about the Deacon is only quite a short one; the main part of it runs thus in CPH vii and AC viii xvii.

διάκονον καταστήσεις, ὦ ἐπίσκοπε,
ἐπιθεὶς αὐτῷ τὰς χεῖρας,
παρεστῶτός σοι παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου,
καὶ τῶν διακόνων,
καὶ ἐπευξάμενος λέγε (AC ἐρεῖς).

This very business-like statement is parallel to the equally brief section about the presbyter; and it probably represents (with the usual modifications) the original section of the tract. The compiler of CO[1] makes his section a commentary on this, rather than the equivalent of it. He is evidently handling a point that was in controversy at the time. CH has also a commentary upon the office rather than mere directions: but of a less controversial character.

The divergences may be summarized thus:—

1. The Deacon's election is mentioned in CO[1], and a reference back to an earlier direction is given here, just as it was also above in the case of the bishop. This refers, no doubt, to the *Apostolic Church Order*, which precedes CO[1] in the composite work (*The Statutes of the Apostles*) as edited by the final redactor; and the reference is an addition made by him. In CO[1] Eth. and Ar. the election is interpreted to be a choice by the bishop; and this is probably a change from the older method of election by 'all the people', which ApCO in fact prescribes.[a] CH has no mention of election, but has merely a note that the canons are to be observed.

2. After the direction for the imposition of hands, CO[1] goes off into argument, and does not give the corresponding ordination prayer till the argument is done. CH twice leads up to the prayer. It does so at

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Ethiopic Version, Horner, p. 144.

24. Concerning the Ordination of Deacons.

And if the bishop desires to ordain a deacon, he shall choose him as we have already said.

Latin Version, Hauler, p. 109.

Diaconus uero, cum ordinatur, eligatur secundum ea quae praedicta sunt similiter:

[a] See e.g. Statute 16 Ethiopic, = 15 Arabic, = 20 Saidic, in Horner, pp. 135, 241, 303.

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the beginning of the section; but then it too is led away into exposition; and only when that is done, does it come back to prescribe the imposition of hands and the prayer. There is little doubt that in both CO^1 and CH most of the intervening passages are interpolated. It is possible, however, that one further sentence, the only one which is common to CO^1 and CH, was part of the original; though, if so, it has disappeared in CO^2. That is the one which runs in Latin thus, 'quia non in sacerdotio ordinatur sed in ministerio episcopi'; and reappears in *Test.* thus, 'because he is not appointed to priesthood, but for the service of attendance on the bishop and the Church'. There seems to be an echo of this in the familiar canon 4 of the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*:—

Diaconus cum ordinatur, solus episcopus qui eum benedicit manum super caput illius ponat: quia non ad sacerdotium sed ad ministerium consecratur.

This makes an interesting link with the later Latin Rites.

3. For the rest the material in CO^1 is mainly unlike that in CH, and the circumstances that give rise to it differ. The compiler of CO^1 is resisting the aggression of the diaconate by protests such as may also be seen in the councils of the fourth century from that at Arles (314) onwards[a]; or again in the writings of St Jerome. He is careful to distinguish the deacon from the presbyters both by his inferior dignity and office, and by the difference of his functions, which are essentially dependent upon the bishop. The compiler of CH on the other hand shews little if any trace of controversy. He is anxious that the deacon should be an efficient almoner, besides ministering in church.

4. Another point must also be noted in CO^1. The writer is anxious that if the deacon is kept in his place, so shall the presbyter be also. Though he receives 'the great spirit' and a more solemn imposition of hands, he may not presume to ordain. The Ethiopic version adds further words, in order to make clear that he may not even ordain a Reader or a Subdeacon.

All these points are of considerable interest for the history of the Ordination Services, though they all seem to be subsequent to the original tract, and to be due to a series of interpolations and modifications, varying in their purpose and provenance.

CH.	*Arabic* and two *Coptic Versions*.
5. CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF DEACONS.	23 (33) CONCERNING [THE ORDINATION OF][b] THE DEACONS.
And when a deacon is ordained,	When the bishop desires to appoint a deacon, [c] he shall choose him [c] as we have said before.

[a] Arles, Canons xv, xviii; Nicaea, Canon xviii; Laodicea, Canon xx, &c.
[b] SB omit.
[c–c] SB 'who has been chosen'.

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Ethiopic Version (continued).	*Latin Version* (continued).
And the bishop alone shall lay his hand upon his head. Why do we say that the bishop alone is he who lays his hand upon him ?	imponens manus episcopus solus sicuti et praecepimus. In diacono ordinando solus episcopus imponat manus,
For a sign it is of this thing, that he was not ordained for priesthood, but only for the service of the bishop, that he may perform the commandment with which he was commanded by him.	propterea quia non in sacerdotio ordinatur, sed in ministerio episcopi, ut faciat ea quae ab ipso iubentur :
And he was not ordained to be the teacher of all those who are in orders,	non est enim particeps consilii in clero,
but to be one who will think of what is proper (to be done) and will inform the bishop.	sed curas agens et indicans episcopo quae oportet ;
And he was not ordained to acquire the great Spirit, of which the presbyters partake ; but to occupy himself with that which is proper, that the bishop may trust him ; and that he may acquaint the bishop with that which is fitting (for him to know).	non accipiens communem presbyteri Spiritum eum, cuius participes presbyteri sunt, sed id quod sub potestate episcopi est creditum.
The bishop is he alone who shall lay his hand upon him.	Qua de re episcopus solus diaconum faciat.

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CH (*continued*).

let it be done according to the various canons, and they shall say this prayer over him.

However he is not (thereby) appointed to the presbyterate, but to the diaconate, as a servant of God.

Let him serve the bishop and presbyters in all things, and not only at the time of the liturgy:
but let him also serve the sick of the congregation, who have no one belonging to them.

Let him inform the bishop,
that he may pray over them giving them what they need: and persons in seclusion also who have need.[f]
Let them also serve others for whom the bishop has pity, so that perhaps he may be giving to the widows, the orphans, and the poor.
And let him perform all the duties in this way.
Such an one is in truth that deacon, of whom Christ has said:
'If any minister to me, my Father will honour him.' (Jo. xii 26.)

But let the bishop
lay his hand upon him,

Arabic and *Coptic Versions* (*continued*).

The bishop [alone][a] shall lay his hand[b] upon him. Why have we said that the bishop alone is he who shall lay his hand upon him? The reason of this is that he is not appointed for the priesthood, but he[c] is one of the assistants of this work,[c] that he should perform his commands with which he is commanded by him.
And he is not ordained to be a teacher[d] of all the clergy

but to[e] be one who will give attention to what is proper (to be done)[e] and will give the bishop information about it.

And he is not appointed to acquire the spirit of greatness
in which the presbyters share,
but[g] to give attention, and to be worthy

of the bishop's trust,
and to be diligent about
what is proper,[g]
because the bishop[h] alone is he who lays his hand upon him.

[a] SB omit. [b] SB 'hands'. [c–c] SB 'for a (the) service of the bishop'.
[d] S 'fellow-councillor': B 'of the counsel'.
[e–e] SB 'to take care of the sick'.
[f] Riedel has, 'who ask for advice and are in trouble'.
[g–g] SB 'to be worthy for the bishop to entrust to him the things which it is right'.
[h–h] B omits.

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Ethiopic Version (continued).

Whereas for the presbyters indeed the bishop and all the presbyters take part with him, and they shall lay their hands upon him; for it is one Spirit which descends upon him.
And the presbyter alone shall not do it;

nor have the ordained clergy power to ordain.
And because of this the Reader also and the subdeacon shall not be ordained by the presbyter alone: but the bishop alone shall ordain and lay his hand upon him.

The prayer of the ordination of Deacons.

God who hast created all
and by Thy word hast set (it) in order,
the Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, whom Thou sentest that he might minister according to Thy will and reveal to us Thy secret counsel:
grant spirit and grace
and diligence
unto this Thy servant,
whom Thou hast chosen to be a deacon in our Church
and to offer in Thy Holy of Holies
that which is offered to Thee by Thine ordained Chief Priests
to the glory of Thy name.

Latin Version (continued).

Super presbyterum autem etiam presbyteri superimponant manus, propter communem et similem cleri Spiritum.

Presbyter enim huius solius habet potestatem ut accipiat;
dare autem non habet potestatem.
Quapropter clerum non ordinat.

Super presbyteri uero ordinatione consignat, episcopo ordinante.
Super diaconum autem ita dicat.

Deus qui omnia creasti,
et uerbo perordinasti,
pater domini nostri Iesu Christi,
quem misisti ministrare tuam uoluntatem,
et manifestare nobis tuum desiderium,
da spiritum sanctum gratiae et sollicitudinis et industriae
in hunc seruum tuum,
quem elegisti ministrare ecclesiae tuae,
et offerre
* * * *

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CH (*continued*).	*Arabic* and *Coptic Versions* (continued).
	As for the presbyters, the bishop and all the [h] presbyters share with him in placing their hands upon him. It is the one Spirit which comes down upon him. [a]And the presbyter is only he who acquires the position of the clergy: he has not authority; so because of that he does not appoint clergy.[a]
	The presbyter is only ordained, and the clergy ordain him.
and say this prayer over him, saying:	[S He only seals the presbyter, while the bishop is to ordain him. B The presbyter is sealed only; the bishop shall ordain him.]
	CPH; Funk, ii 80.
O God,	Ὁ Θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ . . .
Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,	
we earnestly-beseech Thee to pour out Thy Holy Spirit	εἰσάκουσον προσευχῆς ἡμῶν, κύριε, καὶ ἐνώτισαι τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου
upon thy servant N.	ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τόνδε, τὸν προχειριζόμενόν σοι εἰς διακονίαν,
and number him with those who serve Thee according to all Thy good pleasure, like Stephen and his companions. Fill him with might and wisdom like Stephen and grant him that he may vanquish all the powers of the devil by the sign of Thy cross, wherewith Thou dost sign him. Make his life that it be without sin before all men, and an example for	καὶ πλῆσον αὐτὸν πνεύματος καὶ δυνάμεως, ὡς ἔπλησας Στέφανον, τὸν πρωτομάρτυρα καὶ μιμητὴν τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου·

[a–a] SB 'For the presbyter receives only: he has no authority to give orders (B it to the clergy): for this cause he is not to ordain the clergy'.

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Ethiopic Version (continued).

Thus without blame in pure life
having served the degrees of ordination
he may attain the exalted priesthood
and Thy honour, and glorify Thee :

through Thy Son Jesus Christ our

Lord, through whom to Thee with Him
(be) glory and might and power and
praise with the Holy Spirit
now, &c.

We now come to the deacon's Ordination prayer. Three different formulas appear: the first in CO^1 Ethiopic and (partly) Latin; the second in CH; the third at two different stages of developement in CPH and AC. The first is also found in a greatly inflated shape in *Test.*, which thus once again preserves early features. It is not easy to say whether this diversity implies that the original treatise had no prayer; or whether it implies that some original prayer, which it had, has been superseded. If there was one in the tract, and it is any of these, the first has most claim to be considered such, both on the ground of the external evidence and also on the ground of its own contents. It agrees best of the three in style and character with the Ordination prayer of the Bishop.

There is little that is common to all three except the petition for the Holy Spirit.

IX

We now reach the point at which the different sources diverge in respect of the order of the topics treated. CO^1, CH, and *Test.* have next a very important section about Confessors, which in CO^2 has lost importance, and is relegated to a later position. CO^2 inserts after the Deacon a section on the Deaconess, which does not appear in the earlier sources; it also places the Subdeacon before the Reader, inverting the order observed in CO^1 and CH (in this point *Test.* agrees); and further, it transforms a subsection on gifts of healing, which closed the series in CO^1 and CH, into a section on the Exorcist.

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CH (*continued*).	*Arabic* and *Coptic Versions* (continued).
many, whereby he may save a number in the Holy Church without fault.	
	καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτὸν
	εὐαρέστως λειτουργήσαντα τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν αὐτῷ διακονίαν,
	ἀτρέπτως, ἀμέμπτως, ἀνεγκλήτως,
And receive all his service	μείζονος ἀξιωθῆναι βαθμοῦ,
through our Lord Jesus Christ,	διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ σου·
through whom be the glory to Thee with Him and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen.	μεθ' οὗ σοι δόξα τιμὴ καὶ σέβας σὺν ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Alterations in the position of the Widow and the Virgin complete the list of changes in order.[a]

These changes seem to shew that, while all but one of the above sections belonged to the original tract, it was found advisable, as time went on and changes in the hierarchy took place, to modify the original sequence, and to intercalate also at last in CO^2 a new section about the Deaconess.

By far the most important of these sections, in its original form, is the one on the status and relation to the clergy of confessors. It is also one that has undergone continual modification. Henceforward, for CO^1 the Latin version is wanting; and we have to depend upon much less satisfactory Egyptian versions.

[a] This may be put in tabular form thus :—

CO^1 (*Eth.* and *Ar.*)	CO^1 (*Said.* and *Boh.*)	CH	CO^2	Test.
Confessor	Confessor	Confessor	Deaconess	Confessor
Widow				Widow
Reader	Reader	Reader	Subdeacon	Subdeacon
Virgin				
Subdeacon	Subdeacon	Subdeacon	Reader	Reader
			Confessor	
	Widow			
	Virgin	Virgin	Virgin	Virgin
			Widow	
Healing	Healing	Healing	Exorcist	Healing
		Widow		

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Ethiopic Version.

25. CONCERNING THOSE WHO CONFESSED AND WERE CONDEMNED FOR THE NAME OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST.

If the confessor has been in the place of punishment, in chains for the Name of Christ, they shall not lay hand on him for a ministering,
for that is the honour of a deacon:
but (as for) the honour of the presbyterate
though he hath the honour of the presbyterate by that which he confessed,
the bishop shall ordain him
having laid his hand upon him.

And if the confessor was one who came not before the judges
and if he was not punished with chains,
nor was shut up in prison,
nor suffered any affliction

but withal was only derided

for the Name of the Lord,
and was not condemned to the least punishment,
yet he professed all the work of the priesthood, which is meet for him,

they shall lay hand upon him
and make him a deacon.
And the bishop shall give thanks
as we have already said.

And it is necessary that he should mention the things which we have already said, that he should recite clearly and carefully,

Saidic Version (and *Bohairic* in notes).

34. CONCERNING THE CONFESSORS.

The confessor then, if he has been in chains for the name of the Lord, they shall not lay hand [B hands] upon him for a ministry [B service] or presbyterate:

for he has the honour of the presbyterate by his confession.
But if he is to be ordained bishop,
then hand shall be laid upon him.
[B they shall lay hands on him].
But if he is a Confessor [a] who was not [a]
brought before an authority,
nor was punished with chains,
nor shut up in prison,
nor condemned with any sentence
[B in any injustice],
but in a casual way he was only insulted
[B but according to the word, because he has been reviled alone]
for the Name of our Lord
and he was punished with a punishment of house,
though he confessed, hand is to be laid upon him for every office of which he is worthy. [B and hath confessed, he is worthy of every sacerdotal office from them; they shall lay hands on him.]
Now the bishop shall give thanks according to things which we said before.

It is not altogether [B Truly it is] necessary for him to recite the same words which we said before,
as if learning to say them by heart
[B that he may meditate upon them diligently]

[a–a] B 'He shall not have been': *and so on.*

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CH.

6. CONCERNING THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN PUNISHED FOR THE FAITH.

When any one is found worthy
to stand in the law-court for the faith
and endure punishment for Christ's sake,
and afterwards to be saved by a pardon,

he likewise is found worthy of the rank
of the presbyterate : through God not
for ordination by the bishop ; and indeed
his confession is his ordination.
But when he becomes a bishop, let him
be ordained.

And when any one has confessed,

and was not hurt by punishment

he is worthy of the presbyterate ;

but let him be ordained through the
bishop.

If such a one, being some one's slave,
underwent punishment for Christ's
sake, he likewise is a presbyter for
the flock. And if one have not
received the form of the presbyterate,
yet he has obtained the spirit of the
presbyterate. Let the bishop not pray
the recitation 'through the Holy Spirit'.

Arabic Version.

24. CONCERNING THE CONFESSORS WHO WERE PUNISHED FOR THE NAME OF CHRIST, THAT THEY HAVE THE RANK OF THE DEACON AND THE PRESBYTER.

If the confessor has been in bonds
for the Name of the Lord,
hand shall not be laid for the
ministry which belongs to the deacon
or the presbyter,

for he has the honour of the
presbyterate by his confession.
If he is appointed bishop, the hand
shall be laid upon him.

If as confessor he was not brought
before the authorities
and was not punished with bonds
or prison
and was not put to suffering

but he only came to be ridiculed

and was punished with punishment
in the house,
and yet he confessed,
he is worthy of all the rank of the priest-
hood ;
the hand shall be laid upon him
and he shall be made (priest).
And the bishop shall give thanks
as we have said before.

And it is obligatory that he should men-
tion what we have
said before
reading clearly and carefully,

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Ethiopic Version (continued).	*Saidic Version* (continued).
and give thanks to God	in his thanksgiving to God;
according as it is proper	but according to the ability of each one
for each to pray.	he is to pray [B every one is to pray].
And if there was one who could	If indeed he is able to pray sufficiently
pray with devotion or use a grand	well with a grand prayer,
and elevated prayer,	
and he himself being good;	then it is good.
and if he prayed	But if also he should pray and recite
and speaks praise with moderation,	a prayer in (due) measure,
no one shall be prevented from praying	no one may forbid him:
who is truly	only let him pray being sound in
right.	orthodoxy.

The position of the confessor is seen to be declining. In CO[1] Coptic and Arabic and in CH he has so exalted a position that he ranks as a presbyter, and ordination is only required in case he becomes a bishop; this is also the position which survives in *Test.*

In CO[1] Ethiopic it seems that, though he has an honorary status as presbyter in view of his confession, yet if he wishes to be a presbyter he must be ordained so by the bishop.

When we come to CO[2], the confessor, as such, needs no ordination; he has a status of honour, as a confessor, *ipso facto*.[a] But if he is to become not only bishop or presbyter, but even deacon, he needs ordination; and if he proceeds without it to exercise ministerial functions on the strength of his confession, he is to be deposed.

CO[1] proceeds next to deal with the case of a minor sort of confession which did not involve punishment but only derision; and decides that in this case too the confession deserves the status of the presbyterate. But if the confessor aspires to the office as distinct from the status, he must be ordained. This clause is reduced to much smaller proportions in CH; but a fresh clause follows there, providing that a slave who has suffered punishment in his confession is to count as a presbyter. A distinction is here drawn between the form, which he has not, and the spirit, which he has. Consequently if he is ordained to the office, the petition for the Holy Spirit is to be omitted. Neither of these two points seems to be original; and the latter is an innovation in the theory as well as in the statement of the case.

The net result of the whole seems to be that, in the days of persecution, the confessor obtained so high a position, that he sat in the presbytery; and only needed ordination, if he was elected as bishop. But that, as those circumstances disappeared, the privilege was gradually pared down; the distinctions between status and office, and between qualification and ordination, were clearly established; and only the

[a] AC VIII xxiii 2–4.

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CH (*continued*).

IX. Let (the Presbyter) not dwell in places not his ; and concerning the honouring of Widows.

A presbyter, when he departs and dwells in places not his, let the clergy of that place receive him, and make enquiries of the bishop of his see, in case he may have fled because of some reason.

If his town is a distant one, enquiry shall first be made whether he is a student, or whether he be not a model for the priests.

And after that he shall take his place with the rest ; and double honour shall be given him ; and he shall not be ordained afterwards.

Arabic Version (continued).

and giving thanks to God.
And that according to his power
each one shall pray.
If any one is able to pray fluently,
and it is a grand and
elevated prayer,
and he is a good man,
and if he offers prayer and says the words of praise as he can,
no one shall prevent him from offering prayer if he is correct and right.

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former finally remained as the privileges of the confessor. By the time of CO^2 persecution had ceased ; the whole matter had lost its interest, and the section was relegated to a subordinate position in a much contracted form.[a] But evidently there still survived some who were anxious to claim the extinct privilege, and to claim, not merely status or qualification, but actual ministerial authority, on the ground of their confession. It had to be made clear to them that such a claim was no longer admissible.

An important passage upon a different subject follows in CO^1. It is not found in CH or CO^2 ; but there is a lingering trace of it in *Test.* Permission is given to the ordaining bishop to use other prayers than those set down, according to his own ability. This passage, which preserves the old freedom of the officiant, as described in Justin Martyr and elsewhere, is early in its character and probably original. The

[a] The Arabic and Ethiopic versions of CO^2 mistake the meaning and mistranslate.

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reason why it is not found in CH and CO² probably is, that the old liberty had disappeared, or become less important, by the time when those forms were compiled. In the days when the original treatise was written such freedom was still being exercised. Moreover, in view of the Montanist claims, it was wise to take the opportunity of asserting the church's liturgical freedom, but linking with it a stipulation for orthodoxy.

X

The position of Widows and Virgins has also gone down in the course of time, and the sections concerning them are in CH and CO²

Ethiopic Version.

26. CONCERNING THE ORDINATION OF WIDOWS.

If a widow is ordained,
she shall not be sealed,
but be made by the name.
And if it was one whose husband
died a long time,
she shall be ordained.
And if it was one whose husband
had lately died,
she shall not be trusted.
And even if she is aged, she shall
be tried many days,
because lust will contend with
those who are ordained to a place.
And the widow shall be ordained
by word only,
and she shall (then) be joined to
the rest of the widows.
And they shall not lay hand upon her,
because she does not offer the sacrifice
nor has she a (sacred) ministry.
For the sealing is for the priests
because of their ministry,
but the duty of widows is about
prayer,
which is the duty of all.

Saidic Version.

37. CONCERNING THE WIDOWS.

Further when a widow is appointed,
she shall not be ordained
but she shall be chosen by the name.
And if her husband has died
a long time before,
then let her be appointed.
But if she has not tarried long
since her husband died,
trust her not.
But (even) if she has become old,
let them prove her by time:
for often the passions even grow old with
him who gives place for them in himself.
Let them appoint the widow
by (mention of) the word only,
and enrol her
with the rest:
but hand shall not be laid upon her,
because she does not offer the oblation
nor conduct the public worship.
And ordination belongs to the clergy
for the sake of public worship.
But the widow indeed is appointed
for the prayer,
and that is the duty of all persons.

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put after the sections on the Reader and Subdeacon. The directions about Widows are considerable in CO^1, but much curtailed in CH and CO^2; there is, however, no change of principle. The widow is not ordained, and has no imposition of hands. CH says that ordination is only for men. CO^1 does not dwell on the difference of sex, but on that of function. She has no ordination because she does not offer the sacrifice, nor conduct public worship. For the method of appointment of widows CO^1 seems to contemplate only a solemn naming. CH on the other hand speaks of a prayer to be said over them, but gives no form of prayer.

Test., in contradistinction to all this, makes much of the widow, and even provides a prayer for the bishop to say over her.

CH (*continued*).	*Arabic Version.*
	25. CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT OF THE WIDOWS.
For widows who are appointed, the orders of the Apostle hold good. They shall not, however, be ordained, but prayer shall be said over them : for ordination is only for men.	When a widow is appointed, she shall not be signed but shall be made by the name. If her husband has been dead a long time, let her be appointed. If her husband has lately died,
	she shall not be trusted. But if she had become aged let her be tested for a time : for solicitations grow old in him who makes place for them in him. Let the widow be appointed with the word alone, and let her be joined to the rest of the widows. And hand shall not be placed upon her, because she does not offer the oblations nor have any ministry. Signing is for the clergy because of their ministry ;
Widows, however, shall be highly honoured for continuance in prayer and the ministering to the sick and in much fasting.	and for the widow (her appointment is) because of prayer, this (being the duty of) every one.

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XI

The closing section in CO[1] comprises four brief subsections, which are the same in all versions except for a change of order in the Coptic versions. The Reader is appointed by the bishop, without laying on of hands, but by a delivery to him of the Bible. The Subdeacon has neither laying on of hands, nor any delivery of instruments, but only a solemn naming, as in the case of the Widow: he is the attendant upon the Deacon. In the case of the Virgin there is no official action of any kind; only a recognition of her own interior purpose.

In CH more is made of the Reader, in that it is stipulated, that he should have the same qualifications as the Deacon. He is appointed by a delivery of the Gospel-book; and here it is ordered that the

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Ethiopic Version.

27. Concerning the Reader and the Virgins and the Subdeacons, and concerning the grace of healing.

To the Reader who is ordained
the bishop shall deliver the scripture

and shall not lay hand upon him.

As for the Virgin also, he shall not lay hand on a virgin; but it is with her heart alone that she became a virgin.

As for the subdeacons, he shall not lay hand upon a subdeacon, but he shall make (mention) over them of their name that they may minister to the deacons.

Saidic Version.

35. Concerning the Reader.

The reader shall be appointed by the bishop giving to him the book of the Apostle, and praying over him; but he shall not lay hand upon him.

38. Concerning the Virgins.

Hand shall not be laid upon a virgin, but her purpose alone is that which makes her a virgin.

36. Concerning the Subdeacon.

They shall not lay hand upon a subdeacon, but they shall mention his name that he may follow the deacon.

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Subdeacon is to be appointed in the same way; thus the distinction, which existed in CO[1], has vanished. CH differs also in dealing with celibate men in place of virgins, and in adding a further sentence about Reader and Subdeacon.

Greater changes have come about in CO[2]. Not only do we find there that the Deaconess is ordained by imposition of hands and with a prayer provided in CPH and AC; but also that the Subdeacon takes precedence of the Reader, and has also imposition of hands and an ordination prayer, with a petition for the gift of the Holy Spirit in order that he may rightly handle the liturgical vessels. The Reader in CPH remains where he was, being appointed by the delivery of the Book; but in AC he also is advanced to the dignity of having imposition of hands and a special prayer, with a petition for the gift of the Holy

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CH.	*Arabic Version.*
7. On him who is chosen Reader and Subdeacon.	26. Concerning the Virgins and the Subdeacons, and concerning the grace of healing.
When any man is chosen to be a Reader, he shall have the prerogatives of the deacon: but no one shall lay hand upon him first; only the bishop shall give him the Gospel. For the Subdeacon, all is done in the same way.	The Reader is he who is appointed by the bishop, giving to him the Book: and hand shall not be laid upon him.
	Hand shall not be placed upon a virgin, but her inmost thought alone causes her to be a virgin.
	Hand shall not be placed upon a subdeacon, but a name shall be put upon them that they may follow the deacons.
And he shall not be ordained, if he be a celibate, or if he have no wife, unless testimony is given about him, and he be approved through his neighbours, namely that since being among them[a] he has kept apart from women. And no one shall lay hand on a man as a celibate, except he has reached full age and can be trusted and have testimony given about him. The Subdeacon and the Reader, when these two pray, or one of them, they shall stand behind by themselves, and the Subdeacon shall minister before the people.	

[a] But Riedel has 'being grown up'

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Spirit, in order that he may like Ezra worthily read the scriptures to the people and be found worthy of promotion to a higher ministry.[a]

In *Test.* a new feature is introduced, viz. a charge is given to the Subdeacon and the Reader by the Bishop, as his method of appointment.

Finally we reach what seem to be the last clauses of the original tract; and characteristically they are concerned with the relation of special *charismata* to the ministry. The order, which is given, is differently understood in the extant versions belonging to CO[1] and CH. One seems to imply that such gifts, when attested, are not equivalent to an ordination, though they may be taken as qualifications for ordination. The other seems merely to say that no laying on of hands is required as authorization for the exercise of such gifts, because the fact will shew whether the healing gifts are genuine or not. The former of these (CO[1] Ethiopic and CH) seems more likely to be the original than the latter (CO[1] Arabic and Coptic and *Test.*). It is certainly more in place as a part (and probably the conclusion) of a pair of tracts on *Charismata* and Ordination. There is no evidence that any desire was expressed by those who had *charismata* to have their position recognized by an imposition of hands. Whereas there is evidence that such persons claimed a place in the hierarchy on the ground of such gifts; and the purpose of the author is to deny the pretensions of those who boasted of their *charismata.*

Ethiopic Version (continued).

As for the grace of healing
if some one says
'I have acquired the grace of healing and prophecy'
they shall not lay hand upon him
until his deed make evident that
he is trustworthy.

Saidic Version.

39. CONCERNING THE GRACE OF HEALING.

Further when any one says
'I received gifts of healing by a revelation'
hand shall not be laid upon him:
for the deed itself shall make him
manifest, if he speaks the truth.

[a] Funk makes this passage his third proof of the priority of AC to CPH: he calls attention to the differences between it and the rest, and treats them as innovations. But this passage in CPH corresponds very closely with CO[1]; and its peculiarities are due to its being less altered than the rest. Besides, the condition of the Reader which it describes, appointed by a tradition of the Book without imposition of hands, is certainly anterior to that described in AC—ordination with imposition of hands and an ordination prayer.

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In CO[2] this becomes a chapter about an exorcist; but it preserves some of the old language: *ὁ γὰρ λαβὼν χάρισμα ἰαμάτων δι' ἀποκαλύψεως ὑπὸ θεοῦ ἀναδείκνυται, φανερᾶς οὔσης πᾶσιν τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ χάριτος* (AC VIII xxvi). As exorcist he receives no imposition of hands; but he needs it to become bishop, priest, or deacon. By this time we have passed out of the period when any living claim to such gifts is being generally made.

XII

At this point it seems that the Treatise *Περὶ χειροτονιῶν* ended. If it ever had an epilogue like the *Περὶ χαρισμάτων*, it has been robbed of it. In all the sources where the little tract is found, it runs on straight into other things.

It has seemed likely that these tracts arose in the era of Montanism: and in the light of what has gone before, we have now to examine afresh[a] the evidence which introduces in this connexion the name of Hippolytus, to see if there is any good reason for ascribing the authorship to him.

1. His name stands at the head of the *Περὶ χειροτονιῶν* in CPH: *Διατάξεις τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χειροτονιῶν διὰ Ἱππολύτου*, and the word *αὐτῶν* refers back to the heading of the previous document, viz. the *Περὶ χαρισμάτων*, which reads thus: *Διδασκαλία τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χαρισμάτων.*

CH.	*Arabic Version* (continued).
8. CONCERNING THE GIFT OF HEALING.	CONCERNING THE GRACE OF HEALING.
When any one asks for ordination, saying, 'I have received the gift of healing',	If any one says 'I have acquired a grace of healing by revelation',
he shall not be ordained until after the matter is clear,	hand shall not be placed upon him:
and whether the Healing which shall be through him, is from God.	because the deed shall make evident whether he is speaking the truth.
A presbyter whose wife has borne a child is not to be cut off.	
(For § 9 see above.)	

[a] Achelis has been the main advocate of the Hippolytean authorship. Funk contests it, but Harnack supports Achelis *Gesch. der altchristl. Liter.* (Leipzig 1893) 647. But none of them distinguish the original tracts from the modified forms in which they are extant. See also Leclercq *Mon. Eccl. Liturg.* 1 ii pp. xlv and ff.

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2. In CH the heading is in some such form as this:—

These are the Canons of the Church [and] the commands which Hippolytus wrote, the chief of the bishops of Rome, &c.[a]

The evidence of such headings would not in itself be worth much. Hippolytus had a curious reputation in the East, and many things, which were not his own, were ascribed to him.[b] But it is known, from the list of his real works which is inscribed on his statue, that he wrote a work called Περὶ χαρισμάτων, ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις. Now this title not only agrees with the first treatise in general, but it also describes the unusual form in which it is cast. The ἀποστολικὴ παράδοσις is here put by the writer in the mouth of the Apostles.[c]

This literary fiction became a common one; we see it made more explicit in the *Didascalia*, *The Apostolic Church Order*, in AC VIII, and in the subsequent parts of CPH which run parallel to AC. A fiction of this sort is perhaps a device which we should not have expected of Hippolytus; but the indisputable title of his Περὶ χαρισμάτων suggests it.

It seems quite possible then that the writer may be Hippolytus; that this Περὶ χαρισμάτων is his Περὶ χαρισμάτων; and that he was even the inaugurator of the literary fiction which afterwards went to so much greater lengths in the developement of this group of documents.

It is true there is no mention of a Περὶ χειροτονιῶν among his works; but the two treatises are but parts of one work; even together they make but a small tractate; and there is no reason why the single title may not briefly have described both.

Further, Hippolytus is known to have combated Montanism, and his Περὶ χαρισμάτων was probably anti-Montanist.[d]

What other evidence is there which can help to determine the date of the Treatise and thus shew whether that is consistent with a Hippolytean authorship?

1. The relation of the bishop to the presbyters is of a primitive kind. If it survived as a living feature of church life into the third century at all, no place was more congenial to such a survival than Rome, and Rome on its most conservative side, as represented by Hippolytus.

2. Not only in the original treatise, but also in the modified form which it takes in CO[1], CH, there is no sign of the stipulation for three bishops to be present at a consecration. Such a stipulation was

[a] See Riedel, 200; and also *P. G.* x 959.

[b] See *Works* I, edd. Bonwetsch and Achelis (Leipzig 1897).

[c] See Achelis l. c. 269 sqq. He takes the words as forming two titles, the second one belonging to the Περὶ χειροτονιῶν. This is possible but seems less probable. For the inscription see *Revue Bénéd.* (1900) xvii pp. 246–248.

[d] Bonwetsch *Geschichte des Montanismus* 36 sqq. (Erlangen 1881).

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emphasized by the Nicene Canon and it has been imported into the directions given in CO^2. Both the earlier sources therefore probably belong to the third century; and the original tract accordingly to the early part of it.

The original does not contemplate any difficulty in securing the co-operation of neighbouring bishops. This again suggests the third century, a time before the movement began for restricting bishoprics to the larger places, for discouraging χωρεπίσκοποι, and depressing them into an inferior position.

3. The position of the minor ranks of the hierarchy preserves early features. The list comprises Confessor, Widow, Reader, Virgin, Subdeacon, and at first in that order. Only in CO^3 is the list enlarged by the addition of Deaconess and Exorcist, probably under local Syrian influence.

(*a*) The Reader is superior to the Subdeacon. This Harnack has shewn to be characteristic of the days before the middle of the third century.[a] At Rome the evidence is clear that in 251 the list was—bishop, priests, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, readers, doorkeepers [b]; and at Carthage the Reader occupied the same position at that time. Tertullian, however, seems to mention only widows and readers (apart from the first three orders) [c] among the ordained persons. The Reader's office historically preceded the rise of the Subdiaconate, and for a time he had precedence. This is also the position in the *Didascalia*.[d]

It is true that Hippolytus elsewhere mentions only bishops, priests, and deacons among the clergy; but this is not evidence that he did not know the Reader, but only that he did not regard him in that *category*—and very naturally as he had no laying on of hands.[e]

(*b*) The relation of Confessor, Widow, and Virgin to Reader and Subdeacon is remarkable, and their place in the original order of precedence. CO^2 alters this very significantly, setting all that group after the Subdeacon and Reader. This was natural when office, and even minor office, had come to count for more in the matter of precedence, than special religious experience such as had given a special status in earlier days to Confessor, Widow, and Celibate.

(*c*) The special status of the Confessor is the most remarkable of the three. It shews probably a date before the Decian persecution. At that point Cyprian was being forced to curtail the privileges which

[a] *Sources of the Apostolic Canons* chap. vii (London 1895).

[b] Euseb. *H. E.* vi 43.

[c] I cannot agree with Harnack in taking Tertullian's *lector* to be *laicus*.

[d] Ed. Gibson, pp. 49, 51 (Cambridge 1903), cp. Hauler, pp. 39, 40.

[e] Harnack l. c. p. 63 note. And compare the list in Hipp. *in Danielem* i 17 (edd. Bonwetsch and Achelis i pp. 28, 29), where a list comprises Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Martyrs, Virgins, with the choir of Teachers and the Order of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

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had long been popularly accorded to confessors. When he ordained the Confessor Aurelius he held that his confession was an adequate qualification for the presbyterate; but he regarded him as needing ordination. On the ground of his youth he was to begin as a Reader, so far as his office went; and he was ordained by Cyprian accordingly. The same plan was followed in the case of Celerinus. But both of them, though Readers only in office, had the honour and emoluments of the presbyter assigned to them; and when older they were to take their seat in the presbyteral council.[a]

This is the procedure of some later forms of our document, not of the original. The greater degree of privilege, granted to the confessor there, is probably the legacy of the troubles under Septimius Severus, or even of some earlier persecution.

There is nothing here which points to a later date than that of Hippolytus, and much that points to his era.

Some minor points may also be noticed that tell in the same direction :—

(*a*) The Christological alterations in the credal passage of the Περὶ χαρισμάτων which we noticed in comparing CPH with AC, and a similar one in the Bishop's ordination prayer, may be brought in here (unless the passage is to be regarded as an interpolation), because Hippolytus had a reputation for leaning to ditheism and subordinationism, and the passages, which are found in AC but have been altered in CPH, have that flavour.

(*b*) It is interesting to compare the epilogue and prologue of our tracts with the prologue to the *Philosophoumena*, and set Hippolytus's phrase—

Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀναγκάζει ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος εἰς μέγαν βυθὸν διηγήσεως ἐπιβῆναι,

side by side with our—

Νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ κορυφαιότατον τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διατυπώσεως ὁ λόγος ἡμᾶς ἐπείγει.

Also the description which the writer gives of himself there corresponds with the point of view of the Twin Treatises and their language :—

. . . τὸ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ παραδοθὲν ἅγιον πνεῦμα, οὗ τυχόντες πρότεροι οἱ ἀπόστολοι μετέδοσαν τοῖς ὀρθῶς πεπιστευκόσιν· ὧν ἡμεῖς διάδοχοι τυγχάνοντες, τῆς δὲ αὐτῆς χάριτος μετέχοντες, ἀρχιερατείας τε καὶ διδασκαλίας καὶ φρουροὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λελογισμένοι κτλ.

Later, in dealing with Montanism, Hippolytus's complaint is (*Philos.* viii 19)—

Ὑπέρ τε ἀποστόλους καὶ πᾶν χάρισμα ταῦτα τὰ γύναια δοξάζουσι,

a phrase which sums up the position of the Two Treatises.

[a] See Cyprian's letters testimonial for them, *Epp.* 38, 39.

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(*c*) The digression about false bishops, already noticed, in the Περὶ χαρισμάτων is not unexpected if the writer was Hippolytus, the leader of the rival party in Rome, who held that the recognized bishops had forfeited their position through faults of personal character and by unjustifiable acts of administration.

Finally, it will be well to set out a conspectus of the material in tabular form shewing the documents and the grouping that has been adopted throughout. It is hoped that this fourfold grouping will be seen to have been justified, as our survey proceeded,—at any rate as regards those parts of the different compilations which, in one or another form, reproduce the two tracts. It is not necessarily contended that the compilations themselves fall into the same sequence; for it is clear about compilations that the chronology of the parts is not necessarily the same as the chronology of the wholes. The arguments of Achelis, Funk, Leclercq, and others as to the relationship between these compilations need not therefore necessarily come into question here. But it may be noted that the sequence adopted here for the parts embodying these two tracts is not very different from that adopted for the whole compilations by Achelis and others, as against Funk. It must, however, be clearly stated that this grouping does not imply immediate filiation, but only a rough chronological order. It is quite possible that (except in the case of mere versions) no one of the existing documents is derived directly from any other. A number of other documents representing different stages and filiations must have disappeared.[a] But the contention is that all these sources have utilized two early tracts; and that this grouping roughly shews the degree of nearness of the extant documents to the tracts in their original form.

If our analysis of this group of documents is correct, we have been able to disinter two little treatises on Gifts and Ministry, belonging to the early part of the third century and probably written by Hippolytus: and further to trace some of the modifications which they underwent at the hands of successive compilers and translators in the two centuries that followed.

W. H. Frere.

[a] The Syrian Octateuch also contains a form of the same two tracts in Books iv and v; but these have not been published. From the description given by Rahmani (*Testamentum* p. xi) this form seems to belong to the Second Church Order group. It omits the account of the Liturgy.

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A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE SOURCES.

	First Church Order					Canons of Hippolytus	Second Church Order						Testament of our Lord
	Eth.	Ar.	Said.	Boh.	Lat.		Const. P. H.	Eth.	Ar.	Said.	Boh.	A. C.	
						1							
A. Concerning	Spiritual Gifts												
§§ 1 and 2	—	—	—	—	—		1, 2	49–52 *a*	48–51 *a*	63 *a*	63	1, 2	—
Epilogue	—	—	—	—	—		—	52 *c*	51 *b*	63 *b*	64	3	—
B. Concerning	Ordinations												
Prologue	40	—	—	—	LXVII	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1. Bishops and Eucharist	22 *a*	21 *a*	31 *a*	31 *a*	LXVIII	2, 3 *a*	3, 4	53 *a*	52 *a*	64 *a*	65 *a*	4, 5 *a*	i. 21
	22 *b*	21 *b*	31 *b*	31 *b*	LXIX–LXXI	3 *b*	—	53 *b*	52 *b*	64 *b* 65	65 *b* 66	5 *b*–15	23
2. Presbyters	23	22	32	32	LXXI	4	5, 6	54 *a*	53 *a*	66 *a*	67 *a*	16	30
3. Deacons	24	23	33	33	LXXII	5	7, 8	54 *b*	53 *b*	66 *b*	67 *b*	17, 18	34, 38
					* * *	Deaconess	9, 10	54 *c*	53 *c*	66 *c*	67 *c*	19, 20	—
4. Confessors	25	24	34	34		6	14	55	54	67	68	23	39
						9 *a*							
5. Widows	26	25	37	37		9 *b*	16	56 *b*	55 *b*	69	70	25	40, 41
6. Readers	27	26	35	35		7	13	54 *c*	53 *c*	66 *c*	67 *c*	22	45
Virgins			38	38		7	15	56 *a*	55 *a*	68	69	24	46
Subdeacon			36	36		7	11, 12	54 *c*	53 *c*	66 *c*	67 *c*	21	44
Healer			39	39		8	Exorcist 17	56 *c*	55 *c*	70	71	26	47

After this point the parallelism of the different documents ceases to be so marked, and divergence sets in

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								Number of bishops 18	57	56	71 *a*	72	27		
								Duties of hierarchy 19	58	57	71 *b*	73	28		
								Firstfruits, &c. 20	59	58	71 *c*		29	Water	
								Eulogiae 21	60	59	72	74	30	and oil	
7. Converts	28	27	40, 41	40, 41			10–15	20	61	60	73	75 *a*	31		
	29	28							62	61	74	78	32 *a*		ii. 1
	30	29							63	62	75 *a*	79 *a*			
									64	63					
								Fast and prayer 21, 22	65–9	64–8	75 *bc*	75 *bc*	32 *b*–34		
													35–42		
								Miscellaneous 23–26	70–72	69–71	76–78	76, 77	42–46		
8. Catechumens	31–33	30–32	42–44	42–44											
9. Baptism	34, 35	33, 34	45, 46	45, 46	LXXIII–IV										
10. Fasting	36	35	47	47											
11. Eating	37–39	36–38	48–52	48–52	LXXV–VI										
[Baptism	40 *a*														
12. Miscellanea	40–45	39–44	53–60 *a*	53–60 *a*	LXXVI–VIII										
13. D°	46, 47	45, 46	60 *b*, 61	60 *b*, 61											
14. Hours of Prayer, &c.	48	47	62	62	LXXIX, LXXX										

For Ethiopic, Arabic, Saidic, see Horner *The Statutes of the Apostles* (London 1904).

For Bohairic, see Tattam *Apostolical Constitutions* (London 1848).

For Latin fragments, see Hauler *Didascaliae Apostolorum Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1900).

For Canons of Hippolytus, see Achelis *Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechtes*, in *Texte und Untersuchungen* vi (Leipzig 1891); or Riedel *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien* (Leipzig 1900).

For Constitutiones per Hippolytum, see Lagarde *Reliquiae juris Eccl. antiq.* (Leipzig 1856) or Funk (as below) under the title 'Epitome' ii 72–96.

For Apostolic Constitutions, see Funk *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (2 vols. Paderborn 1906) or Cabrol and Leclercq *Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica* vol. 1 Sect. 2 (Paris 1913). Each of these contains also others of the above documents.

For The Testament, see Rahmani *Testamentum D. N. Jesu Christi* (Mainz 1899); Cooper and Maclean *The Testament of our Lord* (Edinburgh 1902).

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THE SYNOPTIC PARABLES.

THE publication in 1886 of Prof. Jülicher's *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu* marks an epoch in the study of the parables of the New Testament. Prof. Jülicher was the first to apply to the subject as a whole the thorough methods of modern critical enquiry. He was in a certain sense a pioneer, and it is only natural that the permanent value of his work is to be found rather in its suggestions than in its conclusions.

Prof. Jülicher begins by drawing a hard and fast distinction between a parable and an allegory. An allegory is an extended metaphor: it is a similitude which corresponds seriatim with the thing represented; and it needs exposition. A parable on the other hand is an enlarged simile. The illustration has only one point of contact with the thing signified: but that one point is obvious, and no explanation is required.

The stories in the Synoptic gospels, Prof. Jülicher maintains, are strictly parables. It is in the fourth gospel alone that we find allegories, and these are later. The illustrations used by Jesus Himself are parables; they have but one point, and that an obvious one. If in some cases they are obscure, or appear to have more points than one, it is because they have been tampered with in the course of transmission.

In the light of this assumption, applied, it must be confessed, in a somewhat arbitrary manner, Prof. Jülicher examines the whole of the parables recorded in the Synoptic gospels, and he examines them with learning and acuteness, and at considerable length.[1]

In two respects particularly, Prof. Jülicher's work marks an advance. In the first place he broke away from the tradition that the meaning of the Synoptic parables was to be worked out detail by detail, or in other words, that they were to be treated as allegories.

Against this traditional view Prof. Jülicher raised a forcible and effective protest. It is now scarcely too much to say that there is no longer room to doubt that the interest of the Synoptic parables is always focused to a point, and that the first and main duty of the student is to find that point.

In the second place Prof. Jülicher's work has shed light upon the function of the parables of Jesus. Any writer on the subject is bound

[1] The 1910 edition of *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu* consists of nearly a thousand pages (Part I, 328; Part II, 643).

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sooner or later to discuss the difficult passage which precedes the explanation of the parable of the Sower (Mk. iv 10–13 and parallels[1] Mt. xiii 10–18, Lk. viii 9–11):—

Mark iv [10] Καὶ ὅτε ἐγένετο κατὰ μόνας, ἠρώτων αὐτὸν οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα τὰς παραβολάς.[2] [11] καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς Ὑμῖν τὸ μυστήριον δέδοται τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ· ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς ἔξω ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται, [12] ἵνα βλέποντες βλέπωσι καὶ μὴ ἴδωσιν, καὶ ἀκούοντες ἀκούωσι καὶ μὴ συνίωσιν, μή ποτε ἐπιστρέψωσιν καὶ ἀφεθῇ αὐτοῖς. [13] καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς Οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν παραβολὴν[3] ταύτην καὶ πῶς πάσας τὰς παραβολὰς γνώσεσθε;

Whatever may be the precise meaning of these words,[4] Prof. Jülicher is surely right in maintaining that our Lord could not have meant that He made use of parables for the express purpose of concealing the truth from His hearers. It is evident from the character of the parables themselves, that their primary purpose was to enliven and illustrate teaching. In this very chapter St Mark tells us that He spake the word unto the people 'as they were able to hear it'; and that the evangelist realized that, in some cases at any rate, the interpretation of a parable was obvious may be inferred from his observation in xii 12 'They perceived that he spake the parable against them'. Nor was it only to 'those without' that Jesus spoke in parables. According to St Mark's account (Mk. xiii 3) the parable of the fig-tree was spoken to four of the apostles privately upon the mount of Olives.

Prof. Jülicher proposes a short way with the passage. He would reject it as a later addition to the primitive tradition, made by Christians who had come to regard the parables of Jesus as allegories, and to see mysteries where all was originally plain.

But it is by no means necessary to resort to such a drastic expedient. In interpreting the passage three considerations must be borne in mind:

(i) The interpretation of the preceding parable, the parable of the Sower, lies on the surface, as the words of Jesus in *v.* 13 imply.[5] The real question was not why should the people be bewildered by abstruse parables, but rather why should any further explanation be given of

[1] There is nothing in Matthew and Luke to suggest that they were using any other source than Mark in this passage.

[2] The plural seems to indicate that this question was asked at the end of the day, but inserted in this place by St Mark in order that the parable of the Sower might be immediately followed by its explanation.

[3] We must suppose that the account of the conversation has been compressed. 'Those about him with the twelve' asked about the parables they had just heard (*τὰς παραβολάς*), the first they mentioned in particular being the parable of the Sower.

[4] In *The Parables of the Gospels* (the Hulsean Prize Essay, 1912), Mr L. E. Browne gives a very careful and suggestive exposition of the passage (chapter iv).

[5] *οὐκ οἴδατε τὴν παραβολήν.*

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what was itself quite clear. The answer Jesus suggested was that to 'those about Him with the twelve', i.e. to those who had been sufficiently interested in His teaching to gather closer around Him,[1] and who thereby proved themselves the 'elect', the chosen of God, it had been given (i.e. by God) to know the secret of God's Kingdom.

(ii) The word παραβολή (= משל) has a considerable range of meaning, and is used not merely of illustrative stories but also in the sense of 'dark sayings'[2] e.g. in Num. xxiv 3, of the prophecies of Balaam.[3]

(iii) The words beginning with ἵνα are a quotation from the prophet Isaiah (Isa. vi 9, 10).

In view of these considerations the passage may be paraphrased thus:

'To you it has been granted by God to know the secret of God's kingdom (and you shall have it explained to you if need be line by line). But (if you do not understand this simple parable, it is certain those outside this little company do not understand either this or any other of my parables, and) to those outside, the whole thing comes to be[4] parabolic (i.e. cryptic), in order that[5]—as Isaiah puts it—seeing they may not see . . .'

The train of reasoning is so compressed that, like many of the arguments of the Rabbinical schools recorded in the Talmud, it needs to be expanded in order to be made clear.

Jesus had come to feel that if all His efforts to make His teaching forcible and clear were lost upon His hearers, it must be because their hearts were blinded. His experience, in other words, had become identical with that of Isaiah, and He applied the prophet's language to His own case.

It is true that Jesus Himself sometimes gave utterance to paradoxical sayings which might well be called παραβολαί, dark sayings, e.g. Lk. xiv 26 Εἴ τις ἔρχεται πρός με καὶ οὐ μισεῖ τὸν πατέρα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα . . . οὐ δύναται εἶναί μου μαθητής. But even here the primary purpose of Jesus was to arrest the attention of His hearers. The punitive element was at the most secondary, and, as in the case of Isaiah, in a sense an after-thought. It is characteristic of the Hebrew prophets after an event to see the direct action of God in it, and to express their view of the

[1] Cf. Mk. vii 17.

[2] Cf. Mk. vii 17.

[3] Cf. Num. R. s. 14, end: ועם בלעם . . . כי אם במשלים, God spoke to Balaam only through parables.

[4] The form of this sentence is important (ἐν παραβολαῖς τὰ πάντα γίνεται). Jesus does not say 'I give all my teaching in parables' but 'all things come to be in parables'.

[5] The ἵνα has in it the suggestion, as Lagrange has pointed out, of ἵνα πληρωθῇ (*Rev. Bibl.* 1910, p. 28).

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fore-disposal of things by God in language which is strange to Western ears.[1]

Prof. Jülicher's free handling of the verses in question is typical of his attitude to his sources in general. Throughout his work he shews a tendency to make hard and fast categories and then to force his data into them. In particular, the distinction which he insists upon between parables and allegories is at the best merely a convenient and academical one. It is a distinction by no means strictly marked in the speech of to-day, and what is more important, we have evidence to shew that it was not observed any more rigidly in Palestine in the first century A. D.

This evidence is derived from a study of the parables in the Talmud and kindred Jewish writings. These writings are a storehouse of heterogeneous material of uncertain date, and it is therefore very difficult to estimate their value for the study of the New Testament. It is, however, practically certain that they contain elements which go back to the Rabbis who lived in Palestine in the first century of the Christian era.

Dr Paul Fiebig's *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu im Lichte der rabbinischen Gleichnisse des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters*, published in 1912, embodies the most thorough and systematic effort that has yet been made to bring to bear upon the Synoptic parables the results of a study of the parables of the Rabbis. In this book the author shewed among other things that Prof. Jülicher was mistaken in applying his literary analysis of the difference between an allegory and a parable to New Testament times; for, as Dr Fiebig pointed out, many of the stories attributed to Palestinian Rabbis of that age are partly allegories and partly parables. It will be best to let a few actual specimens of Rabbinical parables speak for themselves.

Rabbinical Parables and the Parables in the Synoptic Gospels.

1. A parable occurs in the Babylonian Talmud[2] Aboda zara 54^b 55^a (Goldschmidt, vii pp. 989 f)[3] as follows:—

A philosopher asked Rabban Gamaliel,[4] It is written in your law 'the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, a jealous God',[5] why is His jealousy directed towards those that serve the god and not towards the god himself?

[1] This account of Hosea's marriage (Hos. i 2) is perhaps the most familiar instance: 'The Lord said unto Hosea, Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredom and children of whoredom.'

[2] It is wanting in the Jerusalem Talmud, and so also is example 2 (below).

[3] Fiebig gives a very literal translation of this parable on p. 58 of his book.

[4] i. e. probably Rabban Gamaliel II, *c.* 90–110 A. D. (This and the following dates are taken from Strack's *Einleitung in den Talmud*.)

[5] Deut. iv 24.

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He said to him, I will tell thee a parable. To what is the matter like? To a king of flesh and blood who had a son, and the son reared a dog and put upon him a name according to the name of his father, and when he swore he said, By the life of the dog my father. When the king heard of it, with whom was he wrath? Was he wrath with the son or was he wrath with the dog? He said to him, He was wrath with the son.

In Mekhilta, Par. Jethro, Par. 6,[1] we have a different form of the story. The philosopher, quoting Deut. iv 24 as before, asks if there is any power in the gods since the worship of them is an offence against God. Rabban Gamaliel answers, If a man calls his dog by the name of his father, and when he swears, swears by the life of this dog, with whom is the father angry, with the son or with the dog? To this question the philosopher makes no reply.

2. The following parable also occurs in two versions which it may be worth while to set side by side for the purpose of comparison :—

Sabbath xxiii 5 (Goldschmidt, i p. 706).	Midrash Ḳoheleth v.[2]
So Solomon said in his wisdom, Let thy garments be always white and let not thy head lack ointment.	Let thy garments be always white and let not thine head lack ointment.
Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai[3]	Rabbi Yoḥanan ben Zakkai said, The Scripture cannot refer to white garments, because the Gentiles have white garments: nor can the scripture refer to sweet ointment, for the Gentiles have sweet ointment. There is no reference to these things here, but rather to commandments and good works and Torah.
compared the matter to a king[5] who invited his servants to a feast,	Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi[4]: they tell a parable, To what is the matter like? To a king who made a feast and invited guests.[6] He said to them,

[1] Here I am following Fiebig's translation (*op. cit.* p. 57).

[2] On Eccles. ix 8. I have used the Warsaw ed. 1876.

[3] *c.* 70–100 A. D. [4] *c.* 200 A. D.

[5] P (the Bomberg ed., Venice 1520–1523) reads לאדם, a man; but the argument of the wise (see below) seems to depend on the fact that the house was the house of a king.

[6] אורחים.

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Sabbath xxiii 5 (Goldschmidt, i p. 706).

and did not appoint a time for them. The wise[1] among them adorned themselves and sat at the door of the king's palace.[2] They said, Is there anything lacking in a king's palace? But the foolish[4] among them went to their work. They said, Is there ever a feast without preparation?[5]

Suddenly[6] the king summoned his servants. The wise among them assembled before him adorned as they were, and the foolish assembled before him untidy as they were.

The king rejoiced over the wise and was wrath with the foolish.

[1] פיקחין.
[2] בית.
[4] טיפשין.
[5] טורח.
[6] בפתאום (*om.* ב, München MS).

Midrash Ḳoheleth v.

Go and wash and cleanse and anoint yourselves and wash your clothes and make yourselves ready for the feast. And he did not appoint them a time when they should come to the feast. And the wise[1] waited[2] at the door of the king's palace.[3] They said, Is there anything lacking in a king's palace? The foolish[4] among them did not trouble and did not pay attention to the king's word. They said, At length we shall see some sign of the king's feast. Is there ever a feast without preparation.[5] And they took counsel one with another; and the lime-burner went to his lime, the potter to his clay, the smith to his charcoal, the laundryman to his wash-house.

Suddenly[6] the king said, Let all come to the feast. They hastened, the wise came in their glory,[7] the others came in their untidiness.

The king rejoiced over the wise because they had fulfilled the king's word and moreover had done honour to the king's palace; and he was wrath with the foolish because they had not fulfilled the king's word and had dishonoured

[1] הפקחין.
[2] מטיילין.
[3] פלטין.
[4] הטיכשין.
[5] הטרח.
[6] פתאום.
[7] בכבודם.

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Sabbath xxiii 5 (Goldschmidt, i p. 706).

He said, As for those who have adorned themselves for the feast they shall sit and eat and drink. As for those who have not adorned themselves for the feast they shall stand and look on.

The son-in law of R. Meir[1] in the name of R. Meir: So they would appear as waiters; rather both kinds sit down, the former eat, the latter go hungry, the former drink, the latter go thirsty, as it is said,[2] Thus saith the Lord, Behold my servants shall eat but ye shall be hungry: behold my servants shall drink but ye shall be thirsty: behold my servants shall shout for joy of heart but ye shall cry out for pain of heart.

Midrash Ḳoheleth v.

the king's palace. The king said, Those who have prepared themselves for the feast shall enter in and eat of the king's feast; but those who have not prepared themselves for the feast shall not eat of the king's feast. If possible they would have gone and withdrawn from them. Again spake the king saying, Nay, but the first shall sit at table and eat and drink; and the second shall stand upon their feet and suffer and see and be envious. So in the age to come it will be as Isaiah says,[3] Behold my servants shall eat and ye shall be hungry.

There follows a saying in the name of R. Meir.

3. Pirqe Aboth iii 25.[4]

R. Akiba used to say:—

Everything is given on pledge; and the net[5] is cast over all the living. The office is open; and the broker gives credit and the ledger is open; and the hand writes; and whosoever will borrow comes and borrows; and the bailiffs go round continually every day, and exact from a man whether he wills or not; and they have whereon to lean, and judgement is a judgement of truth. And everything is prepared for the banquet.

It will be observed in the first place that none of these three examples is a pure parable, but each contains allegorical elements.

Thus, in the first example, the king stands for God, the dog for the heathen idol, the son for the worshipper: in the second, the king again represents God; the guests men, the earnest and the careless; the feast the festival of the Messianic age: while the third example is a running allegory which is very similar in style and general purport to the allegory 'On the way to the courts', Lk. xii 58, 59.

[1] *c.* 130–160 A.D. [2] Is. lxv 13, 14. [3] Is. lxv 13.
[4] The translation is that of Dr C. Taylor. [5] Eccles. ix 12.

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Again, the manner in which the first of the stories[1] is introduced is worthy of attention; I will tell thee a parable, To what is the matter like?, followed by the *dative* of the name of the principal actor in the story, whether he is the central point of comparison or not.

Thus the curious inconsequence of language so noticeable in the introduction of such a parable as that of the Pearl of Great Price (Mt. xiii 45)[2] finds its exact parallel in the language of the Rabbinical schools. The question and answer with which Example 1 ends may also be compared with the question and answer which are found at the end of the parable of the Two Debtors[3] (Luke vii 42, 43).

Again, it is not without significance for the study of the Synoptic parables, that the first two examples quoted above exist in two versions. In Example 1, the version in the older source (the Mekhilta) seems to be a shortened form of the version which is preserved in the Talmud, but 'man' may be more original than 'king'. In Example 2 the later[4] form of the parable, that in Ḳoheleth Rabbah, is longer than the other, and supplies a description of the guests dispersing to their various employments which may well belong to the story as originally told by Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai.

In any case, there is a striking parallel between these two versions and the two versions of the Synoptic parable of the Feast and the Guests (Mt. xxii 2–14, Lk. xiv 16–24). In this connexion it is worthy of remark that the changes which have crept into the Rabbinical parables in the course of their transmission are very limited in range; the editorial improvements lie on the surface and do not alter the general meaning.

The next question that suggests itself is the question of the contexts in which the Rabbinical parables are found. An examination of the thirty-six Rabbinical passages collected by Fiebig leads to the following conclusions:—

(i) That the stories are in general carefully connected with the name of some Rabbi.[5]

[1] And cf. the second version of no. 2.

[2] 'The Kingdom of Heaven is like unto a man that is a merchantman. . . .'

[3] Cf. also the question at the end of the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (Mk. xii 9).

[4] It bears signs of editorial improvement. Thus the 'house' of the king (בית) becomes the palace (פלטין): those who are invited are not servants but guests (אורחים). Moreover, 'Rabbi' Yoḥanan appears to be a mistake for 'Rabban' Yoḥanan.

[5] In Example 2 above, the parable in its older version is ascribed, and probably rightly, to Yoḥanan ben Zakkai, but the later version to Judah ha-Nasi. The mistake was an easy one, owing to Judah ha-Nasi's great reputation as the compiler

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(ii) That the situation which called forth the story is frequently recorded, especially if it is a personal and local one. For example, the occasion of one of the Rabbinical parables is said to have been the death of a son of Rabban Yoḥanan ben Zakkai[1]; and another parable is represented as having been called forth by a question of the disciples of Hillel as he was going to take a bath.[2]

This, of course, is only natural. Stories are often intimately bound up with the circumstances in which they were first told; part, at least, of their significance depends upon an understanding of their original context, and the story and its setting will be remembered together. This is the case—to take a modern example—with many of the anecdotes which are recorded of Abraham Lincoln.[3] Thus both in the 'Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln'[4] and in the Talmud we frequently have reported sayings set in a historical framework, the general truth of which there is no reason to doubt. And this applies *mutatis mutandis* to the contexts of the parables in the Gospels.

Thus there is every reason to suppose that the parable of the unforgiving servant (Mt. xviii 23 ff) was spoken in answer to a question from St Peter,[5] and that the parable of the Rich Fool was called forth by the request 'Master, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me' (Lk. xii 13). Nor can we doubt the originality of the contexts of the parable of the Two Debtors (Lk. vii 36 ff) and the Good Samaritan (Lk. x 25 ff), although the relation of these two passages to the passages which resemble them in St Mark (Mk. xiv 3 ff, and xii 28 ff) is very puzzling.

(iii) On the other hand if a Rabbinical parable deals with a general subject like preparation for death (Example 2) it is often unconnected with a context.

of the Mishna; and it will have been noticed that the name of Yoḥanan ben Zakkai occurs in the immediate context.

[1] Fiebig *op. cit.* p. 48. [2] Fiebig *op. cit.* pp. 7 f.

[3] My attention was first called to the parables of Abraham Lincoln by Prof. Burkitt. A study of them raises interesting suggestions for the study of the synoptic parables. For instance, it appears that Abraham Lincoln often found the telling of a story a relief to his feelings in times of tension and anxiety; and it is noticeable that the gospel tradition associates the first of the longer parables of Jesus with His realization of the failure, in a certain sense, of His mission. Further, it appears that Abraham Lincoln's parables, simple as they were, frequently bewildered those who heard them, partly perhaps because they often came out quite unexpectedly,—a fact which is not without significance for the psychology of the parables of the Gospels.

[4] A. T. Rice (Blackwood, 1886).

[5] On one occasion at least, St Matthew has refrained from introducing St Peter as a questioner when he might have done so (Mt. xxiv 44), and when St Luke actually does so (Lk. xii 41).

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Similar instances in the New Testament would be the parable of the Talents, the parable of the Pounds, the parable of the Unjust Judge, and so on.

The result of the preceding enquiry has been to shew that the style and the setting of the parables recorded in the Synoptic gospels correspond very closely with the Rabbinical manner of story-telling as reflected in the Talmud and kindred Jewish sources.[1] It is not unfair to draw from this fact the inference that the form in which the parables have been transmitted in the Synoptic tradition is very nearly that in which they were spoken by Jesus Himself.

But it will be well to go more thoroughly into the question of the transmission of the parables by the three Synoptists.

The Transmission of the Parables in the Synoptic Gospels.

A parable naturally lends itself to a certain amount of alteration. The general outline is not easily forgotten, and is not likely to be disturbed, but the story-teller has little hesitation in introducing a fresh detail here and there to add vividness to the tale or to draw out the moral, and in omitting a point which seemed to be irrelevant or obscure.

Moreover, the three evangelists have each a 'personal equation', which we must always be prepared to take into account. It is smallest in the case of St Mark. St Mark does not write Greek easily,[2] and his manner is that of a teacher rather than of an author. He seems to be reproducing very closely the teaching of St Peter and to be keeping as nearly as possible to his master's quaint and rough phrases, which had perhaps become familiar to the Roman Christians for whom he was writing.

St Matthew, as Harnack says,[3] 'edits his sources in a very conservative spirit', and also, it may be added, with a very definite purpose, viz. the edification of the new people of God, the Christian Church.

In the person of St Luke we have a combination of Greek and Hebrew elements. A Greek by birth and education, he had become an enthusiastic admirer of the Jewish[4] Scriptures and an ardent disciple

[1] It is only very rarely that we find any traces of Christian influence in these Jewish writings. For a curious instance of indirect New Testament influence see this JOURNAL, July 1914, p. 615, where Prof. Burkitt throws out the suggestion that a parable attributed by R. Nathan (Aboth R. Nathan, xxiv), to Elisha ben Abuyah (i. e. to a well-known apostate Rabbi), and parallel both in simile and in meaning to the parable of the House, Mt. vii 24–27, may have been derived from one of the Minim, that is, the Christians, and put down to Elisha to avoid offence.

[2] As a single instance, notice the use of ἔρχεται in iv 21.

[3] *Words of Jesus* p. 37.

[4] Thus he does not omit the hyperbolic statement of his source, 'It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for one tittle of the law to fall', xvi 17.

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of the Jewish Messiah. It is instructive to compare him with another writer who a couple of centuries earlier had gone through a similar process in the reverse order.

Jesus ben Sirach was a Jew of Palestine whose loyalty to the law and customs of his fathers did not prevent his welcoming with eagerness the new Greek thought which was permeating the life of Western Asia.

The two writers have the same strong ethical feeling (Ecclus. iv 1 ff): they are both alike interested in the rules and customs of polite society (Lk. xiv 1 ff; cf. Ecclus. xxxii 1 ff), and alive to the charm and beauty of the world and of a well-ordered human life: and they both lay emphasis on broadmindedness and patience as well as upon cheerfulness and goodwill to all men.[1] They are both interested in medicine: they are both convinced of the power of prayer and of the over-ruling hand of Providence (Ecclus. xxxvii 15): and finally, they both appear to have very similar conceptions of the functions of literary persons. 'If a man of knowledge hear a wise word, he will commend it, and add unto it', says Jesus ben Sirach (xxi 15); and in St Luke's versions of the Parables of our Lord we find many little touches that seem to shew that in his own gentle way he is putting that precept into practice.

But we can apply a searching test to St Matthew and St Luke by examining the use which they have made of a source which they had in common, and which has survived in approximately the same form as that in which they used it, viz. Mark.

The first parabolic saying which they have taken from Mark is the saying about the wedding guests (Mk. ii 18–20, Mt. ix 14, 15, Lk. v 33–35). St Matthew follows Mark exactly, except that he makes it clearer who asked our Lord the question. St Luke avoids Mark's loose use of δύνανται; and he is at pains to make it clear that our Lord was not condemning fasting in itself but only fasting under certain conditions (πυκνά). Similarly, apart from slight stylistic improvements, and a remark of satisfaction at the end, St Matthew leaves Mark's parables of the cloth and wine unchanged (Mk. ii 21, 22, Mt. ix 16, 17, Lk. v 36–38). But St Luke tries to picture what actually happens to the cloth, and retells the story in his own way. His alteration, however, is not due[2] to his interpretation of the parable, but simply to his interest in the story itself.

[1] A good example of St Luke's liberality of thought is to be found in Lk. v 39. Though St Luke omits the words 'for all peoples' in our Lord's designation of the Temple as the house of prayer (Mk. xi 17), and has little sympathy with the protrusion of the old dispensation into the new, yet it is in his Gospel alone that we find the striking saying, 'No man having drunk old wine straightway desireth new, for he saith, The old is good'.

[2] *Pace* Hahn, B. and J. Weiss, and Holtzmann. St Luke makes the absurdity of the procedure more obvious, and simplifies the point of the parable.

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We come next to the parable of the Sower (Mk. iv 3 ff, Mt. xiii 3 ff, Lk. viii 4 ff). Here, again, St Matthew follows Mark with only the slightest attempt at improvement (generally towards shortening), and merely reverses the order of fruitfulness at the end in order that the most satisfactory result may be mentioned first. St Luke, however, improves the story in three or four respects. He adds a good (though a rather obvious) point in viii 5 (*καὶ κατεπατήθη*): he will not say that the plant has no root (viii 6—but that it lacks moisture): he perceives that the thorns were not visible during the sowing, but grew up with the good seed: and finally he makes a more effective[1] ending to the parable by mentioning only one degree of fruitfulness, 'a hundredfold'.

A comparison of the different versions of the interpretation of this parable is also instructive (Mk. iv 13 ff, Mt. xiii 18 ff, Lk. viii 11 ff). In addition to slight improvements of style we notice a distinct tendency in both St Matthew and St Luke to shorten St Mark's rather cumbrous descriptions. Thus both evangelists leave out *αἱ περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιθυμίαι* of Mk. iv 19.

St Matthew shews his appreciation of the narrative by inserting the particle *δή*, 'of course', in *v.* 23.

St Luke does much more than this. We notice his 'Pauline' addition to *v.* 12 (*ἵνα μὴ πιστεύσαντες σωθῶσιν*), and the *καλῇ καὶ ἀγαθῇ* and *ἐν ὑπομονῇ* of *v.* 15. We observe, however, that, with all his mistrust of wealth, he omits St Mark's *ἡ ἀπάτη τοῦ πλούτου*, and he retains *ῥίζαν οὐκ ἔχουσιν* now that it is obviously a metaphor.

The next parable which the three gospels have in common is the parable of the Mustard-seed (Mk. iv 30–32, Mt. xiii 31–32, Lk. xiii 18, 19). Here St Luke's narrative is neater than St Mark's, and he seems to be following Q; Matthew, on the other hand, is a conflation of Q and Mark; but all the variations are small, and none of the Evangelists misses the point of the narrative. St Luke's version is, as usual, the most artistic, and his word *κῆπον* is a distinct improvement.[2] He is no doubt following[3] Q in connecting this parable with the parable of the leaven, and the connexion of these two parables in this order—the surprising growth from small beginnings to the *ὅλον φύραμα*—is striking, and probably original.

A parable which furnishes us with a still better illustration of St Luke's manner of dealing with his sources is the parable of the Fig-tree (Mk. xiii 28, Mt. xxiv 32, Lk. xxi 29). St Luke notices that there is no special

[1] Cf. his vigorous handling of the saying about salt, Lk. xiv 36, 'men cast it out'.

[2] Perhaps St Luke has Theophilus in mind.

[3] These two parables are the only parables in Luke in which the kingdom of God is explicitly compared to something.

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virtue in the tree's being a fig-tree, and he widens the reference to all the trees. He lays stress on the self-evident character of the signs referred to (*βλέποντες ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν*), and on the closeness with which they will be followed by the event itself (*ἤδη*); and it is he alone who definitely states what it is that is nigh (*ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ*). St Matthew's only alteration, on the other hand, is the insertion of *πάντα* (*v.* 33). Perhaps he felt that he had already seen *some* of the signs and that *they* had not been followed by the end.

The last parable common to the Synoptic gospels is the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen (Mk. xii 1–12, Mt. xxi 33–46, Lk. xx 9–19). Here St Matthew treats Mark rather clumsily but in a very conservative spirit (cf. especially *v.* 36 with Mk. xii 5), and makes a characteristic addition at the end.[1] St Luke makes an inference as to the persons to whom the parable was spoken (*πρὸς τὸν λαόν*): shortens the account of the preparation of the vineyard: notices that the owner does not make a premature demand for the fruit (*χρόνους ἱκανούς*): increases the dramatic effect by graduating the punishments of the servants and by the rhetorical question of *v.* 13: introduces a remark from the bystanders[2]: and finally adds a solemn thought suggested to him by a passage from Daniel (Dan. ii 34), which may have been brought to his mind by our Lord's quotation of Ps. cxviii 22.

So far, the points which have been considered have scarcely been doubtful. We come to a more difficult case, however, when we consider the parable of the Strong Man armed (Mk. iii 27, Mt. xii 29, Lk. xi 21 f). Both in Matthew and Luke the parable is followed by *ὁ μὴ ὢν μετ' ἐμοῦ κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐστίν κτλ.* In the parable itself St Matthew follows Mark. Does St Luke follow Q? If so, we have another case of St Matthew's combining Mark and Q, while St Luke follows one source only (Q). It seems more probable, however, that St Luke's narrative also is based upon Mark. He recognizes the improbability of the story as he found it, and paraphrases it in such a way as to give it a Homeric sound and force.

St Matthew, then, occasionally makes an addition, especially an addition of an exegetical character,[3] and he often slightly improves the style or abbreviates a little; but on the whole he is a very faithful transmitter of what he has received.

It is impossible to follow Wellhausen in reducing the number of genuine parables in Matthew to the three or four which are to be found

[1] *ἄλλοις γεωργοῖς, οἵτινες ἀποδώσουσιν αὐτῷ τοὺς καρπούς*—the new commonwealth of the new Israel, the Christian Church, according to the evangelist's own interpretation (v 43).

[2] Cf. the question of St Peter in Lk. xii 41, and the little breaks in the discourse Lk. xxi 10, 29; cf. also ix 59, xvii 37, and xiv 15.

[3] e.g. Mt. xii 40 *ὥσπερ γὰρ ἦν Ἰωνᾶς . . . . . τρεῖς νύκτας.*

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also in Mark.[1] It is true that, as he says, St Matthew's parables are 'products of reflection, not inspirations of the moment'[2]; but we have no reason to suppose that our Lord always spoke impromptu, and did not—as all other great teachers have done—sometimes prepare His message beforehand.

St Luke, as we have seen, uses his sources with much greater freedom than is ever displayed by St Matthew. The parables for which his source is Q furnish us with further examples of his methods as an editor.

In the parable of the Children at Play (Mt. xi 16–19, Lk. vii 31–35) several Lucan touches may be detected[3]: the title of John, ὁ βαπτιστής; the addition of ἄρτον and οἶνον in verse 33; the Hebraistic parallelism of verse 31; and the strengthening of the last clause (*v.* 35) by the introduction of πάντων.

Equally characteristic is the evangelist's treatment of the parable of the Asking Son (Lk. xi 11–13), where, according to the true text,[4] he omits 'bread and a stone' in favour of 'an egg and a scorpion'[5]: and at the end of the passage he replaces the general term ἀγαθά by πνεῦμα ἅγιον, *the* gift *par excellence*.

St Luke is plainly a man who takes a keen interest in the every-day life of the world. Thus he knows that it is usual to buy sparrows at five for two farthings[6] (Lk. xii 6) rather than at two for a farthing (Mt. x 29): he adds βορρᾶ καὶ νότου (Lk. xiii 29) to St Matthew's ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμῶν (Mt. viii 11)—he would not be thought to suppose that lightning passes only from east to west (Mt. xxiv 27, Lk. xvii 24): and he makes the saying about trees and their fruit (Mt. vii 16) still more apt by replacing τριβόλων by βάτον, and by using the proper word (τρυγῶσιν) for the gathering of grapes (Lk. vi 44).

[1] See Denney *Expositor*, 1911, p. 135.

[2] It is true also that they all apply to the Christian Church, and it may be that in some cases St Matthew has given them an ecclesiastical tone; but not at the cost of any substantial alteration.

[3] Notice the Rabbinical formula with which it is introduced ('The matter is like unto'—then the dative of the principal actors in the story): also the retention of τέκνων which St Matthew alters to ἔργων (cf. St Matthew's curious application of the parable of the Lost Sheep Mt. xviii 14: contrast Lk. xv 7).

[4] Holtzmann retains the three clauses in the text and regards this as one of the instances where St Luke has three clauses to St Matthew's two. He gives two others: Lk. vi 32–34, xvii 33–36—but both these are doubtful. In the latter, the shorter text is the more probable; in the former, the passage in St Luke is so different from that in St Matthew that a comparison between them does not lead to any definite result.

[5] Thus making both alternatives alternatives between something useful and something harmful. St Matthew in this passage seems to adhere very closely to the language of Q, Mt. vii 9–11.

[6] Harnack asks whether sparrows had become cheaper.

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One more example must suffice: the parable of the Two Houses (Mt. vii 24–27, Lk. vi 47–49). In Matthew the fault of the builder lies in his choice of sand rather than rock to build his house upon; in Luke it is his not digging deep enough on the spot which he has chosen. And St Luke's narrative is neater and clearer throughout. We are therefore prepared not to be surprised when we come to a parable like that of the Good Samaritan and find 'the Lucan form of the sentences so strongly marked that here, one feels, the evangelist must be telling the story in his own words'.[1]

We must beware, however, of over-estimating the extent of St Luke's own modifications of the evangelical tradition; and we may conclude this survey of St Luke's method of using his sources by noting his preservation of a passage which he might have been expected to alter or to omit. It is a saying in xi 44 about the Pharisees, which depends on a ceremonial regulation in Num. xix 16, while the corresponding saying in Matthew (Mt. xxiii 27, 28) is independent of the Old Testament passage and considerably more in St Luke's style.

We have, therefore, little reason to suppose that any of the Synoptic parables was invented by the evangelists themselves. As Prof. Jülicher has pointed out,[2] no one in the earliest Church seems to have imitated our Lord in this respect. Neither St Paul in his epistles, nor St Luke among all the speeches which he reports in the Acts, gives us a single instance even of a moderately close parallel to the parables of our Lord. And the same is true of the earliest Christian literature in general: there is no sign of a disposition to compose parables.

Moreover, our examination of the editorial methods of St Matthew and St Luke suggests that the modifications introduced into the details of the parables in the course of their transmission have not thrown them out of focus. Each parable retains its original point, obscured a little in some cases perhaps, but still not easily mistaken. To decide exactly what weight should be attached to the separate features of the narrative is often a matter of great difficulty, and requires a mind saturated with the Jewish and Christian thought of the first century A. D. But it is a comparatively easy task to read the broad lessons of the Synoptic parables, and in doing so we obtain some of our surest and best-authenticated evidence of the actual teaching of our Lord.[3]

The Teaching of the Parables.

From what is clear and unambiguous in the parables we may obtain information as to our Lord's teaching with regard to the Kingdom of

[1] Stanton *Gospels as Historical Documents* vol. ii p. 229. 'The literary style of the whole piece (x 29–37) is admirable.'

[2] *Op. cit.* vol. i p. 23.

[3] Cf. Jülicher *op. cit.* vol. i p. 24.

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God, as to His general ethical and religious principles, and finally as to His own life and person.

(i) It is natural to start with our Lord's doctrine of the Kingdom of God. For, as Loisy says,[1] 'the idea of the Kingdom of God is, in a sense, the whole of the Gospel.'

Our Lord's preaching begins with the proclamation, 'The time is fulfilled, and the Kingdom of God is at hand'; and it is the sentence, 'Ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power and coming with the clouds of Heaven', that closes His public career and shuts the door of escape finally behind Him.[2] From first to last His expectation never wavers, that the Kingdom of God will come with power and will come suddenly and soon. It will not come, indeed, without warning, even as summer never comes without the tender branch and the young green leaf of the fig-tree[3]; nor in any arbitrary manner: it comes because the fullness of the times calls it, just as it is the carcase that attracts the vultures.[4] But the Kingdom comes suddenly like a thief in the night,[5] and many will be taken unawares. For there is no waiting until all are prepared. As a master returning from a journey,[6] or from a marriage-feast,[7] gives his servants no warning of his coming, and surprises the diligent in the midst of their work, and the drunken in the midst of their debauchery,[8] so will the coming of the Kingdom find all men just as they are. There will be no opportunity of preparation at the last moment.[9] And, indeed, there is no time to be lost,[10] and no pains must be spared.[11] For there is much to be done, not for oneself, but for Him who is coming with the Kingdom,[12] the Son of Man. It is for His coming that His servants are to watch,[13] and they must be patient.[14] For them His coming is a matter of intense joy: it is a high festival,[15] a marriage feast.[16] But only for them. Those who

[1] *Jésus et la tradition évangélique* p. 118.

[2] Mk. i 15, xiv 62.

[3] Mk. xiii 28 f. For an interpretation of θέρος as 'fruit' see R. Schütz *Z. n. W.* 1909, p. 333, and 1911, p. 88. This interpretation does not of course affect the lesson of the parable.

[4] Mt. xxiv 28. The thought that the coming of the Kingdom will mean the coming of Judgement may be reflected in this figure. Perhaps this thought also lies behind the difficult saying in Lk. xvii 21 (It is neither here nor there but in your midst (בקרבכם) that you must look for the kingdom,—the Judgement is hanging over your own heads).

[5] Mt. xxiv 43 f. [6] Mk. xiii 35. [7] Lk. xii 36. [8] Mt. xxiv 49.

[9] The Ten Virgins, Mt. xxv 1-13.

[10] 'You are already on your way to the Courts', Lk. xii 57-59.

[11] The Narrow Gate, Mt. vii 13 f.

[12] The Entrusted Coins, Mt. xxv 14-30, Lk. xix 11-27.

[13] Mt. xxiv 45 ff. [14] The Ten Virgins, Mt. xxv 1-13.

[15] Lk. xiv 15-24. [16] Mt. xxv 10.

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are not of their number, those who are not His, have neither part nor lot in the Messianic joy. Like the man who had not on a wedding garment, they are cast into the outer darkness.[1] They may have been found in the company of the elect,[2] they may even be to outward appearance scarcely distinguishable from them,[3] but the final separation comes at last.

Who then are these that shall be accounted worthy to stand before the Son of Man?

They are men who have caught the vision of the Kingdom of God, have seen its surpassing worth, have given all they possess to gain it,[4] and have given it gladly.[5] They are few in number, for though many are called few prove themselves to be such as may be chosen.[6] They are a little flock, but it is their Father's good pleasure to give them the kingdom. And if they are distinguished from the rest of the world by their devotion, so are they also by their faith. They believe that God is working, though they themselves are not in a position to effect anything; and that when the time is ripe for the Kingdom there will not be a moment's delay.[7]

In the meantime they do not give way to discouragement. The beginning may be minute,[8] but that only makes the more striking the greatness of the end.[9] What is being done may be done silently, but it is done thoroughly.[10]

These are the inner circle of the elect, who will one day sit on thrones[11] judging the twelve tribes of Israel. They have counted the cost,[12] and have banded themselves together to pray day and night to God that He will bring in the Kingdom that shall right their wrongs.[13] The crisis demands importunate prayer, and prayer of that kind cannot fail to be effectual.[14]

But there is also an outer circle of the elect who are going on with the ordinary work of life.[15] The men are in the field: the women are

[1] Mt. xxii 11–14.
[2] Mt. xiii 47–50.
[3] Mt. xiii 24 ff.
[4] The Pearl of Great Price, Mt. xiii 45, 46.
[5] The Treasure hid in a Field, Mt. xiii 44.
[6] Mt. xxii 14.
[7] The Seed growing Secretly, Mk. iv 26–29.
[8] As minute as their own faith, Mk. iv 31, Lk. xvii 6.
[9] The Mustard Seed, Mk. iv 30–32.
[10] The Leaven, Mt. xiii 33.
[11] Lk. xxii 30. Mt. xix 28 limits the number of thrones to Twelve. Later tradition seems to have lost sight of the fact that there were others 'about Him with the Twelve', Mk. iv 10.
[12] Lk. xiv 28–30. The Tower-builder. Lk. xiv 31–33. The King going to War.
[13] Lk. xviii 1–8. The Widow and the Unrighteous Judge.
[14] Lk. xi 5–8. The Importunate Friend.
[15] Mk. v 19.

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grinding at the mill.[1] What is the difference between *them* and the rest of the world?

It is first of all that they have repented in obedience to the message[2] of the new Prophet. Who He is they are not quite sure: He is more like Elijah than any one else of whom they can think[3]; at any rate He is no mere visionary. And the second thing which distinguishes them from other people is that they try to follow out His teaching in their lives.[4] He insists on the impossibility of serving both God and mammon,[5] and and on the supreme importance of an undefiled heart.[6] He promises that earnestness shall be rewarded,[7] and especially earnestness in prayer.[8] Profession is vain without practice, He often says[9]; and yet no works can earn 'merit',[10] but men must rather put their whole trust in the grace of God which is divinely free.[11] It is love that God asks from them in return for His forgiveness,[12] and the ready forgiveness of *their* brethren.[13] The love of God yearns specially over the lost[14] and welcomes them with a joy which the self-complacent religious cannot understand.[15] But God's invitations can be refused, and often are.[16]

(ii) The study of the Parables alone is enough to shew that our Lord's Ethic is no mere 'interim' Ethic, and that His moral sense is not obscured by the shadow of Eschatology.

There is, for instance, nothing eschatological in the great group of parables peculiar to the third gospel.

The folly of self-centred luxury[17] and its inevitable consequences,[18] the duty of neighbourliness,[19] the humility of true prayer,[20] equally remain

[1] Mt. xxiv 40, 41. [2] Mk. i 15. [3] Mk. viii 28.

[4] His commands are 'commands which free the life and do not, like those of the Jewish Law, cramp and stifle it.' Wellhausen *Einleitung* p. 166.

[5] Mt. vi 24, Lk. xvi 13. [6] Mk. vii 15.

[7] Mt. vii 7. Ask, Seek, Knock. [8] Mt. vii 9-11. The Asking Son.

[9] Mt. vii 24-27. The Two Houses. Mt. xxi 28-32. The Two Sons.

[10] Lk. xvii 7-10. After the Day's Work.

[11] Mt. xx 1-16. The Surprising Wages.

[12] Lk. vii 36-50. The Creditor and the Two Debtors.

[13] Mt. xviii 21-35. The Unmerciful Servant.

[14] Lk. xv 3-10. The Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin. 'No one before Him had foretold that the Kingdom of God would be a kingdom of converted malefactors.' Dewick *Eschatology* p. 171.

[15] Lk. xv 11-32. The Lost Son and his Elder Brother. See *Ecce Homo* p. 155.

[16] Lk. xiv 15-24. The Unwilling Guests.

[17] Lk. xii 16-21. The Rich Fool.

[18] Lk. xvi 19-31. The Rich Man and Lazarus.

[19] Lk. x 29-37. The Good Samaritan. See *Ecce Homo* p. 123. A careful reading of Sir J. R. Seeley's work is indispensable to the study of this aspect of our Lord's teaching.

[20] Lk. xviii 9-14. The Pharisee and the Publican.

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lessons for 'this age', whether the end of it is in sight or not. And these lessons are taught with impressive calmness and with extraordinary insight. In the same quiet, unhurried manner, our Lord speaks of benevolence as the light of the soul,[1] and of beneficence as the fruit of genuine goodness.[2] He gives advice with regard to behaviour at feasts, and the invitation of guests,[3] and an admonition to would-be reformers of their brethren.[4]

(iii) But, further, a careful reading of the parables gives us valuable information concerning our Lord's own Life and Person.

He was not another John the Baptist,[5] and if His message sounded a note of warning it also sounded a note of joy. He was no ascetic. His relation to His disciples was a glad, even a festive, relation—the relation of the bridegroom to the sons of the bridechamber.[6] Those who followed Him were filled with a new spirit which could not be expected to submit to the bondage of Rabbinical regulations.[7] He Himself did not conform to the traditional rules concerning fasting,[8] the keeping of the Sabbath,[9] and ceremonial ablutions.[10] Nor did He despise, as many of the Rabbis did, the common people (the עם הארץ). It was primarily to such lost sheep of the house of Israel that our Lord had come.[11] The nation as a whole was under sentence of doom if it did not repent,[12] and there was a great need for His mission.[13] The need was greatest in the case of those who were most lost, the publicans and sinners.[14] Even to these the grace of God extended, though the Pharisees begrudged it them.[15]

The Pharisees themselves were more occupied with saying than with doing,[16] and with the outward more than with the inward.[17] The prejudice with which they were filled had blinded them even to the significance of our Lord's new and wonderful works[18]; whereas no scribe ought to consider himself well instructed unless his treasury

[1] Mt. vi 22 f.
[2] Mt. vii 16–20.
[3] Lk. xiv 7–11.
[4] Lk. vi 41, 42.
[5] Mt. xi 16–19. Children at Play.
[6] Mk. ii 18–20.
[7] Mk. ii 21, 22. The Patch: the Old Skins and the New Wine.
[8] Mk. ii 18.
[9] Mk. ii 23 (and n.b. Mt. xii 5 and 7).
[10] Mk. vii 14–19. The defilement referred to is that incurred by eating food with unwashen hands, not that which is contracted by the use of unclean animals. But the note, 'This He said, making all meats clean', is no more than a logical application of the principle which our Lord lays down.
[11] Mt. xv 24. —and to them rather than to the Gentiles.
[12] Lk. xiii 6–9. The Barren Fig-tree.
[13] Mt. ix 37. The Plenteous Harvest.
[14] Mk. ii 17. The Physician and the Sick.
[15] Lk. xv 28.
[16] Mt. xxi 28–32. The Two Sons.
[17] Mk. vii 14–23.
[18] The Beelzebub Parables, Mk. iii 22–26, 27; Mt. xii 43–45.

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contained things new as well as things old.[1] It was not surprising that so much of the religious teaching of the day was futile.[2]

Our Lord Himself, indeed, met with but limited success. But the fault lay not in Himself or in His message, but in the inward state of those to whom He spoke.[3] Many refused His call,[4] and some who did not actually refuse proved to be unworthy of it.[5] A true acceptance of the call involved sacrifice[6]; it required a steadiness of purpose,[7] and a settled determination[8] which had counted the cost: because the disciples were not above their Master[9] and their Master had come to know that He would pay His life as the price of the abolition of the old order of things.[10]

The proverbs, 'Physician, heal thyself'[11] and 'A prophet hath no honour in his own country',[12] testify to our Lord's lack of success in His native town, and to the peculiar disappointment which this occasioned Him.[13]

And, finally, it is only in the light of our Lord's conception of His peculiar and intimate relation to God, such as is reflected in the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen,[14] that the gospels become comprehensible and coherent. For 'it is not the Messianic expectation of the Jews, or the Hellenistic philosophy, or the upward movement of the lower classes, or the religious societies of the time,—it is none of these that explains the origin of Christianity, . . . but solely the person of Jesus'.[15]

J. W. HUNKIN.

[1] Mt. xiii 52.

[2] Mt. xv 14. The Blind as Leaders of the Blind.

[3] Mk. iv 3–9. The Fate of the Seed. Mt. vii 6. Pearls before Swine.

[4] Lk. xiv 15–24. The Unwilling Guests.

[5] Mt. xxii 11–14. The Man without the Wedding Garment.

[6] Mk. viii 34. The Cross.

[7] Mt. viii 22. The Dead to bury their Dead. Lk. ix 62. The Hand to the Plough.

[8] Lk. xiv 28–33.

[9] Mt. x 24 f.

[10] Mk. xii 1–12. The Wicked Husbandmen.

[11] Lk. iv 23.

[12] Mk. vi 4.

[13] We can also glean from the parables some information concerning the life of the disciples. Thus Lk. x 7 (The Labourer and his Hire) throws light upon their means of subsistence while on their mission to the 'cities of Israel'. While the incident which gave rise to the saying about Kings and Tribute (Mt. xvii 25) seems to imply that they had not altogether given up their ordinary occupations.

[14] Mk. xii 1–12.

[15] W. Bousset in *Was wissen wir von Jesu?* quoted by G. Hollmann *Theolog. Rundschau*, 1904, p. 254.

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JUDGES vii 3.

(*A* caveat *against hasty emendation.*)

WHEN Gideon assembled a host to fight against the Midianites who were ravaging the fertile plain of Esdrēlon (valley of Jezreel, vi 33), he pitched his camp beside the Spring of Harod. This spring is identified (see George Adam Smith *H. G. H. L.*, page 397) with the modern *Ain Jalud*, close under the steep banks of a mountain which he with good reason identifies with Gilboa. It is quite likely that Gideon occupied with part of his host the very ground on which at a later time Saul fought his last battle.

This probability has suggested to several commentators one emendation for Judges vii 3, which has the qualified support of Driver in his article GILEAD in Hastings's *DB*. In the context the fear is expressed that, as Gideon had so large a host, Israel might attribute the approaching victory to their own prowess. The LORD therefore charged Gideon to make the following proclamation to his people:—

מי ירא וחרד יָשֹׁב וְיִצְפֹּר מהר הגלעד

'Whoso is fearful and afraid, let him return and depart early from Mount Gilead' (A. V.).

Upon this, the Massoretic reading, the criticism of the Emendator is, 'Israel was not stationed on Mount Gilead, and therefore could not *depart from* it. Let *Mount Gilboa* be read here'.

Against the emendation two things must be said: (1) Gilboa is not mentioned in the previous narrative (vi 33–vii 2), and we cannot feel sure that Gideon's encampment of 32,000 men corresponded so closely with the site of the scene of Saul's last battle, that the phrase 'depart from Mount Gilboa' could be used as equivalent to 'depart from the Israelite host'; (2) the versions give 'Gilead (Galaad)' with one consent.[1]

But the difficulty of the verb remains, even if the reading 'Gilboa' be adopted; יצפר is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, and the versions seem to be ignorant of its meaning. They translate, guided only by the context, in various ways. Thus LXX B gives ἐκχωρείτω ('depart', R. V. text);

[1] I have specially noted Peshitta (cod. A and U^c as well as *Lee*); Targ. (of Yemen, ed. Praetorius, as well as Lagarde); LXX, A and B; O. L., Lyons MS, ed. U. Robert; Vulgate, ed. Hetzenauer.

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the Yemen Targum ויתחזר ('go round about', R. V. marg.); O. L., Lyons MS, 'descendat' (perhaps a corruption of 'decedat'); the Peshitta, *nĕphūsh leh* ('let him desist, let him be excused').

It is hardly surprising therefore that emendations are offered. G. F. Moore (*in loco*) tentatively suggests ויצרפם גדעון 'and Gideon *tried* them' in place of the MT represented by 'and depart from Mount Gilead'. In making a new sentence Moore has the support of LXX A, καὶ ἐξώρμησεν (*al.* ἐξώρμησαν); his verb is obtained from ver. 4. The place-name, 'Mount Gilead', is removed. The passage now runs:—

'Whoso is fearful and afraid, let him return. And Gideon tried them, and there returned,' &c.

I doubt whether the emended text is strong enough either in external attestation or in internal probability to assert itself against the MT, if further consideration be given to the MT. Something is missing from Moore's text. The Gideon-story is distinguished by several caustic sayings, and if in vii 3 nothing more was said than 'Whoso is fearful and afraid, let him return', a great opportunity was missed. A rough agricultural humour pervades the narrative. The victory is due in the first place to the *dog-men* who lap up their water; Gideon styles his slaughter of the Midianites a 'vintage' (viii 2); he tells the elders of Succoth that he will 'thresh' their flesh with thorns in revenge for their churlishness (viii 7, R. V. marg.); and finally it is said with grim humour that Gideon 'taught the men of Succoth'. In vii 3 we have, if I am right, another instance of caustic humour, not too caustic for Gideon.

In the first place the balance of the sentence is surely better preserved in the longer form of the saying preserved in MT and LXX B. Gideon's proclamation *halts*, if it stops at 'let him return'. If something like the words 'and depart from Mount Gilead' can be given to the speaker, the better for the harmony of the sentence.

But the sense as well as the sound demands more than the emended text gives. *Whither* were the fearful to go? Each man *to his place*, as in ver. 7? The text does not say so.

The verb יצפר is ἅπαξ λεγόμενον, but it is so near in form to a very common word, that it is not difficult to guess its meaning. This word is צפור, *çippor*, 'a bird', and יצפר may very well be a denominative verb meaning to *perform some birdlike action*.[1] Two such actions are attributed to the *çippōr* in the O. T.: (1) timid flight (Ps. xi 1); (2) watching from a height (Ps. cii 8):

'As careful robins eye the delver's toil.'

'Return', says Gideon, 'and play the part of small birds watching the

[1] Cp. *J. T. S.* iii 470.

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work which ye dare not perform!' Here is scornful humour, as there is 'pleasant' humour in the comparison of the 300 to dogs.

But why were they to watch 'from Mount Gilead'? For two reasons. *First*, because the war was west of Jordan, while Gilead was east; Gideon bids them seek safety *beyond the river*, just as the Hebrews did in the days of Saul (1 Sam. xiii 7). *Secondly*, Gilead is mentioned because Gideon's words did not come from an emendator's study, but hot from the field of battle. Looking eastward down the valley of Jezreel Gideon points to the hills of Gilead, and says to the deserters, 'Watch from yonder heights the issue of the battle'.

TWO PASSAGES IN DAVID'S LAMENT.

(2 SAM. i 19 AND 21.)

THE first recorded exploit of Jonathan took place on a rocky crag near Michmash. The crag was all but inaccessible, but Jonathan went up on hands and feet, slaying the Philistines and creating a panic (1 Sam. xiv 1–16). His last deeds also were performed on the heights; he fell fighting by his father's side in the mountainous district of Gilboa. Without doubt he deserves the eulogy passed on the mighty men of Gad that 'they were as swift as the roes (or gazelles, *ṣĕbā-īm*) upon the mountains' (1 Chron. xii 8).

The lament over Saul and over Jonathan (rather 'over Jonathan and over Saul') begins with the words:—

'Gazelle (הַצְּבִי) of Israel, art thou slain upon thy high places?'

Such is the Massoretic text, and I venture to say that it contains as much poetry, good sense, and good grammar as any of the emended readings. Its chief rival, the Septuagint text, deserves consideration no doubt, but it is open to two criticisms: (1) it is not so personal and direct in its appeal; it is *less living*; (2) it is undoubtedly corrupt after the first two words.

Στήλωσον, Ἰσραήλ, ὑπὲρ τῶν τεθηνκότων ἐπὶ τὰ ὕψη σου τραυματιῶν.

Here there is a doublet: *either* ὑπὲρ τῶν τεθνηκότων and ἐπὶ τὰ ὕψη σου represent the same group of Hebrew letters, *or* τεθνηκότων and τραυματιῶν are doublets. There is a variation between codd. A and B, but the reading of A seems to be secondary. The conflate reading of B gives us the nearest approximation to the original Greek which can be obtained without emendation.

But it is the first two words which really matter. The Greek text opens David's lament by suggesting to Israel the erection of a tomb-

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stone, various emendators suggest to Israel that she should *be grieved* (הֶעָצְבִי Klostermann and H. P. Smith), while according to the Massoretic text David only asks, 'Can it be true that the mountain-warrior of Israel is lying dead upon his mountains?' David cannot yet bring himself to pronounce his friend's name; he is content to describe him as 'the Gazelle of Israel'.

But this is impossible, say the grammarians, for a noun in construction does not take the article. True, but the initial letter of הַצְּבִי is *not* the article, but the interrogative particle. 'In some instances the context alone can decide whether the prefix ה is a mark of Interrogation or for the definite article.' For an instance of the interrogative particle being followed by *dagesh*, we need look no farther than 2 Sam. iii 33,

הַכְּמוֹת נבל ימות אבנר

'Should Abner die as a fool dieth?'

This passage illustrates, it will be seen, a more important matter than spelling. Here a dirge of David begins with a sudden and direct question; then why not also in 2 Sam. i 19?

The question asked in fresh anguish at the beginning of the dirge is answered in resigned sadness towards the close (ver. 25). The two verses (19 and 25) are antithetical: they are framed to correspond one to the other. The first asks,

'Gazelle of Israel, art thou slain upon thy high places? (How are the mighty fallen!)'

The second answers,

'(How are the mighty fallen!) Jonathan, thou art slain upon thy high places.'

I am almost ashamed to remind the reader that the editor of Samuel in the *International Critical Commentary* questions the text of this verse on the ground that the pronoun ('*thy* high places') 'must refer to Israel in order to make sense'. Had not Jonathan (in the poet's eyes) made the high places *his own* by his deeds and by his death?

If all emendation is to be rejected in ver. 19, the case of ver. 21 is somewhat different. The suggestion to strike out the copula in the phrase וּשְׂדֵי תְרוּמֹת seems to be reasonable. The parallelism of the verse is improved by this slight change. And the change is slight, for the omission (or addition) of the copula is one of the commonest various readings in the MSS of the Hebrew Bible. The verse will then stand thus:—

Ye mountains in Gilboa, let there be no dew;
And let there be no rain upon you, O fields of Terumoth:
For there the shield of the mighty was cast away,
The shield of Saul, as if he had not been anointed with the oil.

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The expression שדי תרומת, 'fields of Terumoth', is not easy to explain. The word תרומה is common in the ritual books of the Pentateuch in the sense of 'offering', or specially 'heave offering' (Lev. vii 14 *al.*). It is possible that in the book of Samuel the word bore some less specialized sense, e. g. 'height'. The whole expression might then mean something like 'mountain slopes'. If, on the other hand, we are compelled to translate 'fields of offerings' (LXX ἀγροὶ ἀπαρχῶν), the reference may be to offerings made on the battlefield by the Philistines in thanksgiving to their gods for their victory.

The literalism of the modern commentators (and of the LXX) is illustrated not for the first time in this poem by their treatment of the words, 'Not anointed with the oil',

בלי משיח בשמן

The word *anointed* is the Hebrew word 'Messiah', and the emphatic addition 'with the oil' seems to fit best with the view that the poet is thinking of the sacred oil with which kings were hallowed (1 Sam. xxiv 6; xxvi 9). But the temptation to drag in a little antiquarian knowledge, and at the same time to make an emendation of the Hebrew, has proved too strong for commentators. Shields were treated with fat or oil to prevent them from cracking and to make the surface slippery (Isa. xxi 5, משחו מנן). Wellhausen proposed further to read משוח for משיח as more suitable in reference to a material object. The shield is cast away, no longer oiled and cared for! How laboured does the subject of the shield become!

Surely the poet is leading us to think rather of the fallen hero than of his belongings. Step by step he takes us,

'The shield of the mighty ones is cast away.'

Yes, many valiant ones have fallen!

'The shield of Saul.'

Yes, the great leader himself lies on the field!

'As though he had not been anointed with the oil.'

Yes, the man whom JEHOVAH had hallowed for Israel lies dead!

There is one writer whom we have recently lost, whose services to Hebrew learning are very great, whose work the readers of this note would doubtless expect to find referred to here. I will only say that in writing this note I have carefully weighed all that Dr Driver has written on these verses. If I dissent from his views it is with silent respect for a great scholar.

W. EMERY BARNES.

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NESTORIUS'S VERSION OF THE NICENE CREED.

IN his article on 'The Council of Constantinople and the Nicene Creed' in the JOURNAL of last January Mr F. J. Badcock writes (p. 208):—

'In the year 430 Nestorius, at the Council of Ephesus, quoted the words *σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου* as from N [the Nicene Creed], and in his letter to Pope Celestine he quotes the same sentence, "from the words of the holy Fathers of Nicæa"; and Cyril corrects his error in *Adv. Nest.* i 8. But this was not all that Nestorius's version of N contained, for in ch. 6 we find also *τὸν σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα* and *τὸν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν δι' ἡμᾶς*.'

A piece of evidence has escaped Mr Badcock, which would have enabled him to say much more nearly what was and what was not in 'Nestorius's version of N'. This is to be found in Nestorius's own Apology, a work which has reached us only in a Syriac version, in which it bears the title *The Treatise of Heraclides of Damascus*. The Syriac text has been published by Father Paul Bedjan,[1] and it has been translated into French by M. Nau[2]; but it seems that there is room for a note directing more particular attention to the passage on the Nicene Creed.

On p. 208 of Bedjan's edition we have the beginning of what was a formal citation *in extenso* of a Creed which Nestorius ascribes to 'our Fathers assembled at Nicaea'. He is dealing with the Council of Ephesus, and he quotes the text of the Nicene Creed in order to comment on it and shew that it bears out his teaching. He also plainly implies that the formula he cites was that affirmed and enforced at Ephesus. Unfortunately the unique MS of Nestorius's Apology is imperfect, and just at this point some pages have been torn away. The result is that the Creed breaks off with the words 'that is, of the essence of the Father'. Happily, however, the loss of the remainder here is all but made good by quotations which follow shortly after. On pp. 212–213 of Bedjan's text Nestorius goes on in a vigorous passage to cite nearly all the rest: not indeed continuously, but in pieces of such

[1] *Le livre d'Héraclide de Damas.* Leipzig 1910.

[2] *Nestorius: le livre d'Héraclide de Damas*; traduit en français par F. Nau. Paris 1910.

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extent, and with so much insistence and repetition, that reconstruction becomes easy and fairly sure.

I give first of all a literal translation of the piece of Creed on p. 208 (Bedjan) and of the passage on pp. 212–213 containing the further quotations.[1] Afterwards the text may be reconstructed by the simple process of discarding the repetitions.

A (Bedjan, p. 208). '*The Faith which was set forth by our Fathers at Nicaea.*[2] We believe in one God the Father almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten, who of the Father was begotten,—that is, from the essence (*ītḥūthā*) of the Father,— . . .'

The next passage, though continuous, I divide for convenience of reference into paragraphs, labelled (α)–(ι), and I draw attention to the more substantial quotations from the Creed by disposing them in short lines in the customary way. I italicize each piece of text which appears for the first time.

B (Bedjan, pp. 212–213). (α) 'The Fathers also, adhering to the divine Scriptures, said, "one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son", (starting) from the πρόσωπον of the union; and then they teach what (*or* who) they were that were united, and unto what. "He", say they, "who was begotten of the Father, only-begotten": who is He?

(β) "Our Lord Jesus Christ
the Son of God, the only-begotten—
that is, from the οὐσία of the Father—
God from God,
and Light from Light,
true God from true God:
begotten, and not made;
son-of-the-nature[3] *of the Father;*
through whom all was (*made*) *that* (*is*) *in heaven and in earth.*"

(γ) Of which are you speaking, O Fathers? of something else, or of that which you wrote above? "The one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten": who is this, and from whom? "From the Father:

(δ) true God from true God:
begotten, and not made;
who for us men and for our salvation came down."

(ε) Who is this? say, O Fathers, to me and to him (Cyril) and to all: who is it? another, or the Only-begotten? "This one (*sc.* the Only-begotten) we teach you, and not another;

[1] These passages will be found in Nau's translation at pp. 125 and 128 respectively.

[2] This is a rubricated heading in the MS.

[3] A common Syriac equivalent for ὁμοούσιος.

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(ζ) who for us men and for our salvation came down, *and became-incarnate of the Holy Spirit and of Mary the Virgin, who also became-man.*" [1]

(η) For as far as "He came down", "He became-incarnate", and "He became-man", they taught us concerning the things that belong to Christ's Divinity; but by "He became-incarnate", concerning His union with flesh; and thenceforth concerning the flesh in which "the one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten" became-incarnate. For does not that, "of the Holy Spirit and of Mary the Virgin", teach us about the birth in flesh? "The one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God": what is His nature? That which His mother also is, from whom was born the passible flesh.

(θ) "*And He suffered, and rose the third day,*
and ascended to heaven;
and cometh to judge the living and the dead."

(ι) Who is this? "The one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten." In both regards—as son of the nature of the Father and son of the nature of the mother—they call Him "the one Lord Jesus Christ": not God the Word by nature in both regards, but "the one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten". For into a *πρόσωπον* is the union, not into a nature: (it is) not (a union) into an *οὐσία*, but a union of *οὐσίαι*.'

If to passage A be added the italicized pieces in passage B (β), (δ), (ζ), (θ), the result is a Creed which is, on the Nicene basis, complete except for the clause on the Holy Ghost, which Nestorius had no occasion to quote. By putting the obvious Greek for the Syriac we can reconstruct Nestorius's version of the Nicene Creed, as embodied in his Apology, with substantial accuracy. But before doing this there is a point which needs consideration. In passage A we find the order, 'the Son of God, the only-begotten, who of the Father was begotten'; and in passage B we four times meet with the quotation, 'The one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten', viz. at (β), (γ), (η), (ι). At first I thought that Nestorius's version of N here must have had *μονογενῆ* before *γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρός* (as in C [2]) instead of after it (as in N), and that it must have run: *καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, κτλ.* But on further consideration I am disposed to think that the Syriac order in passage A, whereby *μονογενῆ* is apparently placed before, instead of after, *γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρός*, is due merely to the translator, who eased the Syriac construction on this occasion by bringing the adjective *μονογενῆ* back nearer to

[1] In the Syr. 'became-incarnate' and 'became-man' are denominative verbs from the substantives 'flesh' and 'man' respectively.

[2] Sc. the 'Constantinopolitanum'.

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its subject. Whatever be the explanation of the order in passage A, it is certain that Nestorius knew the original Nicene form of the clause, for in passage B (α) we find him ascribing it explicitly to the Nicene Fathers: 'He, say they, that was begotten of the Father, only-begotten' (clearly γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ). Moreover if we look at B (β) we see that, while γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρός is there omitted, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός comes (as in the real N) next to, and as an immediate explanation of, μονογενῆ. As regards the omission of γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρός altogether before μονογενῆ in B (β), (γ), (η), (ι)—the passages referred to above—it may possibly be due to reminiscence of some other Creed, such as C; but on the other hand the formula 'the one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten' is in those passages repeated rhetorically, as a sort of catchword, and the inclusion of 'begotten of the Father' before 'only-begotten' would not only be cumbrous, but would interfere with the argument. Nestorius is arguing in these passages that the Nicene Fathers introduced their teaching on the Son not by styling Him at the outset 'God the Word', but by giving Him titles which were applicable to both natures at once; so that attributes or functions specifically divine and others specifically human might not both be predicated either of God the Word alone or of the human nature alone, but, as Nestorius expresses it, of 'the πρόσωπον of the union'; which πρόσωπον, he held, was indicated by the names 'Christ' and 'Son'. Now Nestorius would regard γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρός rather as one of the divine attributes than as forming part of the intercommunicable titles; and so he would naturally omit the words when employing 'the one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only-begotten' strictly as a title.

In the reconstruction which follows, then, I shall assume that Nestorius's version of the Nicene Creed had the true reading of N found in passage B (α), which was, in any case, known to Nestorius.

Reconstruction of Nestorius's version of N.

ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܚܢܢ ܒܚܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ ܐܚܝܕ ܟܠ:	Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα,
ܥܒܘܕܐ ܕܟܠܗܝܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܘܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ.	πάντων ὁρατῶν τε[1] καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν.
ܘܒܚܕ ܡܪܝܐ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ	καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ,

[1] Or ὁρατῶν τε πάντων. The Syriac affords no indication of the original order.

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ܕܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܐܝܬ ܕܝܠܕ ܒܪ ܚܕ :	γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονο-
ܕܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܐܝܬ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘ ܐܝܬ ܕܐܝܬ :	γενῆ— τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ
ܐܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܗ :	πατρός—[1] θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ,
ܢܘܗܪܐ ܡܢ ܢܘܗܪܐ :	φῶς ἐκ φωτός,
ܐܠܗ ܫܪܝܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗ ܫܪܝܪ :	θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ,
ܕܠܐ ܒܪܝܬ ܕܠܐ ܝܠܝܕ	γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα,
ܕܡܘ ܗܘ ܒܐܝܬܘܬܐ.	ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί,
ܕܟܠ ܡܢܘ ܐܬܥܒܕ	δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο,
ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܘܒܐܪܥܐ.	τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ.[2]
ܕܡܢ ܒܓܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܒܓܠ ܦܘܪܩܢܗ ܕܝܠܢ ܐܬܐ :	τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα,
ܘܒܣܪ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܡܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ :	καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου,
ܘܐܬܐܢܫ.	καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα,[3]
ܘܣܒܠ ܚܫܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܬܠܬܝܐ :	[καὶ][4] παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ,
ܘܣܠܩ ܠܫܡܝܐ :	[καὶ] ἀνελθόντα εἰς [τοὺς][5] οὐρανούς,
ܘܐܬܐ ܕܢܕܝܢ ܚܝܐ ܘܡܝܬܐ.	[καὶ] ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς.[6]

Nestorius had no occasion to quote the clause on the Holy Spirit, so that we do not know whether his version added anything to the bare *καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα* of N. It had the anathemas, however, to which Nestorius refers on p. 215.[7] I epitomize the passage.

[1] Thus far the Syriac text opposite is from passage I (Bedjan, p. 208), but for the Greek of the preceding line I follow the Syriac order found in passage II (*a*) (Bedjan, p. 112), viz. ܐܠܗ ܡܢ ܐܠܗ ܕܝܠܕ ܒܪ ܚܕ ܗܘ.

[2] See passage II (*β*).

[3] See II (*δ*), (*ζ*).

[4] As regards the words in square brackets, the Syriac has 'and' in each case, but it would almost certainly have supplied it even if absent in the Greek.

[5] As Syriac has no article we cannot say whether or no *τούς* is to be read before *οὐρανούς*.

[6] For [*καὶ*] *παθόντα* to the end see II (*θ*).

[7] Nau, p. 130.

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'The 318 Fathers with one voice and one mouth and one mind rejected (the assertion) "*that there was once when* God the Word *was not*" . . . "*and from the things that are not* God the Word *was begotten*" . . . and "*from another substance* (qĕnōmā) *and from another* οὐσία" . . . and (that) God the Word "*is changeable and corruptible*" . . . For *those who say* these things of God the Word the Fathers *anathematize*.'

It is pretty evident from this passage that the anathemas in Nestorius's version were in practically the same form as in N. It need only be remarked that he lends no support to the reading ἢ κτιστόν.

If we turn back to the Creed reconstructed above we see that, so far as it goes, it differs from the original Nicene Creed only by the insertion of ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου after σαρκωθέντα. It would seem that if Nestorius ever really quoted the further words τὸν σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα and τὸν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν δι' ἡμᾶς as belonging to N, he must have done so by some sort of inadvertence. One would like to know how early the practice originated of calling any Creed 'Nicene' into which the *homoousion* had been inserted.[1]

R. H. CONNOLLY.

[1] Compare on this matter Mr C. H. Turner in *The History and Use of Creeds and Anathemas* (S.P.C.K. 1906) pp. 50–53, p. 55 note, and pp. 37–38. The case of Epiphanius Mr Badcock does not allow, as he thinks the Creed in his *Ancoratus* cxx was originally N. To the cases adduced by Mr Turner may be added that of the early Nestorian Narsai († *circa* 502) who attributes to 'the 318 priests' a Creed which is substantially identical with the present Nestorian formula (*Texts and Studies* viii 1 p. 6).

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NOTES ON APOCRYPHA.

i. *Pseudo-Philo and Baruch.*

AMONG other problems connected with that enigmatical book, the 'Pseudo-Philo on Biblical Antiquities', one has occurred which may be worth putting forward. Was it used by the writer of the Apocalypse of Baruch? Here are some passages which suggest an affirmative answer. (I quote Kmoskó's Latin version in *Patrol. Syr.* i 2, 1907.)

Bar. lix. Et aquae quartae lucidae quas vidisti, hic est adventus Moysis, etc. Illo tempore lucerna legis aeternae illuxit omnibus qui sedebant in tenebris, quae credentibus annunciaret promissionem mercedis eorum et incredulis tormentum ignis ipsis reservatum.

Philo (God speaks to Moses.) Et inclinavi caelos et descendi incendere lucernam populo meo.

(Joshua's speech on the vision of Abraham, Gen. xv). Ego autem . . . pavorem circumdedi eum, et ante eum locum ignis in quo expientur opera facientium iniquitatem in me et faculas ostendi ignis unde illuminabuntur iusti qui crediderunt mihi.

Bar. lix. Sed et caeli illo tempore remoti sunt a loco suo, et qui sub throno fortissimi erant commoti sunt quando receperat Moysen apud se.

Philo (on the giving of the Law). Et caeli plicabantur, etc., etc., et angeli praecurrebant quousque deus poneret legem testamenti sempiterni filiis Israel, etc.

Bar. lix. Indicavit enim ei monita multa cum institutis legum et finem temporis . . . item autem similitudinem Sion et mensuras eius quae facienda erant in similitudinem sanctuarii hodierni.

Philo (Moses on Pisgah). Et ostendit ei mensuras sanctuarii et numerum oblationum.

(Moses on Sinai.) Et ostendit ei similitudinem eorum ut faceret secundum exemplar quod viderat.

Bar. lix. Sed etiam tunc ostendit ei mensuras ignis et profunditates quoque abyssi et pondus ventorum et numerum guttarum pluviae et repressionem irae . . . et altitudinem aëris et magnitudinem Paradisi et finem saeculorum et initium diei iudicii *et numerum oblationum* (see above) . . . et os gehennae, etc.

Philo (Moses on Pisgah). Et ostendit ei locum unde elevant nubes aquam ad irrigandum omnem terram, et locum unde accipit fluvius

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irrigationem, et terram Aegypti, et locum firmamenti . . . Et ostendit ei locum unde pluit manna populo usque ad semitas paradisi.

Bar. lx. Et aquae quintae nigrae . . . ista sunt opera quae faciebant Amorrhaei et incantationes magicarum suarum quas faciebant, et malitia mysteriorum ipsorum et permixtio immunditiae eorum. Sed etiam Israel inquinatus est peccatis diebus Iudicum quando videbant signa multa quae fiebant ab eo qui fecit ipsos.

Philo (story of Cenez, the first Judge). Interrogavit derelictos de tribu Dan, et dixerunt: Nos docuerunt Amorrei quae ipsi agebant ut doceremus filios nostros . . . Hae sunt Nymphae quae invocatae ostenderunt Amorreis per singulas horas opera eorum. . . . Et hi sunt lapides preciosi quos habebant Amorrei in sanctis suis.

Audivit multitudinem Amorreorum dicentium: Surgentes expugnemus Israel. Scimus enim quoniam sanctae nostrae Nymphae ibi sunt cum eis et tradent eos in manus nostras.

Compare also his account of the *Midianite* wizard Aod, who 'abiit et fecit magicis suis, praecipiens angelis qui praeerant maleficiis'.

Bar. lxiv 7. Manasses illo tempore appellatus est impius, et in fine in igne fuit habitatio eius (also xliv 15. Domicilium autem reliquorum multorum in igne erit).

Philo (of Jair). Et in quo igne morieris, in eo habebis habitationem.

(of Doeg). Et erit habitatio eius cum Iair semper in igne inextinguibili.

The above parallels occur (all but one) in a single section assigned by Dr Charles to a writer called A^3 of A.D. 50–70: the exception, from c. xliv, is given to 'B^2' later than A.D. 70.

Those which follow are from other parts of Baruch.

Bar. iv 3 (the heavenly Sion). Quae hic praeparata fuit ex quo cogitavi facere paradisum. Et ostendi eam Adam priusquam peccaret; cum vero abiecit mandatum, sublata est ab eo, ut etiam Paradisus. Et postea ostendi eam servo meo Abraham noctis inter divisiones victimarum. Et iterum etiam Moysi ostendi eam in monte Sinai quando ostendi ei imaginem tabernaculi et omnia vasa eius.

Philo (God speaks to Moses). Et dixit: Hic locus est quem docui protoplastum dicens: Si non transgredieris quae tibi mandavi, omnia sub te erunt. Ille autem transgressus est . . . Et adiecit dominus adhuc ostendere vias paradisi et dixit ei: Hae sunt viae quas perdiderunt homines non ambulantes in eis . . .

(Moses on Sinai.) Et praecepit ei de tabernaculo et de arca domini . . . et de candelabro et de labro et vasis eius . . . et ostendit ei similitudinem eorum, etc.

Bar. xxi 23. Et obsignetur infernus ne ex hoc nunc accipiat mortuos, et reddant promptuaria animarum eas quae in eis inclusae sunt.

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Et tunc ad finem aequiparabitur omne sicut mensura temporum et sicut horae aetatum.

xlii 6, 7. Tollet enim corruptio eos qui eius sunt, et vita illos qui eius sunt. Et advocabitur pulvis et dicetur ei: Redde quod tecum non est, et siste omne quod custodisti ad tempus suum.

Philo (Deborah). Signata est enim iam nunc mors, et perfecta est, et mensura et tempus et anni reddiderunt depositum suum . . . quoniam et infernus accipiens sibi deposita non restituet nisi reposcetur ab eo qui deposuit ei.

(God speaks to Noah.) Et vivificabo mortuos, et erigam dormientes de terra, et reddet infernus debitum suum et perditio restituet paratecem suam.

These parallels, which might, I believe, be increased in number, are telling. The view that Baruch is the source and Philo the copyist can hardly commend itself: he must be regarded as a source of Baruch, and as a source not used only by the writer of a single section.

Philo's book, however, is admittedly of one date, and that after A.D. 70. Dr Charles's assignment, therefore, of a date before 70 to the section of Baruch (liii–lxxiv) in which Philo is most obviously used, falls to the ground. I ought to add that I find it impossible to accept the scheme of the dissection of Baruch as set forth by Dr Charles. In this case, as in that of 4 Esdras, the inability to allow for slight inconsistencies consequent upon the weaving together of disparate strands of apocalyptic tradition has been the snare of over-ingenious critics.

ii. *Apocrypha in Commodian.*

It is to be supposed as generally recognized that Commodian in constructing his very elaborate scheme of the end of the world has welded together the data of several independent apocalypses, that of John being for him perhaps the most authoritative. One of the works he used contained revelations about the 'lost' 9½ tribes. What it was remains to be determined. Another, I am now able to say, was the Apocalypse of Peter. From this he draws the following passages:—

Instr. II ii 1, &c.	C. A. 1001
Dat tuba caelo signum sublato leone	Ecce canit caelo rauca . . .
	quae pauidat totum orbem . . .
Et fiunt desubito tenebrae cum caeli fragore	Sol fugit incaute, subito fit noctis imago
	995
In flamma ignis Dominus iudicabit iniquos	Cum coeperit autem mundum iudicare per ignem

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Instr. II ii 1, &c.	C. A. 1001
Iustos autem non tanget ignis sed immo delinget	Deuitatque pios et cadet super impios ignis
	1006
Tantus erit ardor ut lapides ipsi liquescant	Cum strepitu tonitrui descendit impetus ignis
In fulmine cogunt uenti, furet ira caelestis	Stellae cadunt caeli, iudicantur astra nobiscum
Ut quacumque fugit impius occupetur ab igne	His tantum proficiet, qui fuerint Christo notati
	Ros ad illos erit, nam ceteris poena letalis
	1021
	Quocunque se uertunt homines, uis ignea feruet, etc.

Instr. II iv (a second fall of fire)

Emissus iterum dei dominabitur ignis
In una flamma conuertitur tota natura
Uritur ab imis terra
De mare nil remanet
Interit hoc caelum et ista terra mutatur, etc.

The points here are: the darkness preceding the fall of fire; the fire discriminating between good and bad; men fleeing but overtaken by the fire; the heaven being judged; the general destruction.

A passage in C. A. (749 sqq.) is evidently based on the torment of idolaters in the Apocalypse:—

> Quisque deos ergo sequitur fabricatos in auro
> Argento uel lapide, ligno uel aeramine fusos
> Cum ipsis infelix mittetur in igne refectus (*or* refectis)
> Nec ibi permoritur sed dat cruciatus iniquus (ignitos *Ludwig*).

The noticeable words are 'Cum ipsis'. In the Apocalypse the worshippers are tormented in the presence of their idols.

Another curious example of Commodian's apocryphal sources is this. In C. A. (562, &c.) he relates the Appearance to Thomas, to whom our Lord says:—

> Accede propius et contange corpus ut ante;
> Non ego sum umbra, mortuorum qualis habetur:
> *Vestigium umbra non facit.* considera uulnus.

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The only other instance known to me of this detail, that a shade leaves no foot-marks, is in the *Testament en Galilée*, ed. Guerrier, c. 22: 'Toi, André, vois si mes pieds foulent la terre, et s'il y a des traces (de pas): car il est écrit dans le prophète que les fantômes, les démons, ne laissent pas de traces sur la terre.' The fact that this book existed in Latin under the title of *Epistola Apostolorum* makes it easier to understand that Commodian should have seen it.

iii. *2 Clement and the Apocalypse of Peter.*

Scattered through the ancient Homily, which bears the title of the Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, are phrases and ideas which to my mind are evidence that the author read, and respected the teaching of, the Apocalypse of Peter. It will be convenient to present these in a collected form.

l 4. *τὸ φῶς γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐχαρίσατο.*

A. P. ap. Method.: *σὺ οὐκ ἐφθόνησας ἡμῖν ὦ κύριε τὸ κοινὸν τοῦτο φῶς.*

v 1. *μὴ φοβηθῶμεν ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.*

viii 3. *μετὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου.*

A. P. Gr. *ἵνα τῶν ἀδελφῶν . . . τῶν ἐξελθόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου.*
μέγιστον χῶρον ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόσμου τούτου.

v 7. *ἀποπίπτομεν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς δικαίας.*

A. P. *τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης . . . ἀφέντες τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.*

ix 1. *μὴ λεγέτω τις ὑμῶν ὅτι αὕτη ἡ σὰρξ οὐ κρίνεται οὐδὲ ἀνίσταται.*

A. P. (Eth.) has much to say on the resurrection of the flesh.

xvi 3. *γινώσκετε δὲ ὅτι ἔρχεται ἤδη ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς κρίσεως ὡς κλίβανος καιόμενος, καὶ τακήσονταί τινες τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ ὡς μόλιβος ἐπὶ πυρὶ τηκόμενος· καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ κρύφια καὶ φανερὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων.*

A. P. (Eth.) describes the final fire and the destruction of the firmament: as quoted in Macarius (if this be indeed from the Apocalypse) it has: *καὶ τακήσεται πᾶσα δύναμις οὐρανοῦ.*

xvii 5. *καὶ ὄψονται τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κράτος οἱ ἄπιστοι· καὶ ξενισθήσονται ἰδόντες τὸ βασίλειον τοῦ κόσμου ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, λέγοντες· Οὐαὶ ἡμῖν, ὅτι σὺ ἦς καὶ οὐκ ἐπιστεύομεν κτλ.*

A. P. (Eth.). 'They will all behold me coming on a shining eternal cloud . . . My Father will set a crown on my head. Then, beholding that, the peoples will weep, every one apart.'

Gr. *οὐκ ἐπιστεύομεν ἐλεύσεσθαι εἰς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον*, and see below.

xvii 7. *οἱ δὲ δίκαιοι εὐπραγήσαντες καὶ ὑπομείναντες τὰς βασάνους καὶ μισήσαντες τὰς ἡδυπαθείας τῆς ψυχῆς.*

A. P. *τοὺς πιστοὺς τοὺς . . . θλιβομένους καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βίῳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἑαυτῶν δοκιμάζοντας.*

xvii 7. *ὅταν θεάσωνται τοὺς ἀστοχήσαντας καὶ ἀρνησαμένους . . . τὸν*

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'Ιησοῦν, ὅπως κολάζονται δειναῖς βασάνοις πυρὶ ἀσβέστῳ ἔσονται δόξαν διδόντες τῷ θεῷ αὐτῶν.

A. P. (Eth.). 'The righteous will see those who hated them being punished: the torment of each is for ever, according to his deeds. With one voice those who are in torment will say, Have mercy on us, for we know now the judgement of the Lord which He told us aforetime and we believed not' (cf. xvii 5).

xix 3. ἐκεῖνος ἄνω μετὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀναβιώσας εὐφρανθήσεται εἰς τὸν ἀλύπητον αἰῶνα.

A. P. (Eth.). Hast thou seen the company of the Fathers? this is their rest.

(Gr.). ποιός ἐστιν ὁ αἰὼν ἐν ᾧ εἰσι ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν δόξαν;

iv. *Heathen use of the Apocalypse of Peter.*

Among the causes which contributed to the rejection of the Apocalypse of Peter by leading Christian scholars (not by the people) I take this to have been one, that it afforded an easy and advantageous point of attack to the heathen objector. Both Celsus and the writer whom Macarius Magnes answers may be adduced on the point: the latter with certainty since he names it as his source in one place: the former almost as confidently.

In Macarius we have the well-known quotation—perhaps two quotations—in *Apocr.* iv 6, 7 (16). But also in iv 30 there is a passage, on the resurrection of the flesh, which seems clearly to have been inspired by the Apocalypse. Τίνος γὰρ ἕνεκεν τοῦτο ποιήσειεν ὁ θεὸς . . . τὰ δ' ἅπαξ δόξαντα τῷ θεῷ . . . αἰώνια αὐτὰ προσήκει εἶναι καὶ μήτε καταγινώσκεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ δημιουργήσαντος μήτε διαφθείρεσθαι . . . ὅθεν ἄλογον εἰ, τοῦ παντὸς φθαρέντος, ἀκολουθήσει ἡ ἀνάστασις . . . εἰ δὲ κακεῖνό τις ἐθέλοι κατανοεῖν, εὑρήσει μεστὸν ἀβελτηρίας πρᾶγμα τὸ τῆς ἀναστάσεως· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν θαλάττῃ πολλάκις ἀπώλοντο καὶ ὑπὸ ἰχθύων ἀνηλώθη τὰ σώματα, πολλοὶ δ' ὑπὸ θηρίων καὶ ὀρνέων ἐβρώθησαν (he then puts an elaborate case). Ἀλλ' ἐρεῖς μοι ὅτι τοῦτο τῷ θεῷ δυνατόν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἀληθές. οὐ γὰρ πάντα δύναται κτλ.

Σκέψασθε δὲ κακεῖνο πηλίκον ἐστὶν ἄλογον εἰ μὲν ὁ δημιουργὸς τὸν μὲν οὐρανόν, οὗ μηδέν τις ἐνενόησε κάλλος θεσπεσιώτερον, περιόψεται τηκόμενον καὶ ἄστρα πίπτοντα καὶ γῆν ἀπολλυμένην, τὰ δὲ σεσηπότα καὶ διεφθαρμένα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀναστήσει σώματα κτλ.

It is in this last paragraph that we see most clearly how our author is summing up the data of the Petrine Apocalypse. It should be remembered, as an additional bit of evidence, that in the Ethiopic text the topic of the resurrection is treated, at length, *after* that of the burning of heaven and earth.

Celsus ap. Orig. v 14 ἠλίθιον δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ νομίζειν, ἐπειδὴ ὁ θεὸς

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ὥσπερ μάγειρος ἐπενέγκῃ τὸ πῦρ, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο πᾶν ἐξοπτηθήσεσθαι γένος· αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους διαμενεῖν, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ζῶντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πάλαι ποτε ἀποθανόντας, αὐταῖς σαρξὶν ἐκειναῖς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀναδύντας· ἀτεχνῶς σκωλήκων ἡ ἐλπίς· ποία γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ποθήσειεν ἔτι σῶμα σεσηπός; ὁπότε μηδ' ὑμῶν τοῦτο τὸ δόγμα καὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐνίοις κοινόν ἐστι· . . . οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ἀποκρίνασθαι καταφεύγουσιν εἰς ἀτοπωτάτην ἀναχώρησιν, ὅτι πᾶν δυνατὸν τῷ θεῷ· ἀλλ' οὔτε γε τὰ αἰσχρὰ ὁ θεὸς δύναται κτλ.

Here we have three points—the fire which will destroy the wicked and spare the good (the φρόνιμον πῦρ of Clement and *sapiens ignis* of Minucius Felix), the resurrection of the flesh, and the argument of God's omnipotence applied thereto.

Does it not seem as if Hierocles (if it be he), following Celsus, had drawn fresh material from the book which he recognized that Celsus had in his mind?

v. *Tertullian's allusion to the Apocalypse of Adam.*

In an early number of the *Bull. d'anc. litt. et arch. chrét.* (1911, p. 127) M. P. de Labriolle called attention to a difficulty presented by the last words of Tertullian *de Paenitentia*, which are :—

Peccator enim omnium notarum cum sim, nec ulli rei nisi paenitentiae natus, non facile possum super illa tacere, quam ipse quoque et stirpis humanae et offensae in Dominum princeps Adam exhomologesi restitutus in paradisum suum non tacet.

M. de Labriolle points out that the references given by Preuschen to the Latin and Armenian Lives of Adam do not suffice to explain Tertullian's words, which imply a knowledge of an utterance of Adam.

I think that a passage on which I commented in 1893 (*Apocrypha Anecdota* i 145) points in the direction of the true solution.

The Ep. of Barnabas (ii 10) says: ἡμῖν οὖν οὕτως λέγει· θυσία τῷ θεῷ καρδία συντετριμμένη (Ps. l 19)· ὀσμὴ εὐωδίας τῷ κυρίῳ καρδία δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακότα αὐτήν (non-Biblical). A marginal note here in the Constantinople MS is ψαλμ. Ν'. καὶ ἐν ἀποκαλύψει Ἀδάμ. The same quotation occurs in Clement and in Irenaeus, thus:—

(*a*) Clem. Al. *Paed.* iii 12 (Stählin i p. 286) after quoting (as Barnabas has also done) Isa. i 11–13: πῶς οὖν θύσω τῷ κυρίῳ; "θυσία" φησίν "τῷ κυρίῳ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον". πῶς οὖν στέψω ἢ μύρῳ χρίσω; "ὀσμή" φησίν "εὐωδίας τῷ θεῷ καρδία δοξάζουσα τὸν πεπλακότα αὐτήν."

(*b*) *Str.* ii 18. 79 (St. ii p. 154) τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ παρὰ Ἡσαΐᾳ (i 11) "τί μοι πλῆθος τῶν θυσιῶν" . . . καὶ πᾶσα ἡ περικοπή· "λῦε πάντα σύνδεσμον ἀδικίας" (Isa. lviii 6)· αὕτη γὰρ θυσία θεῷ δεκτή (cf. Isa. lvi 7, Ecclus. xxxv 6), καρδία συντετριμμένη (Ps. l 19) καὶ ζητοῦσα τὸν πεπλακότα. "ζυγὰ δόλια βδέλυγμα" κτλ. (Prov. xi 1).

(*c*) [Cf. *Str.* iv 5. 19 (St. ii p. 257) καίτοι καὶ Ἰώβ . . . ἡμῖν ἐστι παράδειγμα ἀγαθὸν ἀναγεγραμμένος, δυσωπῶν τὸν πειράσαντα, εὐλογῶν τὸν πλάσαντα.]

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(*d*) Iren. (IV xxix 3, Harvey i 195, Grabe IV xxxii, Mass IV xvii). He has quoted Ps. l 18, 19; Ps. xlix; Isa. i 11, 16–18. Then he says: 'quemadmodum alibi ait: sacrificium Deo cor contribulatum: odor suauitatis Deo cor clarificans eum qui plasmauit.'

Of these, the passage *c* hardly comes into consideration; but all the others occur in juxtaposition with Isa. i 11 sqq. and Irenaeus, who does not read the clause in Ps. l, might be interpreted as referring it to Isaiah. It may, then, be a supplement to some text of Isaiah or to that of Ps. l. But the marginal note of the MS of Barnabas is good evidence that it also occurred in the Apocalypse of Adam. The words would undoubtedly fit well into a speech of Adam, praising his Maker for pardon granted to him. To such an utterance Tertullian no doubt alludes; and we have reason to believe that among the Adamic books there was one which laid stress upon Adam's penitence after the Fall.

In the Gelasian decree is mention of a Penitence of Adam; Cedrenus (Migne, i 41) prefaces his extract from an Adam book about the hours of day and night with the statement that 'Adam in the 600th year having repented learned by revelation concerning the Watchers and the Flood, and concerning repentance and the divine incarnation, and concerning the prayers that are sent up to God by all creatures at every hour of the day and night, by the hand of Uriel, the angel that is over repentance.' Such were the contents of the Apocalypse of Adam; it included matter about penitence, in which a confession of Adam would naturally find a place. We do not, of course, possess it as a whole. The last and best edition of the fragments is in *Patrol. Syr.* i 2. The narrative portions may have left some traces in the Lives of Adam, and in the Conflict of Adam and Eve; but the indications are that the greater part of it must have been Apocalyptic and not Haggadic.

vi. *Traces of the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch in other writings.*

The text of this note is furnished by the Greek Physiologus as printed by Pitra *Spicil. Solesm.* iii p. 369 (cap. lii).

περὶ τοῦ γρυπός.

Ἔστιν ὁ γρὺψ μεγεθέστατον ὄρνεον παρὰ πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· οὗτος μὲν ἐν ἑῴᾳ γῇ εἰς τὸν λιμένα τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ ὅταν ἀνατέλλει ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τὰ βάθη τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ ῥαντίζει τὸν κόσμον τὰς ἀκτῖνας, ἀπολεῖ τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ ὁ γρύψ, καὶ δέχεται τὰς ἀκτῖνας τοῦ ἡλίου· καὶ ἕτερος συμπορεύεται αὐτὸν ἕως δυσμάς, ὡς γέγραπται· Ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ πορεύου, φωτοδῶτα, δὸς τῷ κόσμῳ φῶς.

Ἑρμηνεία. Ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν θεότητα δύο γρυπὲς συμπαρεστήκουν· τούτεστι Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἀρχιστρατηγὸς καὶ ἡ ἁγία θεοτόκος, καὶ δεχέται τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ θυμὸν ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἅπασιν ἐρεῖ· οὐκ οἶδα ὑμᾶς. Καλῶς οὖν ὁ φυσιολόγος ἔλεξε περὶ τοῦ γρύψ.

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This is corrupt, and, of course, late. In l. 2 a verb such as *κατοικεῖ* is wanted. In l. 3 *εἰς τὰ βάθη* need not be wrong; it may merely mean 'in the depths of the waters', though strictly no doubt *ἐκ τῶν βαθῶν* is required. The proceedings of the bird are obscurely expressed in the next lines: a quotation, which will be given later, will serve to explain them: *ἀπολεῖ* may be for *ἀπλοῖ*. In l. 5 *αὐτῷ* and not *αὐτόν* is naturally looked for; in 5, 6 a various reading given by Andr. Mustodoxides in his text of the Physiologus (1826 *συλλογὴ ἀνεκδότων*) is to be noted, viz.: *ὡς γέγραπται ἐν ταῖς πτέρυξιν αὐτοῦ· Πορεύσεται φωτοειδὲς* (*v.l.* *φωτουδὸς*) *τῷ κόσμῳ φῶς.* In l. 8 Mustodoxides has, for *ἡ ἁγία θεοτόκος*, *Γαβριήλ.*

A clearer exposition of what the Physiologus has in mind is in a passage of the Disputation of the Panagiote (orthodox Greek) with the Azymite (Latin) schismatic printed by Vassiliev in *Anecdota Graeco-Byz.*, and quoted by me on the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (*Apocr. Anecd.* ii p. lxv). It must be repeated here:—

Ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος δίδει τὸ στέμμα τῶν ἀγγέλων (gives the crown to the angels) *καὶ ἐνδύουσι τὸν ἥλιον καὶ ἀνατέλλει. καὶ εὐθὺς δύο ὄρνεα καλούμενα γρυψί, τὸ ἓν καλεῖται φίριξ* (*φοῖνιξ*) *καὶ τὸ ἕτερον χαλέδρις ὡς ἀπὸ πηχῶν ἐννέα, καὶ βρέχουσιν τὸν ἥλιον ἵνα μὴ καύσῃ τὸν κόσμον· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καίονται αἱ πτέρυγες τῶν ὀρνέων καὶ ἀπομένουσιν μόνον τὰ κρέη. καὶ πάλιν ὑπάγουσιν εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν καὶ λούονται καὶ πάλιν πτεροῦνται καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ὀρνέων ἐπαίρνουσιν μίμησιν οἱ ἀλέκτορες . . . καὶ προγνώθη τοὺς κτύπος τῶν ὀρνέων* (and they—the cocks—perceive the voice of the birds, i. e. of the Phoenix and Chaledris) *χάριτι τοῦ χριστοῦ καὶ σημαίνουσιν τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . καὶ τί λέγουσιν; . . . ὁ εἷς λέγει· πορεύου· ὁ ἕτερος· φωτοδότα· ὁ τρίτος· δὸς τὸ φῶς· ὁ τέταρτος· τὸν κόσμον· καὶ ἐνπληροῦσιν οἱ τέσσαροι ἤγουν ὁ χριστός.*

The Greek Apocalypse of Baruch (4 Baruch) §§ 6–8 gives an earlier account of the same matter:

Baruch sees the sun in his chariot, ready to go forth. *καὶ ἰδοὺ ὄρνεον περιτρέχον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἡλίου ὡς ὄρη ἐννέα . . . τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον παρατρέχει τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ τὰς πτέρυγας ἐφαπλῶν δέχεται τὰς πυριμόρφους ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ . . . καὶ ἤπλωσε τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶδον εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν πτερὸν αὐτοῦ γράμματα παμμεγέθη ὡς ἅλωνος τόπον ἔχων μέτρον ὡσεὶ μοδίων τετρακισχιλίων· καὶ ἦσαν γράμματα χρυσᾶ . . . καὶ ἀνέγνων· καὶ ἔλεγον οὕτως· Οὔτε γῆ με τίκτει οὔτε οὐρανός, ἀλλὰ τίκτουσί με πτέρυγες πυρός·* (Slavonic —but the son of the father—*πατρός* for *πυρός*) . . . *φοῖνιξ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.* The angels open the 365 gates of heaven. *Καὶ ἦλθεν φωνὴ λέγουσα· Φωτοδότα, δὸς τῷ κόσμῳ τὸ φέγγος· καὶ ἀκούσας τὸν κτύπον τοῦ ὀρνέου εἶπον· κύριε, τί ἐστιν ὁ κτύπος οὗτος; καὶ εἶπεν· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἐξυπνίζον τοὺς ἐπὶ γῆς ἀλέκτορας.* The sun then comes forth, and the Phoenix with it. Then Baruch is taken to the west and sees the sun and the bird returning: *τὸ δὲ ὄρνεον ἔστη τεταπεινωμένον καὶ συστέλλον*

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τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ. . . . διὰ τοῦ κατέχειν τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτῖνας, διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τῆς ὁλοημέρου καύσεως, δι' αὐτῶν ταπεινοῦται. Were it not for the wings of the Bird, no living thing could exist.

A step further back, to the *Secrets of Enoch*. I quote the last version, in *Pseudepigrapha of O.T.* (by N. Forbes):—

Recension A. 12[1]. And I looked and saw other flying elements of the sun, whose names are Phoenixes and Chalkydri, marvellous and wonderful, with feet and tails in the form of a lion, and a crocodile's head; their appearance is empurpled like the rainbow: their size is *nine* hundred measures, their wings are like those of angels, each has twelve, and they attend and accompany the sun, bearing heat and dew, as it is ordered them from God.

(In Recension B these creatures are merely angels.)

15[1] (at the rising of the sun). Then the elements of the sun, called Phoenixes and Chalkydri, break into song: therefore every bird flutters with its wings, rejoicing at the giver of light, and they broke into song at the commandment of the Lord.

15[2]. 'The giver of light comes to give brightness to the whole world.'

If the parallel passages in the Panagiote and Baruch had been taken into account (they are not mentioned in Dr Charles's notes), I think that the Slavonic text might have been differently translated in some particulars. For instance, the phrase in 12[1] 'bearing heat and dew' pretty evidently refers to the warding off of the sun's heat from the earth, and to the words βρέχουσιν τὸν ἥλιον. Also in 15 what is to my mind the plain meaning might have emerged in some such rendering as this: 'Therefore every fowl (*or* every cock) flutters with its wings; . . . and they utter this song at the commandment of the Lord "The giver of light comes to give (*or perhaps* Come, O giver of light; give) light to the whole world".' Most likely also the plural—Phoenixes and Chalkydri—is misleading, and there was really only one of each kind. In fact, a variant MS does describe them as two in number, 'one like a phoenix and the other like a chalkedris'.

Reverting to our first text, the *Physiologus*, we see that light is thrown on it by each of the three others. The creature described is called a γρύψ or griffin, and Enoch's description, with its 'feet and tail like a lion' and wings, justifies this. It lives by the ocean river: the Panagiote tells us that it bathes in the ocean every day. It is the largest of all fowls: in Enoch its size is 900 measures, in Baruch it is as long as 9 mountains, in the Panagiote it is (corruptly) 'as from 9 cubits'. Note the recurrence of the 9. (I feel sure Dr Hughes's emendation of Baruch in the *Pseudepigrapha* 'circling before the sun about 9 cubits away' is on the wrong lines, and indeed unnecessary.) Then we see that the γρύψ had a companion (either the Phoenix or the Chaledris) on its daily journey, and so it has in the Panagiote and in Enoch. We

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must assume that something has fallen out, or that the source has been unskilfully abridged, after δνσμάς, but we see that the remaining words should run 'as it is written on his wings, "Go forth, light-giver, give light to the world"'. In Baruch the Phoenix has an inscription on his wings, though it is not that recorded by *Physiologus*. What *Physiologus* does read is the utterance of the cock; it is almost identical in all our texts, and (as Professor Burkitt remarks[1]) it seems clearly to be meant for an imitation of a cock's crow.

We see further that *Physiologus* gives us the least intelligible of all the accounts. This particular section does not occur in the oldest manuscripts, nor, I think, in any of the ancient versions. Still, it is quite clear that his source depended on Baruch (and to some degree upon Enoch). The Panagiote has matter derived from both: perhaps he used a better text of *Physiologus*, or else the same source as the last-named.

Physiologus is thus a witness (of a sort) to the influence of the Greek Apocalypse of Baruch. I have another such to produce whose date and surroundings are fortunately ascertainable.

The Spanish Abbot, St Valerius (d. 695), whose works are printed in *España Sagrada* xvi and Migne *P. L.* lxxxvii, narrates several visions vouchsafed to his contemporaries. One such, seen by a youth named Baldarius (*Esp. Sag.* p. 385), contains the following episode. He has been brought before the Lord, who ordains that he shall return to earth, since his time is not yet fulfilled.

Cum autem me reducerent, ait illis dominus: Sustinete modicum, quia sol ascendet, donec pertranseat, ne eum radii solis exaestuent. Dum autem sustineremus, ecce ascendebat sol ab oriente sub nos summa uelocitate percurrens, ignifero fulgore rutilans, atque coruscans immenso candore radiabat. Cuius immanis gyri rotunditas incomparabilis erat. Ante ipsum autem praecedens ingenti magnitudine auis rufa, et desuper posteriora eius fusco colore fuscata saepe reuoluto alarum remigio crepitanti fragore impulso aëre temperabat exaestuantem eiusdem solis ardorem, quae alacri uelocitate properans praeteriit; post cuius terribilis uisionis abscessum coepimus remeare deorsum.

Here is the same conception as in Baruch, and in a similar setting. It is the first trace of the book in any Latin text that has been pointed out. Some quite rare apocrypha may well have been current in Spain, whether as importations from Africa, or under Priscillianist influence.

M. R. JAMES.

[1] *Jewish and Christian Apocalypse* p. 76 note.

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ΤΟΥ ΣΙΛΩΑΜ—הַשִּׁלֹחַ Isa. viii 6.

Σιλωάμ does not represent Heb. שִׁלֹחַ through confusion of ח and ם. A careful search throughout the proper names of O.T. has not produced a single instance of חַ- becoming -αμ, or, indeed, of final ח becoming -μ. שִׁלֹחַ would naturally be transliterated as Σιλωε; cf. Μανωε, Νωε, &c. I suggest that τοῦ Σιλωάμ represents a Hebrew *dual* form, either as defectively written or, more probably, as compressed in pronunciation, הַשִּׁלֹחָם.

The original form of the name, as Isaiah wrote it, was הַשִּׁלֹחַ = 'the Out-gushing' (גיחון has the same meaning)—the spring is intermittent. Isaiah's phrase, מי השלח, refers to the waters of the *Spring* ('Giḥon', 'The Fountain of the Virgin', 'Birket Sitti Maryam') as brought by the (old) conduit to the (old) pool, and not to the waters as in that *Pool* itself (see Cheyne *SBOT.* Isaiah Engl. p. 143).

When Isaiah 'went out to meet Ahaz' (Isa. vii 3), that king was engaged in hurriedly superintending the making of new waterworks for the supply of Jerusalem. These were intended to supplement, or perhaps entirely to supersede, the existing Shiloaḥ supply, and were at the opposite extremity of the city, that is, at or near the north-west angle of the walls. 'The waters of Shiloaḥ', at that time, were brought by the *old* conduit (discovered by Schick, see *PEFQS.* 1891, pp. 13–18) to the 'Old (or, "Tower") pool' ('Birket el-Hamrâ'). This old conduit was a serious danger to the defences of 'the city of David': it was also liable to be cut, or tampered with, by a besieging force. Isaiah, however, not only deprecated the king's panic in face of 'these two tails of smouldering firebrands' (*v.* 4): he supported the claims of the Shiloaḥ-supply.

Afterwards, it may have been by Isaiah's advice and with his co-operation, that Hezekiah carried out his extensive alterations and improvements in that supply. Briefly stated, what Hezekiah did was this: he stopped altogether the existing upper outflow of the Spring of Giḥon ('Fountain of the Virgin'), probably also covering in and protecting the spring itself. In place of the old conduit (thus rendered useless) to the old pool, he brought the water by means of the new conduit (famous for its inscription) to the new pool ('Birket Silwân', 'Pool of Siloam'), which he made to receive it. At the same time he

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built the dam for the old pool ('Birket el-Hamrâ'); which pool of course henceforward yielded in honour to the new pool with its wonderful means of supply, but at the same time served a new purpose as a reservoir for the surplus waters. (In plans of Jerusalem the 'Upper' and 'Lower' 'Pools of Giḥon' have nothing whatever to do with the Biblical 'Giḥon', 'Fountain of the Virgin'—see *BDB.* גיחון 2 b.)

See Isa. xxii 9, 11; 2 Chron. xxxii 4, 30 (render '*to* the west side of the city of David'); Ecclus. xlviii 17. In Isa. l. c. LXX's variations should be specially noticed. There is obvious confusion in the Greek, but it is not difficult to see what the translator, or the Hebrew scribe whom he followed, understood to have happened; e.g. 'they had diverted the water of the old pool into the city . . . and ye made for yourselves a water between the two walls, further inwards than the old pool (*ἐσώτερον τῆς κολυμβήθρας τῆς ἀρχαίας*)'.

In view of these engineering achievements, it would not be surprising if, side by side with the old name 'Shiloaḥ' (מי השלח), a new dual form 'Shiloḥayim', shortened into 'Shiloḥam', came into use as applied to the *two pools*. The dual significance, however, would in process of time pass from the name, as the old pool ('Birket el-Hamrâ') sank into disrepute, and the old conduit became, in all probability, wholly forgotten. The name, 'the Pool of Siloam', thus remained as belonging to the new (upper) pool only. Such, I suggest, was the history of this word.

The Greek translator, accordingly, would have used the dual form, as the form of the name familiar to him. But it is also possible that his Hebrew text already contained השלחם; for this would have arisen easily, especially during a period when it was the usual, and therefore the expected, form of the name, from MT השלח ההלכים, through confusion of ה and ם (as often).

With regard to the form הַשִּׁלֻחָם as a *dual*. That dual forms in ם־ and ן־ (cf. the Arabic 'Silwân') existed side by side with forms in ים־, ין־, for the same place-names, may be seen from the following list:—

דתן	Gen. xxxvii 17	Δωθαειμ A
דתינה	,,	
חרנים	Isa. xv 5 חורנן	Mesh. Inscr. l. 31
סברים	Ezek. xlvii 16	Σεβραμ B
עינים	Gen. xxxviii 14	Αιναν A
עינם	Josh. xv 34	(Μαιανει B) Ηναειμ A
עינן	Num. i 15	Αιναν B
חצר עינן	,, xxxiv 9	Αρσεναειμ B
ענם	1 Chron. vi 58	(MT עָנֵם, but) Αιναν B

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קריתים Num. xxxii 37 Καριαιθαμ B
קריתמה (כת׳) Ezek. xxv 9
קרתן Josh. xxi 32 קריתן Mesh. Inscr. l. 10

also perhaps

וחצור ויתנן Josh. xv 23 Ασοριωναιν B
(? יתנן = יתנין, 'two perpetual springs').

On such dual place-names, the dual significance being, in many cases, disputed by some authorities, see Ges.-K. (2nd Eng. ed. 1910) § 88 c: Hast. *DB.* iii p. 213 a, footnote (Stenning).

[Another form of the dual was probably ון–, e.g.

עפרון (כת׳) 2 Chron. xiii 19 Εφρων B
עפרין (קר׳) ,, Εφραιμ John xi 54
צמרים 2 Chron. xiii 4 Σομορων (or Σομωρων) B.]

The two forms, שִׁלֹחַ and שִׁלֹחָם, continued in use side by side: e.g. Neh. iii 15 MT ברכת הַשֶּׁלַח, *if* this is for הַשִּׁלֹחַ (but LXX as MT): Josephus, Σιλωά, Σιλωᾶς, and Σιλωάμ: NT Σιλωάμ Luke xiii 4: John ix 7 (interpreted as שִׁלֹחַ): Jerome, *Siloe.*

H. W. SHEPPARD.

EVST. 234

(Scrivener: 227.)

THIS beautiful MS of xii–xiii cent. was given to Sion College, London, by Mr Edward Payne, but nothing is known of its previous history or place of origin. It consists of 247 leaves of vellum of varying thickness, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, 2 columns, 19 lines of about 12–14 letters each; two or more leaves are missing, of two only the corners are left, in some places the leaves are mended and the missing words supplied in a late hand, two leaves (241 and 242) are in later (Scrivener: xvi cent.) writing, several leaves are displaced in binding.

The writing is large and very clear, in brownish ink, titles and musical notes in red, fair illuminations in gold at the beginning of each section, a few corrections (probably p.m.), a few marginal notes in black ink by a late scribe, complete system of accentuation, but some mistakes, also mistakes in aspiration (e.g. both ἀβραάμ and ἁβραάμ), no iota subscript or ascript, N ἐφελκ. always before vowels, often before consonants, comma rarely used, the punctum between the ῥήματα altered into a + (red ink) by the scribe who added the musical notes, signs of interrogation very rare.

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Itacisms are very frequent, the most numerous being: ω pro ο: 68, η pro ει: 63, ο pro ω: 62, ε pro αι: 59, η pro ι: 56, ει pro η: 48, ι pro η: 43, ι pro ει: 21[1], αι pro ε: 19; 12 mistakes in pers. pronouns.

Homoioteleuta occur Mt. xxiii 35, Mk. vi 15, Lk. i 11, Jn. viii 14, xvi 17, xix 28, 31 (?).

A few mistakes occur in superscriptions; thus the fact that the pericope adulterae is described as *ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ λουκ.* loses the importance it would otherwise have. Sometimes different variants (apart from itacisms) are found in the same passages where these occur in different places; thus in Jn. xix 35, which occurs in three places, we have: (1) *ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ*, (2) *ἐστιν αὐτοῦ ἡ μαρτυρία*, (3) *αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία.*

Contents:

I. Synaxarion.

1.	Daily Gospels from Easter to Pentecost	foll.	1–53.
2.	*σαββατοκυριακαί* for rest of year from St Mt.	,,	54–82.
3.	do. from St Lk.	,,	83–109.
4.	do. Sexagesima—Easter Eve,	,,	109 b–193.

II. Menology ,, 194–240.

III. *Εὐαγγέλια ἑωθινά* ,, 240 b–end.

Some feasts which Scrivener describes as uncommon occur in this MS as well as in Evst. 221 (Scrivener), viz. all those enumerated in his description of Evst. 221 given in *Adversaria Critica Sacra*, except Sept. 6 Eudoxius, Oct. 2 Cyprus and Justus, 30 Zenobius &c.

This might possibly point to the same place of origin for the two MSS, perhaps some eastern region of the patriarchate of Constantinople (Scrivener on Evst. 221). It is worth noticing, that thus Mk. v 24-34 is assigned to the feast of St Barbara (Dec. 4) in Evst. 234, Evst. 186 (Scrivener: 221), and Evang. 559, described in the January number of *J. T. S.*

*Notable variants.**

St Matthew.

ii 11 *ἴδον* pro *εὗρον*. 13 *ἀποκτεῖναι* pro *ἀπολέσαι*. 22 *τὴν γαλιλαίαν* pro *τὰ μέρη τῆς Γαλιλαίας*. iii 5 om. *Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ*. om. *ἡ* ante *Ἰουδαία*. +*χώρα* post *Ἰουδαία*. 16 +*ἐξ οὐρανοῦ* post *περιστεράν*. iv 6 *πόδαν*. v 44 *τοῖς μισοῦσιν* pro *τοὺς μισοῦντας*. 47 *φίλους* pro *ἀδελφούς*. vi 18 om. *ἐν τῷ φανερῷ*. vii 25 *προσέπεσαν*. 27 +*σφόδρα* post *μεγάλη*. viii 8 *λόγω* pro *λόγον*. 13 *ἡμέρα* pro *ὥρᾳ*.

[1] *ἴδον*, &c., is generally used for *εἶδον*, &c.

* MS collated with Lloyd and Sanday's N.T.

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x 5 om. τοὺς δώδεκα. 8 om. νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε. 39 om. ἕνεκεν ἐμοῦ. xi 1 τοὺς δώδεκα μαθητάς pro dativo. 15 + ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει ante ὁ ἔχων. xii 32 τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι pro τούτῳ τῷ αἰῶνι. 35 om. τῆς καρδίας. om. τὰ ante ἀγαθά. xv 32 ἡμέραι. xvi 19 λελημένον pro λελυμένον. xvii 22 εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν pro ἐν τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ. xviii 15 ἁμάρτῃ pro ἁμαρτήσῃ. 29. om. πάντα. 31 ταῦτα pro τὰ γενόμενα. xix 9 om. εἰ. 24 τρυμαλίας pro τρυπήματος. 28 αὐτῶ pro αὐτοῖς. xx 3 om. τὴν ante τρίτην. 6 ἴδεν pro εὗρεν. 31 ἔκραξαν pro ἔκραζον. xxi 3 ἀποστέλλει. 23 om. διδάσκοντι. 25 om. οὖν. xxii 7 + ἐκεῖνος post βασιλεύς. 23 om. οἱ ante λέγοντες. 30 om. τοῦ ante θεοῦ. 33 ἐξεπλάγησαν pro ἐξεπλήσσοντο. 37 ἔφη pro εἶπεν. om. τῇ ante καρδίᾳ et ψυχῇ. xxiii 5 γὰρ pro δὲ post πλατύνουσι. 8 ὑμῶν ἐστι διδάσκαλος pro ἐστιν ὑμῶν ὁ καθηγητὴς (alias : ὁ καθηγητὴς ὑμῶν). 21 κατοικήσαντι pro κατοικοῦντι. 25 ἀδικίας pro ἀκρασίας. 26 αὐτοῦ pro αὐτῶν. 35 om. Ἄβελ τοῦ δικαίου ἕως τοῦ αἵματος (hom.). xxiv 2 om. οὐ ante βλέπετε. om. μὴ post οὐκ. 9 θλίψεις pro θλίψιν. post v 9 + ὁ δὲ ὑπομείνας εἰς τέλος, οὗτος σωθήσεται. 15 ἑστὼς. 17 τὰ pro τι. 34 om. ἂν. 36 om. τῆς ante ὥρας. 42 om. ὥρᾳ. xxv 9 ἀρκέσει. 29 δοκεῖ ἔχειν pro ἔχει. 44 om. αὐτῷ. xxvi 1 om. πάντας. 11 τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε. 26 εὐχαριστήσας pro εὐλογήσας. 27 om. τὸ. 34 ὑμῖν pro σοι. 40 + ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς ante ἔρχεται. 52 ἀποθανοῦνται pro ἀπολοῦνται. 71 αὐτοῖς pro τοῖς. 74 καταθεματίζειν. xxvii 30 om. εἰς αὐτὸν. 33 ὅ pro ὅς. μεθερμηνευόμενον pro λεγόμενος. 35 om. ἵνα πληρωθῇ usque ad κλῆρον (idem alias, non ergo hom.). 41 + καὶ φαρισαίων post πρεσβυτέρων. 46 λιμᾶ pro λαμὰ. σαβαχθανῆ.

St Mark.

ii 11 om. σοὶ λέγω. v 28 ἐὰν μόνον pro κἂν. vi 15 om. Ἠλίας usque ad ὅτι (hom.). 25 om. ἐξ αὐτῆς. viii 34 ἀκολουθεῖν pro ἐλθεῖν. xv 24 διαμερίζονται. om. v 28. xvi 8 om. ταχὺ.

St Luke.

i 1 om. ἐν ante ἡμῖν. om. v. 11 (hom.). 27 + καὶ πατρίας post οἴκου. ii 48 om. τί ἐποίησας ἡμῖν οὕτως; 51 + συμβάλλουσα post ταῦτα. iii 2 ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως. 7 κρίσεως pro ὀργῆς. vi om. v. 6ª †. 9 ἀποκτεῖναι pro ἀπολέσαι. 20 τῶν οὐρανῶν pro τοῦ θεοῦ. viii 8 om. ταῦτα λέγων κτλ et add. post v. 15. 51 Ἰωάννην καὶ Ἰάκωβον. 53 αὐτῶ pro αὐτοῦ. ix 2 πάντας pro τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας. 33 + πάντοτε ante ὧδε. 34 λαλοῦντος pro λέγοντος. 35 + ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα post ἀγαπητός. x 20 om. μᾶλλον.

† Thus the two incidents are made to take place on the *same* Sabbath.

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27 om. *καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου.* xiii 27 *ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν ἀδικίαν.* xiv 5 *υἱὸς* pro *ὄνος.* post v 24 + *πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσι κλητοί κτλ.* xv 26 + *παρ' αὐτῶν* post *ἐπυνθάνετο.* om. *τί εἴη ταῦτα.* xvii 9 om. *αὐτῷ.* xviii 5 *εἰσερχομένη* pro *εἰς τέλος ἐρχομένη.* 7 om. *τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ.* 36 + *ἂν* ante *εἴη.* xix 4 om. *δι'.* xxi 4 + *ταῦτα λέγων ἐφώνει, ὁ ἔχων κτλ.* 16 *γονέων—συγγενῶν—φίλων—ἀδελφῶν.* 27 *ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν* pro *ἐν νεφέλῃ.* xxii 30 om. *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου.* 36 *πωλήσει* pro *πωλησάτω. ἀγοράσει* pro *ἀγορασάτω.* xxiv 10 om. *ἦσαν δὲ.* om. *αἳ* ante *ἔλεγον.*

St John.

i 28 *Βηθανίᾳ.* 50 om. *εἶπόν σοι.* ii 17 *καταφάγεται.* iii 25 *Ἰουδαίου.* iv 16 *ἄνδραν.* 35 *τετράμηνος.* v 15 *λέγει* pro *ἀνήγγειλε.* vi 1 om. *τῆς Γαλιλαίας.* 10 *ἀνέπεσαν.* vii 26 + *οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ* post *ἔγνωσαν.* viii § 3 *ἐπὶ μοιχίας.* 4 *κατειλήπται.* 5 *καὶ ἐν* pro *ἐν δὲ.* + *ἡμῶν* post *νόμῳ.* om. *ἡμῖν. λιθάζειν* pro *λιθοβολεῖσθαι.* 6 *εἶπον* pro *ἔλεγον. ἐκπειράζοντες. ἵνα σχῶσι κατηγορίαν κατ' αὐτοῦ.* 7 *ἀνέκυψε καὶ* pro *ἀνακύψας. αὐτοῖς* pro *πρὸς αὐτούς. πρώτου* pro *πρῶτος. βαλέτω λίθον ἐπ' αὐτήν.* 9 om. *καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἐλεγχόμενοι.* om. *ἕως τῶν ἐσχάτων.* om. *μόνος. οὖσα* pro *ἑστῶσα.* 10 om. *καὶ μηδένα* usque ad *γυναικός. γύναι* pro *ἡ γυνή.* om. *ἐκεῖνοι οἱ κατήγοροί σου.* 11 om. *αὐτῇ.* + *ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν* ante *μηκέτι.* 14 om. *ὑμεῖς δὲ* usque ad *ὑπάγω* (hom.). ix 9 *αὐτοῦ* pro *αὐτῷ.* 10 *ἠνεῴχθησαν.* 21 *οὖν* pro *νῦν.* 31 *ἁμαρτωλὸν.* 38 *αὐτόν* pro *αὐτῷ.* x 8 om. *πρὸ ἐμοῦ.* xi 47 + *κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* post *συνέδριον.* xii 4 *Σίμων ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης* pro *Σίμωνος Ἰσκαριώτης.* 16 om. *ἐπ' αὐτῷ.* 25 *ἀπολέσας* pro *μισῶν.* xiii 8 om. *αὐτῷ ὁ* ante *Ἰησοῦς.* xiv 3 om. *καὶ* ante *ἑτοιμάσω.* 28 *πορεύομαι* pro *ὑπάγω.* xv 16 *δώσει* pro *δῷ.* xvi 15 *λαμβάνει* pro *λήψεται.* om. v 17 (hom.). xvii 11 *ὃ* pro *οὓς.* 20 *πιστευόντων.* 26 *δέδωκάς μοι* pro *ἠγάπησάς με.* xix 16 *παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἤγαγον εἰς τὸ πραιτώριον* pro *παρέλαβον κτλ.* 17 *ὃ* pro *ὃς.* 20 om. *ὁ τόπος.* 27 *ἡμέρας* pro *ὥρας.* 28 *ἰδὼν* pro *εἰδὼς.* om. *ἵνα τελειωθῇ* usque ad 30 *τετέλεσται* (hom.). 31 om. *ἐπεὶ* usque ad *σαββάτου* (hom. ?). 35 vide supra. xx 13 *ἐκ τοῦ μνημείου* pro *μου.* 29 om. *Θωμᾶ.* xxi 1 om. *πάλιν.* 2 *υἱοὶ* pro *οἱ.*

No notice is taken of the usual alterations made in the opening sentences of the liturgical Gospels, as these are not considered to be of any special interest to the textual critic.

C. STEENBUCH.

§ The collation of the pericope adulterae is given in full.

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CRAMER'S CATENA ON MATTHEW.

In vol. xii p. 106 of the JOURNAL Mr C. H. Turner gave a list of citations from Origen in the above catena, noticing that some of these may be wrongly assigned, especially those on Matt. xii 1 and xiv 36. A comparison with Chrysostom's Homilies on Matthew shews that not only these two, but also the citations on Matt. xii 10, xiii 25, and xv 5, are wholly or mainly from Chrysostom. Thus the quotation on xii 1 is from Chrysostom, Hom. xxxix (pp. 536–537 Field; see also Cramer, p. 484); that on xii 6 is—except the opening sentence—from Hom. xl (p. 545); xiii 25 from Hom. xlvi (II p. 10); xiv 36 from Hom. l (p. 62), except perhaps the opening words; xv 5 (second part) from Hom. li (p. 72). These false ascriptions seem confined to cc. xii–xv, but I may have failed to detect others.

HAROLD SMITH.

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REVIEWS

The Problem of Christianity. By JOSIAH ROYCE, Professor of the History of Philosophy at Harvard University. Two vols. (Macmillan, 1914.)

THIS book is both interesting and significant, though as a whole disappointing. It is significant as shewing the temper of mind which is asserting itself in the ranks of philosophical thinkers. Professor Royce seeks first of all to analyse the main ideas which have been actually operative in the history of the Church of the New Testament and after; and then, in a second volume, to enquire into the truth of these ideas, their relation to Reality. The three main ideas are thought to be (1) loyalty to the beloved community, (2) the moral burden of the individual, (3) the realm of grace. The main difficulty of vol. i is that the author seems to be attempting the impossible feat of finding out what is essential to New Testament Christianity, without acknowledging his beliefs on fundamental philosophical questions. Unfortunately one cannot decide any such analysis without being influenced *ab initio*, implicitly or explicitly, by beliefs as to the nature of Knowledge and Reality; and, as a matter of fact, in this particular book, there is resulting ambiguity and indecision with reference both to metaphysics and to theology. The truth seems to be that the attempt to find the essence of Christianity in one or two main doctrines is doomed to failure; such a procedure always means that other and complementary doctrines, though half recognized in theory, are ignored in practice, and onesidedness, instead of organic growth, ensues. Loisy criticized this tendency in Harnack (see the Introduction to his *L'Évangile et l'Église*), and I am bound to criticize Royce's work for similar reasons, though he reaches conclusions very different from those of the Berlin Professor.

To come now to Royce's analysis. He regards the conception of the beloved community as the first main idea of Christianity. The individual, as he is empirically, is subject to an overwhelming moral burden, and it is only as a member of a completely ethical society that this burden can be rolled away. But where is this completely ethical society to be found? What is it that causes the community to be 'beloved'? We have two answers from Professor Royce. The first is that a cause is that which unites many selves in one, and that Christ is not only the spirit of the community but its lover; the second is that the objects of Christian love are 'God, the neighbour, and the one Church',

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and that the union with the Father involves a union with the universal community. If the first answer were worked out, we might acquire a gospel of Christ and His Church which is neither merely Liberal nor merely Modernist; as it is, the second answer, being easier and not so far thought out, receives most attention, and Royce continues to ask how far an organic community can be sustained on an empirical basis, i. e. without mysticism. This way Positivism seems to lie. I would venture to suggest that a closer study of the eschatological hope in the New Testament Church and of the doctrine of the Ascension is necessary before we can advance beyond Royce's difficulty.

The second main Christian idea is that of 'the moral burden of the individual'. Professor Royce well insists that the doctrine of sin is not merely the doctrine of conduct, and that the big problem is how we came to value conduct as meaning something. Our moral self-consciousness, he tells us, is a product of social life: it is in the conflict and criticism between individuals in a society that moral advance seems to be won, and yet every moral law which is recognized by a social group is a registration of advance up to that time, and in so far limits the conflict and criticism. Now the trouble is that a false self-consciousness arises when the individual resents this collective will as seemingly oppressive, the result being that the individual acquires a mind which can give only a half-hearted assent to his deepest desires, which include and transcend the moral laws of his society. A conflict is set up between the 'social will' and this maimed individuality; to be 'under the law' is to be unable to escape from this conflict without surrender of conscience one way or the other. Mere self-assertion against the community when there is little self to assert becomes as futile as mere passivity to a society of a low order.

So the third main Christian idea is claimed as necessary, viz. 'The Realm of Grace'. Royce well insists that it is not loyalty to any and every community which saves, but 'loyalty to the Lord and His community'; also that individuals and communities are two different kinds of being, both being known through empirical deeds. Now, the problem of the origination of the loyal life can only be solved by one who unites in himself these two kinds of being. There has to be created both a loveable community and a true love for such a community. It is well recognized by Royce that the example of a detached individual could not suffice for such a creative deed, since the detached individual cannot be separated from his community, which is to begin with *not* loveable. And he further confesses that to St Paul the origin of grace was Christ's love for the community, that Christ was to him a supernatural being, and that the Trinitarian doctrine is the inevitable result of this belief. Yet, on the other hand, he seems to take back

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these statements by insisting that the problem of Grace is a purely human problem (i 191, 192), and that it was 'a purely human motive which forced the Christian consciousness to say that its community was due to the Master who died' (i 206).

In chapter vi, Professor Royce attempts to deal at closer range with the problem of Grace. He protests against the 'once-born' attitude of Matthew Arnold with regard to sin, and draws attention to the Christian doctrine of 'Wilful Sin' as the most suggestive line of approach to the doctrine of Grace. We all have some ideals, and we recognize that to commit certain actions would make us 'totally false' (i 246); when we are false to these accepted ideals, we are false to our own will and to our own cause. This actually happens, and the problem is how man can return to the old loyalty and the old acceptance of the ideal. What sort of atonement, if any, is possible? The 'angry God' theory and the idea of penal satisfaction is rightly rejected by Royce as being of no use to the repentant traitor; yet, on the other hand, the modern 'liberal' theory, that contemplation of the sacrifice of Christ arouses repentance, misses the central difficulty, viz. that already the compelling power of love has been consciously opposed (i 289). An easy forgiveness, the removal of the sense of penalty, confidence in the traitor's good intentions for the future, all this cannot provide the needed reconciliation. Royce concludes that the reconciliation must therefore be 'created' by a new deed which is done by the community or on its behalf, by one who is not stained by the traitor's deed and in whom the spirit of the community is incarnate (i 304). This One must perform a creative deed which could not have happened apart from the treason, and which yet so transforms the world that it is better than it could have been had the treason not happened. The worst of tragedies has to become the means of an otherwise impossible triumph. Hence Royce recognizes that the Christian atonement is an objective accomplishment, Christ's work, and not merely the effect of Christ's work in man, but he goes on to say that this Christian doctrine is 'only the symbolical expression' of an objective postulate which is purely human, that to every act of treason there will be an act of atonement (i 322).

The ambiguity latent in these last two statements becomes patent in chapter vii on the 'Christian Doctrine of Life'. The truth is that Royce has not the metaphysical background necessary to explain the rationale of even the symbolical relation between the Christian atonement and 'the objective moral postulate'. It is stated that the Christian doctrine of life is, that God loves the individual only as a member of the community of the Kingdom of Heaven' (i. 349); Royce, however, does not make clear how the beloved community is based in Reality. He asserts that 'there is a unity above the

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individuals which wins them to itself' (i 351). It seems obvious that only by making clear this metaphysical notion of 'a unity above the individuals' will the doctrine of Grace be explicated. But the author seems to flutter between the horns of the doctrinal dilemma. He speaks further on (i 405) of 'the doctrine of the two levels of human existence', the lower level being the human individual and the higher level '*Man the Community*'. Is then this higher level of life to which man has to be won only an ideal human society? If so, Positivism is true, and we had better say so; but if this higher level of life can be called 'a realm of life which is infinitely superior to any human life we now experience' (i 408), then Royce must commit himself to something like the Trinitarian doctrine of God. Then 'the unity above the individuals' (the Son) becomes different from the God (the Father) who loves the individuals as members of the Community, and yet necessarily related to Him. It is because Royce does not definitely take sides in this matter that all the ambiguity arises as to the history of early Christianity. On the one hand we are told that 'the human source of the Christian doctrine of life was the early Christian community'; on the other, that 'Jesus set in motion the vital impetus and made the Christian religion possible'. Clearly nothing is done to shew how in our blessed Lord 'the two levels of existence' are united, and this, according to Royce's own contention, is the main point.

In the last chapter of vol. i the attitude of 'the modern mind' to Christianity is considered under three propositions, (1) that man needs an absolute gospel which will give absolute satisfaction to his needs, (2) that the needs of which man is conscious change with the changing social structure, (3) that a distinction must be drawn between the Christian 'life-doctrines' and the traditional theology and institutionalism. It is only the modern man, who is in a position to give a significant summary of the history of Religion, who is claimed by Royce to assert these propositions.

In criticism of this chapter, I must observe that underlying the second and third propositions there is a common error in the midst of much truth. How comes it about that men fail to be conscious of their fundamental needs, and that when their real needs remain unsatisfied, the social structure often collapses? It may well be that *part* of the collective social will of the present day, which does *not* support institutional Christianity, has gone wrong in just this way. Royce himself admits that 'private individual illumination' is neither a cure for the present situation nor true to the genius of the Christian doctrine of life, and that therefore theology and institutionalism are ultimately necessary (i 398). But his attitude to the actual creeds and actual institutions is by no means clear. As with Eucken, so with Royce,

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their excellent intentions give theologians little or no practical help, and there is much to be said for the view that most people are more likely to find their way to the true Christian doctrine of life through a loyal and intelligent use of Christian theology and practice as a whole, than through the sparse and one-sided theology and practice to which Professor Royce would seem to be loyal, or through the renewal of Christianity 'outside the Churches' which Eucken seems to desire.

Volume ii sets out to discuss the truth of the main Christian ideas of life. Philosophically it is the beginning of an attempt to deal with the problem of the One and the Many, an attempt which seeks to take us beyond the relativism of Pragmatism, the conceptualism of Neo-Realism, and the mere intuitionism of Bergson. Interpretation rather than ideation or intuition is, to Royce, the fundamental cognitive act of our temporal experience. It involves an interpreter, that which is interpreted, the one to whom the interpretation is made, the standard by which the interpretation is controlled. At some length Royce applies this to our knowledge of Nature and of other human selves: and then, when all the ideal elements of our life point in the one direction, he would have his readers accompany him through interpreting loyalty to the ideal community to the final objective reference to God as the Interpreter of the temporal process.

Now what is meant by 'God as Interpreter of the world'? The whole second volume is an attempt to make this clear.

In the first place, Royce insists that all concrete metaphysics must begin with the 'doctrine of the Spirit in the community'; otherwise it becomes mere conceptualism, and even if some kind of a theism is reached, it is not Christian. Only a theism, which grows out of the doctrine of the ideal community and of the Divine Spirit as constituting the united life of the community, can take into full account the Christian fact; and it is only as we can find 'some metaphysical theory of the community and of its relation, if such relation it possesses, to the Divine Being', that we are beginning to understand the Christian Creed, which includes 'I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints'.

The problem to notice here is how the community can have such a unity as can sustain a relation with the Divine Being. Royce sees the centrality of this, but his elucidation of it is clearly the weak point of the volume. The Logos Christology with the Trinitarian doctrine has been the orthodox way of dealing with this difficulty, but there is not in this book any attempt to understand and re-interpret these doctrines. The result is that his answer as to 'how the unitary life of a community is constituted' is an attempt to treat a true community as merely a product of Time, as a society of memory and of hope. Surely

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it is a *relation to the Eternal, approached through the temporal outlook of memory and hope*, that constitutes the unity either of an individual or of a society. Certainly Royce has to admit that St Paul's religious synthesis was gained 'by uniting memory and hope' (ii 78), and I am constrained to add that the fixedness of the historical facts of Jesus Christ's life and death and of the cataclysmic hope of the kingdom in and through Him somehow inevitably unite and effectively symbolize the eternal and the once for all.

Apart from Eternity, the past and the future cannot be united. When the Eternal is not given its true place, love for the common life of a community, if it ever really happened, would cause the individual to vanish, which in the Christian redemption is just what does not happen.

However much the reference to memory and hope is psychologically necessary for the Christian community, its life would fall apart into the actual and the ideal, if that is all. This Royce would deplore, and yet it will always happen if the Eternal is put merely at the end of a temporal process. The present vision of the unity of the life of the community needs for its realization something more than a temporal occurrence or an outlook of memory and of hope. Royce struggles with this fact when he implies that the vision of the spiritual unity of the community can never happen as a mere occurrence in the life of a finite interpreter. In fact, it is from the inability of finite mind to carry the process of interpretation to its goal that he passes to the objective reference to God.

But the difficulties of his argument follow him. He continues to speak of 'God *and* the Communion of Saints', but this is not the language of the Saints themselves as to the Beatific Vision of the Blessed Trinity. What, then, does this phrase mean? It does *not* mean to Royce the position of philosophical Singularism, viz. that there is only one subject of predication and that all human beings are only modes in God's life, i.e. His predicates. God is, to Royce, the Interpreter of the *world* of spirits to each individual (ii 219), and, again, 'God is the Spirit of the Community who compares and, *through a real life*, interprets all the individuals'.

It seems that Royce can only escape Singularism by making more explicit what is this '*real life*' which forms the absolute standard of God's interpretation. Only so can he win any right to talk of a *world of Spirits* at all. The issue seems clear. Either we are to believe in an objective spiritual realm or 'world of interpretation' (ii 160) in which alone we learn to acknowledge the being and inner life of our fellow-men and which is separable in thought from the individuals interpreted—or we fall back into the pluralistic view that the *rapport* of souls is a matter

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of haphazard experiment. This latter view, with its corollary of the mutability of truth, Royce would certainly reject, and he also makes clear that the endless and never quite completed approach to the apprehension of truth by means of interpretative signs does not destroy the necessary reference to absolute truth all the way. Yet it cannot be said that he quite takes us over to a κόσμος νοητός or a theology of the Second Person of the Trinity. Without this the phrase 'God *and* the Communion of Saints' is ambiguous.

I do not think that such a criticism need imply the adoption of a 'static view of Reality' (ii 270), which Royce rightly and vigorously opposes. 'The one right attitude of Will' (ii 323) is at once *given* to us in the Christian realm of Grace, and yet we have *to search for it* through a series of acts in time. The differentia of Christian morality is the command 'Be what you essentially are in Christ, i. e. as a member of His Body'. Royce recognizes that always, despite all modern complications, the loyal individual can find some fragment of the true community actually existing in perfection, though not of course in completion (ii 253, 276). But he does not help us to understand how the ideal thus becomes fact in and through Christ. It is not enough to say that 'we always stand in the presence of the Divine interpretation of the temporal process and can be, *if we choose*, members of the true universal community'; since it is just this problem of choice which, apart from union with Jesus Christ, has baffled man's aspirations after the true loyalty from the beginning.

One final word, on the Jesus and Christ controversy, which is treated in chapter xv, under the now common title of 'The Historical and the Essential'. Royce, as we have seen, takes the one essential article of the Creed to be 'the Divine Spirit dwelling in the living Church redeems mankind'; and he relies on the true statement that 'the religious experience of the community lies at the basis of the whole Christological developement' (ii 338) to argue that it is possible to accept or reject either orthodox or liberal doctrines of the Person of Christ. This attitude of a 'plague on both your houses' would be justified as a matter of tactics if Christological discussion had degenerated into barren conceptualism. But Royce goes further, and asks us to 'hold fast' the faith of the Pauline Churches, while giving up the doctrine of the Person of the Founder as 'not being the core of the gospel'.

Now the faith of the Pauline Churches, on Royce's own admission, included the following beliefs: (1) 'Christ is the indwelling Spirit of the community and His Personal History is for the Church an historical reality spiritually interpreted' (ii 369); (2) The Cross, Death, Resurrection, and Appearance of the Lord are to the Church *both* historical and essential (ii 356); (3) The Church believes that,

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'through the might of the Spirit, the world has found its deliverer; the Divine Spirit has appeared on earth and now dwells in the community of the faithful' (ii 375).

Royce, then, argues that just as New Testament symbols as to the end of the world were but images of the truth, so with the symbols of the 'way in which the world was redeemed'. We must grant that the redemption of the world, 'the coming of the end', cannot become *completely visible* at any moment of Time, and it is well to emphasize the fact that our Lord never held that the coming of the kingdom was identifiable with any event or string of events in His historical career. Also, we must agree with Royce and with St Augustine that the theses of dogmatic theology cannot be *proved* by historical evidences and apart from the religious experience of the Church.

But if we wish to know why Redemption was turned from an aspiration into a fact at a certain period of the world's history, we cannot brush aside the Christological problem as Royce would have us do. Why did the conception and hope of the Saviour-Lord, e. g., find its fulfilment in the New Testament Church, when their application to the mystery religions of the Hellenistic age broke down? How was it that 'the insight into the meaning of all that occurs in Time' (ii 378), an insight which is God's life, became operative in human history through Jesus and through no one else. Only a true theory of Eternity could enable us to answer these questions, and it would seem that this is only possible on the basis of a really Christian Mysticism. Part of the truth, into which the 'Spirit in the Church' is to lead us, is the truth about the Person of our Lord, and we dare not wave it aside with Royce. Neither the Liberal nor the Modernist interpretation of the statement 'Jesus is the Christ' is adequate, and we are not likely to make progress till we understand more of the word 'is', i. e. of the problem of identity.

But if Royce has done little for us on this central point, he has done much for us by his fresh treatment of the way in which it should be approached.

H. K. ARCHDALL.

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The Books of the Apocrypha: their Origin, Teaching, and Contents. By the Rev. W. O. E. OESTERLEY, D.D. (Robert Scott, London, 1914.)

DR OESTERLEY'S book consists of two parts. The first contains an introduction to the Apocrypha in general, and the second deals with the various books in turn.

Dr Oesterley begins by examining the influence of Hellenism upon Jewish life and thought in the last three centuries B.C. Then after a glance at the 'Apocalyptic Movement' he passes on to give an account of the Scribes, the Pharisees, and the Sadducees. He makes rather a labour of distinguishing between the first two (p. 127), whereas in reality there is little danger of confusing them. The Pharisees were a party: the Scribes were a class, the lawyer-class, occupied with the transmission and interpretation of the Law. The word *p-r-sh*, therefore, if used, as Dr Oesterley argues, in the sense 'interpreter', would more naturally have been applied to the latter than to the former. As applied to the Pharisees the word is better explained in the usual way from its root meaning 'separated', and regarded as being originally a kind of nickname (cf. 'Methodists').

In his description of the Sadducees Dr Oesterley follows Leszynsky (*Die Sadduzäer*, 1912), and writes with conspicuous fairness and sympathy. The next two chapters give a clear and interesting account of the origin of the Old Testament Canon and the meaning of the terms *ganaz* and *apocrypha*. They are followed by a chapter on Apocalyptic literature which is by no means so satisfactory. Dr Oesterley seems to pay attention to the opinions of two or three of the previous writers on this subject rather to the neglect of others. Why, for instance, is there no reference to the work of Bousset, and why is Prof. Burkitt's *Jewish and Christian Apocalypses* mentioned (e.g. p. 219) only to be otherwise ignored? So many of the conclusions with regard to the authorship and date of the several portions of the various Apocalyptic writings rest on insecure foundations, that it may be doubted whether a short summary of them is worth the space it occupies in a book of this kind.

For it would have been a real gain if the book had been kept smaller and less expensive. Dr Oesterley tells us that he has had the 'intelligent general reader' primarily in view, and that his book was originally intended to be a contribution to the 'Library of Historic Theology'.

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It might have been worth while to keep more nearly to the original intention even at the cost of considerable omissions. The summaries at the ends of the chapters, for instance, would scarcely have been missed; and though the plan of the book makes a certain amount of repetition inevitable, a more determined effort to avoid it might have saved a good deal of space.

A chapter on the Wisdom Literature, and a long and interesting one on the Doctrinal Teaching of the Apocrypha, close Part I of the book.

In Part II Dr Oesterley examines the books of the Apocrypha one by one and discusses their authorship and date, their purpose and teaching, and finally their value for the study of the New Testament.

Like many other writers on the subject, Dr Oesterley is perhaps inclined to over-estimate the evidence for the literary use of Apocryphal books by the writers of the New Testament; e. g. for the use of Tobit by St Paul (p. 369). But on the whole Dr Oesterley's conclusions are marked by moderation and are evidently the result of wide and thoughtful reading.

The chapters on Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, and Judith are particularly clear and illuminating. It is a little surprising to find no mention of Mr Edwyn Bevan's *House of Seleucus* in the bibliography of chapter vii on the First Book of Maccabees; or, again, to see the dependence of Wisdom upon Ecclesiastes assumed (p. 457) without any reference to Dr Gregg's important arguments to the contrary (J. A. F. Gregg, *Wisdom*, Introd. pp. xxiv–xxvi). But in general, even where we may not agree with Dr Oesterley's judgements (e. g. as to the composite character of the Book of Wisdom), we cannot fail to be impressed by the care with which he pronounces them.

Carefulness, indeed, characterizes the whole book. There are very few misprints (e. g. p. 124, 'three' for 'there'; p. 151, 'epipraphic' for 'epigraphic'; p. 210, '1921' for '1912'), only an occasional wrong reference (e. g. p. 195, Ecclus. 50^{29} should be 51^{29}; p. 236, Prov. 22^{24} should be Prov. 17^{24}), and there are full indexes.

To this general carefulness there is but one exception, and that is in the matter of literary style. A little more attention to style would have been well repaid, and would have greatly increased the attractiveness of what is already a valuable aid to the general student of the Apocrypha.

J. W. HUNKIN.

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The Doctrine of God in the Jewish Apocryphal and Apocalyptic Literature. By H. J. WICKS, D.D. (Hunter & Longhurst, London, 1915.)

IN this volume Dr Wicks presents first a brief statement of the period to which he assigns the various writings with which he deals, and then elaborates his subject under three main topics—the Transcendence, the Justice, and the Grace of God. The treatment adopted is that of examining the writings *seriatim* in relation to each of the three topics just mentioned, a brief statement of results being added at the close of each of the three chapters. This method has the serious disadvantage of making the book somewhat disjointed reading, but students of the period will find it a great convenience to have the evidence from any one of these writings gathered thus in separate paragraphs under the several topics. The Palestinian and non-Palestinian schools are properly distinguished.

The danger of treating these Apocryphal and Apocalyptic writings as presenting for the most part a fairly consistent body of opinion is still perhaps insufficiently appreciated. In the past, at least, it has given rise to misconceptions which are by no means generally dispelled. For instance, there is a measure of truth in the prevalent notion that in post-exilic Judaism, God became increasingly the God of a far-away heaven, governing the universe through many intermediaries, and very indirectly concerned by human affairs or human prayers. This view, however, is also sufficiently false to make it most mischievous and misleading. Dr Wicks, in his chapter on 'the Transcendence of God', deals very fairly with this important question, agreeing e. g. with Mr Abrahams and others (as against Dr Fairweather) that the Jewish circles represented by this literature did not feel God, however highly exalted, to be remote from human interests: 'only in *Enoch* 1–36 is a harmful view of Transcendence found.'

The 'Justice' of God is discussed, first, in relation to the problem of His dealings with the Gentiles. The evidence gathered under this head furnishes a specially clear warning of the rashness of dogmatizing in a sentence as to what 'the Apocalyptic school' said or thought; for the most remarkable diversity of opinion on this subject is displayed by the Apocalyptic writers among themselves, as well as between them and the Rabbinic schools. There was, it would seem, a tendency in the direction of a narrower nationalism in Israel; yet even in the later

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period a nobler attitude was never without representatives, and on the whole there was a real preponderance of generous hopes regarding God's purposes towards the Gentile world. The problem of prosperity and adversity in its bearing on the Justice of God is also considered.

In the chapter on 'the Grace of God' we are given a discussion of the question to what extent God was conceived as forgiving, as aiding men in the moral struggle, or as being essentially Love. On the important passage *Ecclus.* xxviii 1 f '. . . Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done thee, and then thy sins shall be pardoned when thou prayest', which Edersheim rejected as a Christian interpolation, Dr Wicks has some interesting comments. He concludes that the verse is genuine, but that it does not inculcate universal forgivingness, the context as a whole indicating that the duty is limited to one's neighbour, i.e. it applies to friends but not to foes. In dealing with *Jubilees*, it is held (against Dr Hughes) that the author of that work failed to realize that morality is an affair of the heart and involves an inward cleansing: 'there is nothing to make us think that the writer is condemning wrong desire in itself, apart from an act.' On the other hand, concerning the undue emphasis laid on the ritual law by *Jubilees*, Dr Wicks shews a sympathy which is the essence of fair criticism; for he sees that this weakness arose from the desperate need of combating the widespread apostasy from Israel, which was an urgent problem of the period.

A very frank summary of the moderate attainments of these writers is given in conclusion. It is a merit of this volume that, for all his ability and readiness to see the best in the literature, the author has not suffered himself to magnify its virtues unduly. Incidentally, we have some valuable remarks on difficult passages; e. g. strong reasons are given for dissenting from the pronouncement of Dr Charles that 'the favourable views of the Judaism of the second century B. C. as to the future of the Gentiles all but wholly disappeared in this (the first century) age' (p. 195). Again, the author differs (p. 321) from the interpretation of the Salathiel Apocalypse which is advanced by Mr Box in his volume *The Ezra Apocalypse*.

It is a pity that the 'Conclusions', in which the several topics are summed up, have been restricted to such very narrow limits. For all except special students of the literature, the work would have gained considerably if Dr Wicks had allowed himself to discuss the purport of his findings at greater length, for the subject is not only of importance for the developement of Judaism and for the New Testament, but also one of deep general interest.

W. A. L. ELMSLIE.

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Epictetus and the New Testament. By DOUGLAS S. SHARP, M.A., B.D. (Manch.). (C. H. Kelly, 1914.)

MR SHARP has collected a number of passages from Epictetus and from the New Testament which shew resemblances in thought, in vocabulary, or in syntax, between the writers of the early Christian Church and the great exponent of later Stoicism. Some of the passages he cites are of interest; for instance, he shews that the use of πηρίδιον in Epictetus supports Deissman's suggestion (*New Light* &c. pp. 41–44) that the πήρα of the New Testament was a bag for collecting alms, not a bag for holding bread (as Suidas). But the book lacks method, and many of the parallels adduced cannot be treated seriously. A reference to 'Liddell and Scott' would have shewn that the form βασίλισσα occurs not only in Epictetus and in the New Testament, but also in Xenophon and in Theocritus. Epictetus says (*diss.* i 2, 3) that 'when a man feels it reasonable to do so, he goes and hangs himself (ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγξατο)'. We do not think that many people will suspect a covert allusion to Judas Iscariot, although Mr Sharp thinks this possible (p. 3).

On p. 13 Mr Sharp quotes *diss.* ii 22, 36: εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ὅτι πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἄκουσα στέρεται τῆς ἀληθείας. He says that ἄκουσα must be regarded as equivalent to οὐχ ἑκοῦσα, and that therefore we have here a parallel to the construction of such passages as Rom. iii 20 οὐ δικαιωθήσεται πᾶσα σὰρξ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. He then proceeds to discuss the question as to whether this construction is necessarily a Hebraism. He thinks that we are not bound to assume Hebraic influence, and adds that 'if we are to understand the phrase as a quotation from Plato—εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος—the possibility of Hebraic influence becomes very remote'. The possibility is not 'very remote': it is out of the question. The reference to Plato *Soph.* 228 c, ψυχήν γε ἴσμεν ἄκουσαν πᾶσαν πᾶν ἀγνοοῦσαν, may be found on p. 86 of the Teubner ed. of Epictetus. But the construction is perfectly normal; the emphasis falls naturally on ἄκουσα—'every soul which is deprived of the truth, is deprived against its will'.

There is but a single reference (p. 59) to Bonhöffer's *Epiktet und das Neue Testament.* No student of this subject can afford to neglect Bonhöffer's discriminating analysis.

J. M. CREED.

The Parables of the Gospel. By LEOPOLD FONCK, S.J. Translated from the 3rd edition of *Die Parabeln des Herrn.* (B. Herder, London, 1915.)

WE might have expected in this work by Fr Fonck a fuller statement of the grounds on which he bases his theory of the parables, and he

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might at least have tried to meet the very real difficulties of the problems raised by other writers. As it is, the book can scarcely be called more than a popular exposition. For example, Fr Fonck finds it necessary to appeal to the authority of Leo XIII to induce his readers not to be satisfied with the Vulgate alone, but, in addition to that, to use the other ancient versions and witnesses to the text, and especially the original Greek. He has no good word to say for all the valuable work that has been done on the parables during the last thirty years: he simply accuses Jülicher and others of 'gratuitous assertions which proceed from misconception and prejudice'. Having thus disposed of modern criticism of the parables, he thinks that nothing more need be said about it, and with equal ease he disposes of those who think that St Matthew was dependent on St Mark or St Luke.

Those who are interested in the view put forward in this book—and indeed still held by a large number of people in spite of Jülicher's work—that the purpose of our Lord's parables was the blinding, stupefying, and hardening of His hearers, will find it better expressed by Dr Bugge.[1] No doubt some readers will derive from Fr Fonck's book material that will be acceptable for their meditations or sermons, but it is difficult to think that it can serve any other useful purpose.

L. E. BROWNE.

Clement of Alexandria: a Study in Christian Liberalism. By R. B. TOLLINGTON, B.D. Two volumes. (Williams & Norgate, 1914.)

CLEMENT of Alexandria has proved to be one of the most fascinating of the Fathers of the Early Church, if we may judge by the number of books which have been written in recent years about him and his work. The latest of these is the work of Mr Tollington. His volumes, however, are not superfluous; for whereas other writers have devoted their attention for the most part to the discussion of particular points or aspects in Clement's teaching, Mr Tollington sets out to draw a picture of the life and work of Clement as a whole. Moreover, he has in view not so much the specialist, though even the specialist may find much that is of value in these volumes, as the needs of the more ordinary reader who wishes to know something about the men who moulded the thought of the Early Church. Accordingly he has little to say about Clement that is new; he has no novel theories to propose; his work may be described, in words he himself uses of Clement, as 'a resultant rather than a creative force'; he is 'learned rather than original'. With the general reader, then, in view, a considerable space is occupied

[1] *Die Haupt-Parabeln Jesu*, 1903.

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in putting in the local colouring, in drawing a picture both of Clement's more immediate surroundings and of the wider world of his time. This is extremely well done, and enables the reader to reconstruct a good picture of Clement at his work, in spite of the meagreness of our knowledge of the events of his life.

But when Mr Tollington passes on to discuss Clement's doctrinal teaching, he has a definite object in view, an object which is implied in the sub-title of his work—'a Study in Christian Liberalism'. Clement's conception of Christianity, as has often been pointed out, has a special value for all times of change; and an attempt is here made to draw out the contributions which can be found in his teaching to help us in these days which are pre-eminently times of change. This is not an easy task to attempt, and it has several obvious dangers; it is no small praise to say that Mr Tollington has to a large extent escaped them. The greatest danger is that of reading the present too much into the past, of trying to force present-day questions into the frame-work of past difficulties.

The real help which can be gained from a study of such a teacher as Clement takes the form not so much of finding an answer to our problems as of providing an example of the spirit in which such problems should be approached. Present-day difficulties arise mainly from a conception of historical criticism, of science, and of philosophy, which is completely foreign to Clement's environment, and it would be an anachronism to look for material to meet these new difficulties in his writings. Accordingly, little or no attempt is made in these volumes to compare Clement's philosophy of Christianity with the attempts which are now being made to reconstruct and to reinterpret Christianity. But the spirit and ideals which should actuate the Christian teacher in approaching the problems which his own age provides must always be the same. Among such general principles which a modern religious teacher might learn from Clement, the most important is perhaps the synthetic attitude of mind, the willingness to note similarities rather than points of difference, the avoidance of any premature and exclusive dogmatism. We may learn, too, from Clement to be willing to draw upon all sources of knowledge in attempting to commend the Gospel as the answer to the spiritual needs of a thoughtful but often neglected minority. Such an attitude of mind will be based on a more liberal view of the work of the Holy Spirit than has always prevailed; just as Clement was able to recognize the activity of the Logos in the teaching of Greek philosophers, so we must be willing to find room for the guidance of the Spirit in the work of all sincere searchers after truth, if we are to avoid that worst type of scepticism which can find no signs of His activity in things present.

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The work of reconciliation, which is the peculiar task of this age, calls for men of broad mind and sober piety, who can combine intelligence with a spirit of charity and of sweet reasonableness. It is the picture of such a man that Mr Tollington has drawn in these volumes, and the picture is an attractive and an inspiring one.

G. A. CHASE.

Grand Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens de la Bibliothèque des PP. Mekhitharistes de Saint-Lazare. Premier vol. Par le P. BASILE SARGHISSIAN. (à Venise, 1914.)

THIS first instalment of the catalogue of the Armenian MSS of San Lazaro is in modern Armenian, and fills 838 columns of small print. It is methodically arranged on the same plan as Dr Dashian's catalogue of those of the Mekhitharist Library in Vienna, and includes only the codices of the Bible, of the Psalter, Gospels, and New Testament. Of the Bible twenty-four codices are described, about one third of them incomplete. The oldest dated complete codex is no. 1, of A. D. 1319; the next oldest is no. 12 of 1332; no. 5, undated, is attributed to the thirteenth century. No. 6 is of the fourteenth, and is interpolated with the text of the 'Three Witnesses'. No. 8 was written 1341–1355. Among the incomplete copies, no. 22 contains the Sapiential Books, and was written in 1201. No. 20, of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, contains the Pentateuch; no. 17, written in 1257, Isaiah and Pentateuch; no. 21, of the thirteenth century, Wisdom and Job; no. 18, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Sapiential Books and Prophets.

No. 10, written 1418–1422, contains f. 510, the lost Letter of Baruch, entitled: 'Answer of the Letter, which Jeremiah sent to the Captives in Babylon as the Lord commanded to be addressed to them.'

It begins: 'Because of the sins which ye have committed before God, ye shall be carried into captivity, into the hands of Nabugodonosor king of Babylon, servant of the Lord. And ye shall be there many years, a long time, about seven ages. Thereafter I will bring you forth thence in peace. But next ye shall behold in the land of Babylon idols wrought of silver, of gold, of wood, and of stone. Upon their shoulders they shall lift and carry them, to strike terror into the heathen.'

Ends: 'For these same gods shall be eaten of worms for a reproach unto the world. Well is it for a man who hath not idols, at least he shall be saved from reproach among his companions.'

This Letter is rather longer than the Epistle of Jude, and seems to have been rendered from Greek or Syriac in the fifth century. It does not occur in any other biblical MS and is unedited.

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Among the sixty Psalters, no. 25 is of the tenth to eleventh centuries. The oldest Gospel is no. 86, a choice codex in uncials which once belonged, and seems to have been written for, the Princess Mlqé, queen of the Ardsruni dynasty. Its date is therefore A. D. 851–922. Like most ancient copies it lacks the last twelve verses of Mark, Luke xxii 43, John v 4, John vii 53—viii 11. The next oldest is no. 103 of the ninth to tenth centuries, which lacks the last twelve verses of Mark. No. 116 was written in 1007 in Adrianople in the reign of the Emperor Basil. No. 123 belongs to the ninth to tenth centuries, and is imperfect. No. 139 is partly of the tenth, partly of the twelfth century. These codices are all written in uncials, with the Ammonian Canons added in the margins; against the text the lections for various feasts are often marked. Of the twelfth century there are three dated Gospels, no. 179 of 1151, no. 87 of 1181, no. 124 of 1200, and there are thirteen more before the year 1254.

The two oldest codices of the entire New Testament are nos. 190 and 192 of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. Two more, 193 and 195 are dated 1284 and 1285, respectively.

The wealth of illuminations in the above and in the rest of the 199 codices described in this catalogue is very great. Father Sarghissian has transcribed very fully the colophons, which constitute an inexhaustible fund of personal and historical notices. The task awaits some scholar, who has the patience, of revealing to the world the historical data recoverable from the colophons of Armenian MSS for the years 1000–1700. From about 1100 onwards the mass of such lore becomes ever greater and greater. Such a study would also throw a flood of light on the mediaeval topography of Armenia and of the countries over which the Armenian diaspora spread. For such a study the great catalogue by Dashian of 573 codices in Vienna and this catalogue of Venice are now available, not to mention the catalogues of the smaller collections in Berlin, Tübingen, Vienna, Munich, London, Paris, and Oxford. In the San Lazaro Library there is a large volume of transcriptions of such historical colophons found in their own collection and in MSS all over Armenia.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

Leaves from three ancient Qurâns, possibly pre-'Othmânic, with a list of their variants. Edited by Rev. ALPHONSE MINGANA, D.D., and AGNES SMITH LEWIS, D.D., LL.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1914.)

THE Koranic texts published in this volume belong to a palimpsest, now the property of Mrs Lewis, which also contains a Syriac text of

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the *Protevangelium Iacobi* and the *Transitus Mariae* (*Studia Sinaitica* xi) and an Arabic translation of Homilies by early Christian Fathers, as well as other fragments in Greek and Syriac. These portions of the Koran (Sūra 7, 139–168; Sūra 9, 18–79; Sūra 11, 20–39; Sūra 13, 18–43; Sūra 14, 1–8; Sūra 15, 85–99; the whole of Sūra 16; Sūra 17, 1–61; Sūra 24, 17–29; Sūra 28, 41–51; Sūra 29, 17–30; Sūra 40, 78–85; Sūra 41, 1–20; Sūra 44, 38–59; Sūra 45, 1–20) form the original script over which the Arabic Homilies are written. The later script is assigned by Dr Cowley and Mr A. G. Ellis to the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth. As regards the former (Kufo-Naskhî of three kinds), Dr Mingana admits the difficulty of dating it on palaeographical evidence alone, as is the case with Kufic MSS in general. We cannot, therefore, attach great weight to his opinion that some of these scraps of parchment belong to the very beginning of the eighth century, or even to an earlier date, unless we find that there are other considerations which justify that hypothesis. Dr Mingana does not state the position quite accurately when he writes (p. xxii): 'If we find a manuscript of the Qurân presenting various readings of consonants and of complete words, and more especially if this manuscript offers some interpolations and omissions, it would not be too rash to suppose that it goes back to a pre-'Othmânic period.' Obviously, the conclusion is not valid without reference to the source and character of such variants, interpolations, and omissions. They might be due to carelessness on the part of the scribe. The crucial point is not the fact that they occur, but the question how their occurrence is to be explained, and whether they are sufficiently numerous and important to render probable the theory that the MS in which they occur is older than the standard text of the Koran.

The existence of various readings is in itself no indication of a pre-'Othmânic origin. In any ancient MS of the Koran we should expect to meet with certain small variations caused by the ambiguity and defectiveness of the undeveloped Arabic script. It is necessary to distinguish these merely formal variants from those which in some way modify the sense and may be called significant. Accepting Dr Mingana's division of the latter class into two groups, we have (1) a complete word different from that used in the *textus receptus* of the Koran, (2) an alteration of a word by the addition or removal of one or more letters. The full list which he gives of the variants in each group (pp. xxxvii–xxxix) enables us to see at a glance the extent of the discrepancy and to estimate the evidential value of the whole series. In view of the claim put forward, or at least suggested as a possibility, in Mrs Lewis's preface and Dr Mingana's introduction, the reader will observe with some astonishment that the first and most important

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group comprises only four words. Two of these belong to the same passage (Kor. 45, 18), where instead of لن يغنوا عنك من الله شيئا the palimpsest has هكما (or اللك) لن يغنوا عنك من اللكم, which the editor translates: 'in derision, they will not take the place of a blow, for thee.' As this reading involves two ἅπαξ λεγόμενα and yields no tolerable sense, we are entitled to assume that it is corrupt; it might conceivably be a distorted reminiscence of من الله حكما (Kor. 5, 55). Neither of the remaining variants in this group, وسلم for ورحمة (Kor. 7, 153) and ومنهم for وتعلم (Kor. 9, 43), seriously affects the meaning, and I may point out that the reading ومنهم makes the following word, الكاذبين, ungrammatical. Of the thirty variants in the second group, six really agree with the *textus receptus*, but are written defectively, viz. Nos. 3, 12 (where read لا يهد القوم, the final ى of يهدى being dropped before the following *waṣla*), 13 (آتا for االتا), 15, 17, and 19; eleven differ from the standard text only by adding or omitting و, ف, or لَ, or by substituting one particle for another (1, 2, 6, 9, 14, 18, 23, 24, 27), or by adding or omitting a pronoun (16 and 28); five have only grammatical or syntactical significance (5, 10, 11, 20, 26); and four are certainly mistakes of the copyist (21, 22, 25, 30). There remain Nos. 4 (ضل for ضلال), 7 (لخسرون for الاخسرون), 8 (اخبتوا for خبتوا) and 29 (بل for بلى), all of which are nearly or entirely synonymous with the words that they have replaced.

The 'omissions and interpolations' discovered in the *textus receptus* by means of the palimpsest are limited to five words, and seem too trivial to require particular notice. Dr Mingana thinks that the words ما لكم (Kor. 9, 38), which the palimpsest omits, do not suit the context, but this is because he has translated them without regard to the idiomatic sense ('what ails you?') in which they are commonly used.

Considering the character of the variants as a whole, we must dismiss the suggestion that they go back to a pre-'Othmânic text. Like the various readings which crept into the four original copies of the 'Othmânic edition itself, they leave the Koran in its traditional form practically unaltered, and they need no explanation beyond the rudeness of early Arabic script and the maxim, *errare humanum est.*

Nöldeke has remarked that any one who hopes to find in Kufic MSS a text that diverges from the four original copies must content himself with mistakes of the pen, *die gar nicht so selten sind*, or else it will fare with him as with those who in the eighteenth century searched through MSS of the Old Testament, good and bad alike, only to arrive at the conclusion that they all had the Massoretic text. As appears from my analysis of the variants, Mrs Lewis's palimpsest is not a unique exception

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to this rule. If it were, we should have to acknowledge that the Caliph 'Othmân shewed extraordinary timidity in his method of 'tearing up the Book'.

Apart from this unfortunate theory, the editors are to be congratulated on their work. Their decision to print the Koranic portions of the palimpsest side by side with the corresponding passages of the standard text was natural in the circumstances, and the labour of decipherment has borne fruit in the full and lucid description, by Dr Mingana, of the palaeographical features of what is undoubtedly an old and valuable Kufic MS. Besides an introduction dealing with the textual history of the Koran, the volume contains three facsimiles of the different kinds of Arabic writing that occur in the palimpsest.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

Historical Texts, being vol. iv no. 1; *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, being vol. v; and *Grammatical Texts*, being vol. vi no. 1, of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. By ARNO POEBEL. (Published at Philadelphia by the University Museum, 1914.)

THESE works fulfil the hope held out by Mr G. B. Gordon in the *Pennsylvania University Museum Journal*, June 1913, that the texts copied by Dr Arno Poebel in 1912–1914 would soon be in our hands. As a consequence of the war Dr Poebel was unable to revise the last proofs, a fact which should shield him from criticism in matters of detail. Long ago Dr L. W. King had given us, in his *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, reason to believe that the so-called *Dynastic Chronicle* went back to times regarded by the Babylonians as before the Flood.

In this work are published five texts, all fragmentary, from the tablets found at Nippur by the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Fortunately they often overlap, and consequently Dr Poebel has been able partially to reconstruct the chronological system of the Babylonians, adding the kings before the Flood from the traditional data of Berosus as preserved by his transcribers. This will chiefly interest those who study early Chronology, but the first two dynasties are obviously mythical. In the first dynasty after the Flood are placed Kalumum, Zugakib, Arpi, Etana, Baliḫ, En-me-nunna, Melam-Kish, Barsal-nunna, Meszamuk, Engishgu, Enmedurmesh and Enmebaragishu, with fabulously long reigns. The second dynasty, that of Eanna, with its seat at Erech, consisted of Meskingashêr, Enmêrkar, Lugal-banda,

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Dumuzi, Gilgamesh and others, still with fabulously long reigns. Some of these rulers, Etana, Lugal-banda, Dumuzi (or Tammuz), Gilgamesh, at any rate appear as deified heroes in mythology, but may have some sort of historical background.

History seems to begin with the first kingdom of Ur with four kings, credited with 171 years of rule. Then came a kingdom of Awan. After a lacuna of certainly two dynasties we have a second kingdom of Ur, a kingdom of Adab, a dynasty of Kish restored from historical inscriptions, and those of Erech and Opis, one more of Kish and a second of Opis. Then we have, possibly, the fourth kingdom of Kish, identical with the first of those published by V. Scheil as given by a tablet found at Kish itself. Lugal-zaggisi of Erech forms a dynasty by himself and is followed by the dynasty of Akkad, founded by Sargon of Akkad and embracing Rimush, Manishtusu, Narâm-Sin, Shar-kalê-šarri, Igigi, Imi, Nani, Elulu, Dudu and Shudurkib, whose names were already known from Scheil's text and whose order is now fixed. For the fourth time supremacy passed to Erech, where five kings reigned twenty-five years in all. Then Babylonia fell under the sway of the people of Gutium for 125 years. The names of seven kings out of eleven can be made out, and inscriptions of four of them are known. A dynasty of Erech succeeded and then possibly a second kingdom of Adab. Then came what used to be called the second dynasty of Ur, but must now be recognized as the third, with five kings and 117 years of rule. The dynasty of Isin with sixteen kings and 225 years ended in the time of the now well-known Hammurabi.

Although we cannot yet accept all the names and figures given by these new lists, they do not traverse what we know from other monuments, and indeed receive much confirmation from them. It was from such a list that the scribes of Nabonidus concluded that Sargon of Akkad reigned about 3,200 years before their day. It is probable that in some cases the dynasties overlapped, and we must still await confirmation from synchronisms. Much study will be spent on elucidation in the near future, but we have here a vast extension of our chronology. None of the names before Sargon of Akkad suggest Semitic origin. The order of the dynasties is probably trustworthy.

Dr Poebel has made the most of his materials in vol. iv no. 1, reserving his copies for vol. v. He has tried to combine the new information with what we know from other sources. One may perhaps wish that he had more often added references for what he quotes, as only experts will be able to find the facts. His sketch seems to be very complete.

To Biblical students the most welcome text here published, hardly historical however, will be *A New Creation and Deluge Text* in

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Sumerian, which is closely related to that paraphrased by S. Langdon in *The Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1914, pp. 188–198. Indeed, it may be the case that Poebel's text is taken from part of the same tablet as Langdon's. Here, however, the name of the hero of the Flood appears to be *Ziugiddu*, which rather suggests the name Shamash-napištim of the Ninevite version. Several other versions of these stories exist, as may be seen in R. W. Rogers's *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, but this new story does not seem to be closely related to the Hebrew versions.

The third section deals with the *History of the Tummal of Ninlil*, giving in Sumerian some of the events which befell that structure in Nippur. This contributes a few details for historians. A very early king of Southern Babylonia was Enšakušanna, whose deeds were recorded on a number of fragments of a broken vase. Dr Poebel has further completed the inscription by the addition of a new fragment, and discusses in chapter iv the historical situation. We must, however, still await further details. Chapter v deals with the *Events of Eannadu's reign* in the light of new information. Chapter vi is devoted to *Inscriptions of the Kings of Agade*. A very large tablet, which once had at least fourteen columns, contained copies of many inscriptions of Sargon of Akkad, from statues, pedestals, stelae, and other monuments preserved in the temple of Ellil at Nippur. Some of them were partially known before. Dr Poebel attempts from this material to make out a fairly complete sketch of the reign. The tablet goes on with many inscriptions of Sargon's successors. Beside the fresh information we gather that Sargon was succeeded by Rimush and he by Naram-Sin. The Grammatical texts published in vol. v are dealt with in vol. vi part i. Dr Poebel intends to deal with the rest of the 158 texts published in vol. iv and vol. vi. We may await their issue with the certainty that they will be exhaustively and profitably treated. It is a great gain to science that the author has found a home at Johns Hopkins University, within reach of this rich store of material.

It would be unfair to exploit the remaining contents of this volume until Dr Poebel has had the opportunity to give us his views of their value and meaning, but we may note that they include several royal inscriptions and a copy of the Code of Hammurabi from Nippur.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

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Auctarium Bellarminianum. Supplément aux Œuvres du Cardinal Bellarmin. Par le R. P. XAVIER-MARIE LE BACHELET, S.J., Professeur de Théologie au Scolasticat d'Ore (Hastings). (Beauchesne, Paris, 1913.)

M. LE BACHELET has on several occasions, notably in the preface to his *Bellarmin avant son Cardinalat*, called attention to the large amount of unpublished writings by Cardinal Bellarmine. In that book and in his *Bellarmin et la Bible Sixto-Clémentine* M. le Bachelet edited much from these. He has now been able to carry through his project of a more complete collection, the aim of which is to throw light on the life, character, writings, and influence of the Cardinal. Of the three parts into which the book is divided the first is of most theological importance. It consists of a series of writings relating to the Molinist controversy. The net result from the study of them will probably be to strengthen the position of those who have maintained that Bellarmine, with whatever caution and qualifications, held to the main Thomist teaching on those parts of the doctrine of grace which in this controversy were discussed. The second part contains six writings on widely differing scriptural and theological subjects. In M. le Bachelet's judgement the most important is that entitled Ἱερατικὸν Δῶρον *siue modesta et fidelis admonitio Roberti Bellarmini S. R. E. Cardinalis ad Iacobum magnae Britanniae Serenissimum ac Potentissimum Regem*, a reply to the Βασιλικὸν Δῶρον by King James I of England. In the third part are many short documents grouped under the headings 'Apologie', 'Écriture Sainte', 'Liturgie', 'Droit ecclésiastique', 'Histoire ecclésiastique', 'Théologie', 'Censures d'ouvrages'. The chief importance of these is in the illustrations which they afford of Bellarmine's wide interests and knowledge, and of his way of dealing with subjects under his consideration. They include the papers already published in *Bellarmin et la Bible Sixto-Clémentine*. Gratitude is due to M. le Bachelet from all serious students of Bellarmine and of the thought and methods current among Roman Catholics in the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century, for the industry and care and skill with which he has collected and edited the documents in the *Auctarium Bellarminianum*.

DARWELL STONE.

The Immorality of non-Resistance and other Sermons on the War, by the Rev. J. M. LLOYD THOMAS, Minister of the Old Meeting Church, Birmingham. (Cornish Brothers, Birmingham, 1915.)

IN these Sermons Mr Lloyd Thomas aims at supplying a reasoned statement of the Christian position in regard to War. At least since

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the time of the Anabaptists we have had with us champions of the theory that 'physical' force should never be used for the attainment of moral ends, but a cloud of confusion seems to hang over, and to vitiate, many of the arguments used alike by them and by their opponents. The weakness of the position of the Society of Friends is well exhibited in the opinion of one of their leading members to the effect that, whereas the Governor-General of India at the time of the Indian Mutiny was justified in the use of arms for the protection of women and children, yet no true Friend could have occupied the position of Governor-General. That is a confession that the principle for which the Society stands is one that cannot be applied to the conduct of affairs in the world as it is, for in such matters *qui facit per alium, facit per se*; and the supposed superior morality of the Society is such as allows it to accept protection of a kind which is, in its judgement, immoral.

No discussion of the question can be satisfactory that does not take account of the needs of organized society in the world as it is and of the responsibility of all its members for the means by which the common order, from which all benefit, is maintained; nor, further, that treats the question of the morality of the use of 'physical' force as one that can be isolated from the consideration of the morality of the use of 'power' of any kind.

It is because Mr Thomas has these things in mind that he has made, I think, a contribution of real value to the discussion of what all Christians agree in regarding as a grave and difficult problem. He writes vigorously and picturesquely, in a manner specially adapted to the immediate purpose of sermons addressed to a popular audience, but clear thinking and grasp of principles are conspicuous throughout. There is little of moment, I think, that bears on the subject that is not at least suggested in the pages of this little volume. As regards the true function of the Church and the part of Christianity in the progressive education of human Society Mr Thomas's point of view is closely akin to Baron F. von Hügel's, as expressed in his admirable article in *The Church Quarterly* for January last.

Discovery and Revelation: A study in Comparative Religion. By the Rev. H. F. Hamilton, D.D. (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1915.)

Dr Hamilton's book, *The People of God*, was reviewed at length last year in the Journal (Jan. 1914, vol. xv pp. 278 ff). He has now, for 'the Layman's Library', written 'a short and popular outline of the argument' in the first volume and the first three chapters of the second volume of that work, and thanks are due to him and to his publishers

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for making a considerable part of his interesting and, in many ways, valuable book accessible to a wider circle of readers than it would reach in its original form. By his choice of title, however, and by the chapter in which he says that most of his new points will be found (ch. xi), he emphasizes and reasserts just the most disputable part of his argument, and so far as I can judge he does nothing to commend it further to those who found it unconvincing. No doubt, the key to his whole position is the distinction which he draws between 'discovery' and 'revelation': the strictly exclusive claims which were implied in the appropriation of the name 'the people of God' by one particular nation depend on the theory that the process by which at least the religious leaders of that nation arrived at their convictions was essentially different from the process of the developement of 'religious' thought among all the other peoples of the world.

It is this theory that Dr Hamilton reasserts, and, under cover of graceful expression and with interesting reference to 'modernist' thought and terms, reasserts, as I must say, in its crudest form; and I cannot think that the editors of the Layman's Library were well advised in including this volume in a series which professes the admirable aim 'to represent the essentials of the Christian Faith in the spirit of a large and firm churchmanship' and, while taking full account of the results of modern criticism, 'to build up a constructive religious ideal'. The most 'constructive religious ideal' which was built up in the past had as its foundation the belief that in Jesus Christ the Logos was incarnate. If that belief is true, with the implications as to the Divine Providence and Purpose in the education of mankind which its great exponents of the past found in it, then Dr Hamilton's main thesis is false. While holding that the people of Israel was in a peculiar sense 'the people of GOD', and that the Church of Christ is the true 'Israel of GOD', we are not required by 'a large and firm churchmanship' to deny the main principles of the Logos Theology and the conception of the 'immanence' of GOD, by which we recognize all 'discoveries' of truth of every kind, and all true progress of the human race, as due to the leading of the Spirit of GOD and His direct action in and on the world and men. We may believe that 'the Jews prepared salvation for the world' while 'the Gentiles prepared the world for salvation', but the synthesis of the Christian Faith is that GOD was working out His purpose in both processes alike and Himself guiding them both.

The sharp antithesis which Dr Hamilton alleges between the processes by which the Greek philosophers and the Hebrew prophets respectively reached their belief in mono-theism he bases on the idea that the former was an exclusively intellectual or rationalizing process suggested by observation of the facts of the world, and progressive

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co-ordination of them (a purely 'scientific' process), while the latter was a case of a new truth coming upon them, without preparation, from without, a process in which their reasoning faculties were passive (and so a real religious experience).

This contrast does not give sufficient recognition to the 'preparation' of the people of Israel that is implied in their strong conviction of the superiority of their God Jahwe to all other gods and of the special destiny of their nation in relation to all other nations. This conviction seems to have preceded their Jahwe-monotheism, and it is not a difficult transition from such a conviction to the belief that their God was the God of the whole world, though as yet the other peoples of the world did not know Him. A process of reasoning and reflexion, closely akin to the process to which Dr Hamilton attributes the Greek developement, might at least have led to this conclusion; and, as Mr Duncan Jones pointed out in his review, it is an inadequate conception of the nature of religious experience that would make it merely a matter of 'feeling' in which reason has no part and must be in abeyance. (A similar kind of intellectual passivity is said to have been expected of those who were initiated into the Mysteries: *οὐ μαθεῖν τι δεῖν ἀλλὰ παθεῖν καὶ διατεθῆναι*: they must only undergo an emotional experience, and 'feel' something.) And it appears to me that Dr Hamilton's conception of the nature of the process by which the Greek thinkers reached their 'discoveries' is similarly inadequate. If the *δαιμόνιον* of Socrates was felt by him as only inhibitive, Plato at least shews a 'religious' consciousness that the power by which man arrived at truth was a God-given power and that every human discovery was at the same time a Divine revelation. There is, indeed, an element of newness and 'experience', a sense of something 'given' or revealed, in every advance which a thinker makes: and a more truly Christian psychology than that which underlies Dr Hamilton's distinction between 'discovery' and 'revelation' will not attempt to 'put the clock back' and maintain the validity of the religious experience of the Hebrew prophets and the Christian Church by denying to all the rest of mankind any similar avenue of approach to the 'one God and Father of all'.

J. F. B-B.

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RECENT PERIODICALS RELATING TO THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

(1) ENGLISH.

The Church Quarterly Review, January 1915 (Vol. lxxix, No. 158: Spottiswoode & Co.). FR. VON HÜGEL Christianity in face of War; its strength and difficulty—A. C. HEADLAM The Ezra Apocalypse—Confirmation and Communion: the legal question—W. C. LEFROY Relief Funds—A. J. ALLEN Moral Problems of the War—ELIZABETH WORDSWORTH Women and the War—H. KELLY Eschatological Interpretations and War—W. R. MATTHEWS Mr Bradley's later thoughts on truth and reality—W. C. BISHOP Special forms of prayer—Our duty—Short Notices—Index to vol. lxxix.

The Hibbert Journal, January 1915 (Vol. xiii, No. 2: Williams & Norgate). L. NOËL The Soul of Belgium—PAUL VINOGRADOFF The Saxophile Creed—E. LYTTELTON What Next?—Narrative of a Professor of Louvain—JAMES SULLY Göttingen in the Sixties—H. A. STRONG The Jews through Roman spectacles—JAMES MOFFATT George Meredith and his fighting men—EDWARD WILLMORE 'Why we are fighting': a reply—F. S. MARVIN The Unity of Civilization—L. T. MORE The scientific claims of Eugenics—D. NOEL PATON A physiologist's view of life and mind—G. HAW The religious revival in the Labour Movement—D. A. WILSON Germans, Tartars, and a Chinese patriot—G. H. POWELL Thoughts on Pacificism—Surveys—Reviews.

The Expositor, January 1915 (Eighth Series, No. 49: Hodder & Stoughton). D. S. MARGOLIOUTH Healing on the Sabbath day—JAMES MOFFATT Prophets and Kings—J. RENDEL HARRIS Once more the Cretans—W. E. BARNES The Psalter as an aid to worship in the twentieth century—W. A. CURTIS Christianity and the life of nations—J. G. JAMES Was Jesus really tempted?—J. BAILLIE Belief as an element in religion—A. SOUTER Further interpretations of New Testament passages.

February 1915 (Eighth Series, No. 50). W. E. BARNES The prophet of the God of Love—E. DE FAYE Gnostic Sketches—A. VAN HOONACKER Connexion of death with sin according to Genesis ii, iii—E. C. SELWYN St Luke and the eclipse—J. A. HUTTON Julian the

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Apostate: a parallel—W. WATSON The new heaven and the new earth —A. SOUTER Pelagius' doctrine in relation to his early life—Professor Robertson's New Testament Grammar—JAMES MOFFATT The vocabulary of the Greek Testament.

March 1915 (Eighth Series, No. 51). H. T. ANDREWS The reality of the historical Jesus—M. JONES The work of St Luke a historical apology for Pauline preaching before the Roman court: a reply—B. W. BACON Again the Ephesian imprisonment of Paul—L. E. BROWNE The journeys of St Peter—E. C. SELWYN The trial-narratives based on the oracles—JAMES MOFFATT Literary illustrations of Amos.

(2) AMERICAN.

The American Journal of Theology, January 1915 (Vol. xix, No. 1: Chicago University Press). R. B. PERRY Religious Values—J. M. P. SMITH Religion and war in Israel—G. CROSS The modern trend in Soteriology—C. W. VOTAW The gospels and contemporary biographies —W. C. A. WALLAR A preacher's interest in Nietzsche—S. J. CASE The religion of Lucretius—Recent theological literature.

The Princeton Theological Review, January 1915 (Vol. xiii, No. 1: Princeton University Press). F. W. LOETSCHER Church History as a science and as a theological discipline—H. W. RANKIN Charles Woodruff Shields and the unity of science—E. S. BUCHANAN *Sermo Sancti Augustini Episcopi de Dilectione Dei et Proximi*—Reviews of recent literature.

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The Journal
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NOTES AND STUDIES

THE TABERNACLE CHAPTERS.

In the book of Exodus there are two groups of chapters dealing with the construction of the Tabernacle :—

Group I. Cc. xxv–xxxi. The Divine Instructions.

Group II. Cc. xxxv–xl. The carrying out of the Instructions.

From certain peculiarities in these chapters, and in the LXX version of them, three inferences have been drawn :—

(A) that the Greek translators of Group II were not the same as the translators of Group I ;

(B) that the translators of Group II worked from a Hebrew text differing from the Massoretic ;

(C) that cc. xxx, xxxi, and xxxv–xl were later additions to the original text of Exodus.

These conclusions have been put forward with a good deal of confidence, and have been accepted by Biblical students of note. Yet they will bear further examination.

(A) Different Translators.

The inference that the translators of Group II were not the same as the translators of Group I is based solely on the fact that in some cases the translation of certain Hebrew technical terms in Group II differs from that in Group I (see Dr Swete's 'Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek', p. 236 ; Dr Driver's 'Exodus', Cambridge Bible, p. 378 ; and Dr McNeile's 'Exodus', Westminster Commentary, p. 223).

Dr McNeile in his Commentary on Exodus, p. 226, gives a list of seventeen of these variations, and this list is also referred to by Dr Driver.

The instances cited are not very happily selected : several are not technical terms at all but quite ordinary words ; at least two depend on what is the true reading of the Greek text ; in one instance, the only difference is that between the genitive and dative of the same word ; and in another the same verb is used, but compounded with a different preposition.

It would be instructive to examine the whole list in detail, but it will not be necessary here, because even if all the instances were indisputable, the inference would not be justified. For that inference really depends

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on an assumption that, as a rule, the LXX translators were fairly consistent in their rendering of Hebrew words. This is not the case.

(i) *In both Groups of chapters, the translators have varied their renderings in the same context.*[1]

A few instances from a list five times the length of Dr McNeile's will shew this.

Group I. (*a*) In xxvi 3, the same Hebrew word is rendered by ἐχόμεναι and συνεχόμεναι; in the next verse by συμβολήν; and in the tenth verse by συμβολήν and συναπτούσης.

(*b*) In xxvi 36, the 'Screen' is ἐπίσπαστρον; in 37 καταπετάσματι.

(*c*) In xxvii 10, 'hooks' are κρίκοι; in 17 κεφαλίδες.

(*d*) In xxviii 37, the 'mitre' is μίτρα; in 39 κίδαρις.

Group II. (*a*) In xxxviii 27,[2] 'sockets' are κεφαλίδες; in 31 βάσεις.

(*b*) In xxxix 34, the 'covering' is διφθέρας in one clause, and καλύμματα in the second.

(*c*) In xl 36, 'journeyings' is ἀπαρτίᾳ; in 38 ἀναζυγαῖς.

This tendency to vary renderings is not peculiar to these chapters, or to Exodus.[3]

In Lev. xxv 39–44, 'servant' appears as οἰκέτου, παῖς, and δοῦλον; in *v.* 55 οἰκέται παῖδες; in some other places θεράπων is found.

In Num. xxii 23–28, 'smote' is rendered by ἐπάταξε, μαστίξαι, ἔτυπτε, and πέπαικας.

In Num. xxxv 2–5, 'suburbs' is rendered by προάστεια, ἀφορίσματα, συγκυροῦντα, and ὅμορα.

Since then the Greek translators frequently vary their translation of a Hebrew word, whether technical or ordinary, in the same passage and even in the same verse, the fact that some of the technical terms in Group I are differently translated in Group II is absolutely without significance.

Nor is this all.

(ii) *In several of the instances adduced as variations, the whole of the evidence has not been considered.*

Again, a few instances will shew what is meant.

(*a*) xxxi 3 has πνεῦμα θεῖον where the parallel xxxv 31 is said to have πνεῦμα alone.

In the latter passage θεῖον is omitted only by the first hand of B; all the other authorities have it. In the large Cambridge critical edition

[1] This has also been noted by Mr H. St John Thackeray: see 2nd Ed. (1914) of Dr Swete's 'Introduction' p. 236 note 2.

[2] The references to chapter and verse are according to the Hebrew numbering throughout.

[3] See Dr Swete's 'Introduction' pp. 328, 329.

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of the LXX πνεῦμα θεῖον is placed in the text, and the omission of θεῖον only recorded in a note. It is nothing but a scribal error.

Similarly, xxxviii 6 has χρυσοῦς where the parallel xxv 18 is said to have χρυσοτορευτά.

But χρυσοτορευτά is scarcely found except in B*; Ba, A, F and other authorities have χρυσᾶ τορευτά, and in *vv.* 31, 36 τορευτή is the translation of the word ('of beaten work') which immediately follows 'gold' in xxv 18. That is to say B* and a couple of cursives have combined two words which most of the authorities keep separate, and the alleged difference turns upon a very dubious reading.

(*b*) xxxi 4 has ἐργάζεσθαι where xxxv 32 has ποιεῖν.

But xxxi 6 has ποιήσουσι, and xxxv 10 has ἐργαζέσθω.

Both passages shew the two renderings of the same verb, which rather suggests that the translators were the same.

(*c*) xxv 17 has ἱλαστήριον ἐπίθεμα; xxxvii 6 has ἱλαστήριον alone.

Each of the five verses which follow xxv 17 also has ἱλαστήριον alone. Were these verses due to a different translator from that of *v.* 17? If not, why must xxxvii 6 be due to a different translator?

In this connexion ἐπίθεμα does not appear again anywhere. It may be due to a variant rendering which has crept from the margin into the text, but there is another explanation possible.

In some cases, the translators seem to have begun with one rendering which they have immediately abandoned for another. Thus, where casting (of metals) is first mentioned in xxv 12 ἐλάσεις is used, but does not recur again, χωνεύσεις taking its place at xxvi 37. So too at the first mention (xxv 7 and the parallel xxxv 9) the Breastplate is ποδήρη; at xxviii 4 περιστήθιον; and afterwards (xxviii 15, xxix 5, xxxix 8) λογεῖον. It is therefore possible that when the Mercy-seat is first mentioned the translators thought it advisable to define ἱλαστήριον more closely as a 'covering', and afterwards dropped the explanatory word.

(*d*) xxviii 11 has γλύμμα; xxxix 6 has ἐκκόλαμμα.

The word is part of the phrase (in Hebrew two words) which in RV. is rendered 'the engravings of a signet'. The phrase occurs three times in xxviii, and three times in xxxix: the verb alone is found three times in xxviii, and its participle once in xxxix. No two of the Greek renderings agree exactly.

Verb.		*Phrase.*
xxviii 9 γλύψεις	xxviii 11 γλύμμα σφραγῖδος	xxxix 6 ἐκκόλαμμα σφραγῖδος
11 διαγλύψεις	21 γλυφαὶ σφραγίδων	14 ἐγγεγλυμμένα εἰς σφραγῖδας
36 ἐκτυπώσεις	36 ἐκτύπωμα σφραγῖδος	30 ἐκτετυπωμένα σφραγῖδος

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In xxxix 6 the participle is doubly translated, γεγλυμμένους καὶ ἐκκεκολαμμένους, immediately followed by ἐκκόλαμμα σφραγῖδος as above.

When it is noticed that in six out of the seven cases referring to jewels some form of γλύφω is used, and ἐκτυπόω in the three referring to the Gold Plate, can it be doubted that this is a deliberate variation to suit the different working of the different materials? The jewels are 'engraved'; the gold is 'stamped in high relief'. But if so, the recurrence of this distinction would again point to the identity of the translators.

At any rate, is it quite fair to single out the one case where a difference between the Groups can be made out, and to ignore the marked resemblances, and the variations in the same Group?

(*e*) xxviii 22 has ἀλυσιδωτόν; xxxix 15 has ἐμπλοκίου.

No mention is made of the fact that for the same phrase xxviii 14 has ἔργον πλοκῆς, which differs from the rendering in *v.* 22, and is akin to that of xxxix 15. Moreover, the whole verses should be compared:—

xxviii 22 καὶ ποιήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον κρωσσοὺς συμπεπλεγμένους ἔργον ἁλυσιδωτὸν ἐκ χρυσίου καθαροῦ.

xxxix 15 καὶ ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον κρωσσοὺς συμπεπλεγμένους ἔργον ἐμπλοκίου ἐκ χρυσίου καθαροῦ.

The verses are identical all but one word: ought that to pass unnoticed?

To all these may be added a remarkable instance not included in Dr McNeile's list.

(*f*) A somewhat peculiar phrase of three Hebrew words in xxxix 6 is rendered

συμπεπορπημένους καὶ περισεσιαλωμένους χρυσίῳ.

Seven verses further on (*v.* 13) the very same phrase is rendered

περικεκυκλωμένα χρυσίῳ καὶ συνδεδεμένα χρυσίῳ.

In xxviii 20 (parallel to xxxix 13) the first of the three Hebrew words does not occur, yet the Greek runs

περικεκαλυμμένα χρυσίῳ· συνδεδεμένα ἐν χρυσίῳ.

Here the points to be noticed are

(1) in the one passage (xxxix 6–13) two quite different renderings of the same phrase are found;

(2) the parallel passages from the two Groups (xxviii 20 = xxxix 13) have much in common, especially if περικεκαλυμμένα (which does not express the meaning of the missing Hebrew word) is but a corruption of περικεκυκλωμένα.[1]

The instances marked (*d*), (*e*), (*f*) are all taken from the one pair of

[1] περικεκυκλωμένα is actually found in one or two MSS. Others read περικεκλωσμένα, and there seems to have been some uncertainty about the word.

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passages (xxviii = xxxix) about the making of the priestly vestments. They should go far to shew that

(1) difference of translation does not mean difference of translators;

(2) there are reasons for thinking that the translators were the same throughout.

(iii) *There is evidence that the translators of Group II were acquainted with the translation of Group I.*

(*a*) The consistent translation of the three colours by ὑάκινθος, πορφύρα, and κόκκινος; of 'Mercy-seat' by ἱλαστήριον: of 'hangings' by ἱστία: and of 'bars' by μοχλοί, all tend to shew the use of a common vocabulary where differences might easily occur.

(*b*) It is not very likely that two sets of translators working independently would reproduce the phrase ᾧαν ἔχον κύκλῳ τοῦ περιστομίου (xxviii 32, xxxix 23) word for word, or the phrase πᾶς ὁ παραπορευόμενος εἰς τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν (xxx 14, xxxviii 26) with only the omission of εἰς in the latter passage.

(*c*) For 'onyx stones' xxv 7 has λίθους σαρδίου, and the same appears in the parallel xxxv 9: but in xxviii 9 they appear as λίθους σμαράγδου, and this variation is reproduced in the parallel xxxix 6; and in xxviii 20, xxxix 13 the same word is rendered βηρύλλιον.

How could this be possible unless the translators of xxxv 9, xxxix 6, 13 had the renderings of xxv 7, xxviii 9, 20 before them?

(*d*) xxv 3–6 is a list of materials to be offered, which is repeated in xxxv 5–9.

c. xxv	c. xxxv
καὶ αὕτη ἐστὶ ἡ ἀπαρχὴ ἣν λήψεσθε παρ' αὐτῶν	(this clause is not in the Hebrew here)
χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ χαλκὸν	χρυσίον ἀργύριον χαλκὸν
καὶ ὑάκινθον καὶ πορφύραν καὶ κόκκινον διπλοῦν	ὑάκινθον πορφύραν κόκκινον διπλοῦν διανενησμένον
καὶ βύσσον κεκλωσμένην καὶ τρίχας αἰγείας	καὶ βύσσον κεκλωσμένην καὶ τρίχας αἰγείας
καὶ δέρματα κριῶν ἠρυθροδανωμένα	καὶ δέρματα κριῶν ἠρυθροδανωμένα
καὶ δέρματα ὑακίνθινα καὶ ξύλα ἄσηπτα	καὶ δέρματα ὑακίνθινα καὶ ξύλα ἄσηπτα
καὶ λίθους σαρδίου καὶ λίθους εἰς τὴν γλυφὴν	καὶ λίθους σαρδίου καὶ λίθους εἰς τὴν γλυφὴν
εἰς τὴν ἐπωμίδα καὶ τὸν ποδήρη.	εἰς τὴν ἐπωμίδα καὶ τὸν ποδήρη.

The only differences are that in the second passage there are a few omissions of καί, and the insertion of the one word διανενησμένον, clearly a variant rendering for the preceding erroneous διπλοῦν.

Otherwise the two are identical: both have the notable ἠρυθροδανω-

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μένα and ἄσηπτα; both include κεκλωσμένην, which is not in the Hebrew; both have the same four misrenderings (διπλοῦν; δέρματα ὑακίνθινα; εἰς τὴν γλυφήν; ποδήρη).

Can it reasonably be doubted that whoever wrote the latter passage had the other before him?

(*e*) Another pair of passages is found in xxviii 16–20, xxxix 9–13, the 'Breastplate' and its jewels.

c. xxviii	c. xxxix
Ποιήσεις αὐτὸ τετράγωνον· ἔσται διπλοῦν,	τετράγωνον διπλοῦν ἐποίησαν τὸ λογεῖον
σπιθαμῆς τὸ μῆκος αὐτοῦ, καὶ σπιθαμῆς τὸ εὖρος.	σπιθαμῆς τὸ μῆκος, καὶ σπιθαμῆς τὸ εὖρος διπλοῦν·
Καὶ καθυφανεῖς ἐν αὐτῷ ὕφασμα κατάλιθον τετράστιχον·	καὶ συνυφάνθη ἐν αὐτῷ ὕφασμα κατάλιθον τετράστιχον·
στίχος λίθων ἔσται, σάρδιον, τοπάζιον, καὶ σμάραγδος,	στίχος λίθων, σάρδιον καὶ τοπάζιον καὶ σμάραγδος,
ὁ στίχος ὁ εἷς.	ὁ στίχος ὁ εἷς·
Καὶ ὁ στίχος ὁ δεύτερος,	καὶ ὁ στίχος ὁ δεύτερος,
ἄνθραξ, καὶ σάπφειρος, καὶ ἴασπις.	ἄνθραξ, καὶ σάπφειρος, καὶ ἴασπις·
Καὶ ὁ στίχος ὁ τρίτος,	καὶ ὁ στίχος ὁ τρίτος,
λιγύριον, ἀχάτης, ἀμέθυστος.	λιγύριον καὶ ἀχάτης καὶ ἀμέθυστος·
Καὶ ὁ στίχος ὁ τέταρτος,	καὶ ὁ στίχος ὁ τέταρτος,
χρυσόλιθος, καὶ βηρύλλιον, καὶ ὀνύχιον,	χρυσόλιθος καὶ βηρύλλιον καὶ ὀνύχιον
περικεκαλυμμένα χρυσίῳ· συνδεδεμένα ἐν χρυσίῳ	περικεκυκλωμένα χρυσίῳ, καὶ συνδεδεμένα χρυσίῳ.
ἔστωσαν κατὰ στίχον αὐτῶν.	. . . . .

Surely independent translators would never have hit on translations so nearly alike. For instance, both have ὕφασμα κατάλιθον, though the corresponding Hebrew is missing from the second passage; and in the same verse (xxviii 17 = xxxix 10) both seem to have transferred λίθων from the first clause to the second. Yet in this very verse Dr McNeile finds one of his differences because one has καθυφανεῖς, and the other συνυφάνθη!

Is it conceivable that, if the translations were altogether independent, no one of the twelve jewels should be differently translated?

Further

(iv) *There are indications that the translators were the same throughout.*

The evidence just considered might possibly be consistent with Group II being due to translators who had the translation of Group I before them, and yet were not the same as the former translators. But it is not at all likely that two sets of people would exhibit the same peculiarities and follow the same methods.

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(*a*) In both Groups there is a tendency to make the same kind of careless mistakes.

In xxvii 18 the translators have mistaken the Hebrew word which means 'cubit' for a similar word meaning 'hundred'; in xxxviii 9, 11 (a different part of the parallel passage) the same mistake is made in places where the earlier chapter has the correct rendering.

Similar confusions of words that are somewhat alike are found in xxix 5 ('Breastplate' put for 'Band of Ephod'); in xxvi 34 (the 'Veil' instead of the 'Mercy-seat'); and in xxvi 36 ('board' instead of 'clasp'). In the same way in Group II xxxv 21, 22 have 'brought' instead of 'came'; xxxv 22 has 'seals' instead of 'brooches'; and in xxxviii 18 'the height *in* the breadth' has been turned into 'the height *and* the breadth', which (as the length has been already specified) would give three dimensions to the Screen, making it 5 cubits in thickness!

(*b*) Certain of the technical terms seem to have been little or not at all understood by the translators, who betray their perplexity by sometimes leaving them untranslated and sometimes giving inconsistent renderings.

In both Groups the same set of words has been misunderstood, e.g. 'board', 'clasp', 'grating' (of the Altar); 'woven band' (of the Ephod); 'finely wrought' (garments); 'lace'. In both Groups σκηνή is used sometimes of the Tabernacle and sometimes of the Tent: where the two words occur together, the translators have been puzzled to know what to put for the Tent, and in each case have adopted a different rendering (xxvi 7 σκέπην; xxxv 11 παραρύματα; xl 19 αὐλαίας; in xxvi 11 the Tent, standing alone, is translated δέρρεις).

The substitution of 'mingled' for 'salted' in xxx 35, and of 'fasted' for 'served (as a host)' in xxxviii 8, both seem to be attempts to read an easier word for a more difficult one.

In both Groups the translators are puzzled by the same words, and use the same methods to avoid difficulties.

(*c*) In both Groups there is a tendency to soften down expressions that might suggest a human conception of the Deity. 'Dwell among you' in xxv 8 becomes 'be seen among you', and in xxix 45, 46, 'be called upon among you', while in xl 35 the same verb is translated 'overshadowed'. Possibly a hint of the same tendency is found in the curious inversion in xl 35 by which the phrase 'the Glory of the LORD filled the Tabernacle [the Dwelling]' is turned into 'the Tent was filled with the Glory of the LORD', as though to avoid personifying the Glory.

In xxix 46, 'I am the LORD their God' is changed into 'and to be their God'; in xxxvi 1, 'to whom the LORD gave wisdom' becomes 'to whom was given wisdom'. In both cases the personal Name is avoided.

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(*d*) In both Groups there is a tendency to omit or paraphrase perplexing passages, and occasionally to insert explanatory words or phrases.

(*e*) The deliberate and frequent use of different Greek words to represent the same Hebrew has already been shewn to run through both Groups, and the opposite tendency to use the same Greek for different Hebrew words is also found in both (e. g. ἐσχάρα represents three Hebrew words in the two verses xxvii 4, 5; and ἀφαίρεμα stands for three different words in xxxv 21, 22, 29). Had one Group been fairly consistent in its renderings while the other varied them, there might have been reason to suspect a difference of translators. As it is, the same inconsistency is found in both, and in much the same degree.

In short, the translation exhibits the same characteristics throughout.

To sum up.

In support of the assertion that the translators of Group II were not the same as the translators of Group I only a comparatively few instances of varied renderings are brought forward, and several of these are decidedly doubtful.

On the contrary, a considerable amount of evidence (yet not nearly all that might be brought) has been adduced to shew that—

(i) differences of rendering in one and the same passage abound, and therefore difference of rendering does not shew difference of translators;

(ii) in a considerable proportion of the instances of difference alleged, the whole evidence has not been considered;

(iii) there is abundant reason for believing that the translators of Group II were acquainted with and made use of the translation of Group I;

(iv) there is fair reason for believing that the translators were the same throughout.

It is surprising that scholars of deservedly high repute (such as those mentioned on p. 449) should put forward as probable the assertion that the translators were different, without a hint of the weight of evidence against it. Can it be that they have reproduced a statement from some less reliable source without themselves verifying the facts?

Why should this question be of any importance? What does it matter whether the translators were the same or not?

If the translators were different, it would be probable that cc. xxxv–xl were not in the text used by the original translators, and were therefore a later addition to the book. If the translators were the same, it would

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be evidence that as far back as 250 B.C. the book of Exodus was substantially complete as we now have it.

(B) Difference of Text.

The second inference is that the translators of Group II had before them a Hebrew text differing from the present Massoretic text.

It is strange that those who put this forward, together with the assertion that the translators were not the same as those who translated Group I, do not perceive that the two contentions are not altogether consistent. In order to prove that the translators were different, it has to be assumed that they had the same technical terms to translate, and translated them differently. But if the translators of Group II had before them a text different from that which we now possess, how can we be sure that they had the same words to translate? It is scarcely admissible to argue as if these translators had the identical terms before them, and in the next breath to assert that their text was different.

However, it is to be noted that where difference of text is spoken of, something more than mere difference is intended. That might only mean that the text from which the Greek translation was made differed from the present Hebrew in having been altered from it: whereas what it is sought to establish is that the *Hebrew* has been modified by subsequent additions and alterations.

'It is permissible', says Dr Swete ('Introduction' p. 236), 'to suppose that the Hebrew text before the original translators did not contain this section, and that it was supplied afterwards from a longer Hebrew recension of the book in which the last six chapters had not yet reached their final form.'

In other words, the allegation is that the LXX text differed from the Massoretic in being *nearer to the true original.*

The main (if not the sole) argument for this conclusion is drawn from the fact that in the section xxxvi–xxxix the order of the contents in the Greek differs remarkably from that in the Hebrew (see Swete 'Introduction', p. 235; Driver 'Exodus' p. 378).

The difference is very striking, but it does not stand alone. In both Groups (xxv–xxxi and xxxv–xl) the Greek shews a large number of variations from the Hebrew, and all of these should be taken into account. They may be classed under four heads: (*a*) Greek words or phrases not in the Hebrew; (*b*) Hebrew words or phrases not in the Greek; (*c*) difference of substance; (*d*) difference of order.

Variations in Group I.

(*a*) *Greek words or phrases not in the Hebrew.*

1. Sometimes these are words frequently associated with the accom-

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panying word, and therefore likely to be inserted inadvertently; e. g. 'fine *twined* linen', xxv 4; 'with *pure* gold', xxv 28; 'Aaron *thy brother*', xxix 5.

2. Sometimes they are manifest errors, such as the insertion of 'the tent' in 'the ark *of the tent* of the testimony', xxx 26; and of τὸ ὕψος in xxvii 14, 15, 16, which would make the height of the hangings inconsistent with that given in *v.* 18.

3. Sometimes phrases that have recently occurred are repeated where evidently they are not needed. Thus the whole phrase 'and in the candlestick four cups made like almond blossoms' which commences xxv 34 is in the Greek unnecessarily repeated at the end of *v.* 35. Similar repetitions are found in xxvii 13, xxix 20, and xxx 21. They are probably scribal errors due to '*similar endings*'.

4. Sometimes the additional words are by way of explanation; e. g. in xxv 34 '*in the one branch*' after 'four cups made like almond blossoms'; in xxviii 33 '*of the robe below*' after 'upon the skirts'; in xxx 19 '*with water*' after 'shall wash their hands and their feet'.

The character of the words and phrases peculiar to the Greek is such that they may reasonably be considered additions by the translators, and not omissions in the Hebrew.

(*b*) *Hebrew words or phrases not in the Greek.*

1. In xxv 33 the Hebrew repeats the phrase 'three cups made like almond blossoms, a knop and a flower' because the branches were in pairs: the Greek has the phrase only once.

In xxviii 34 the Hebrew repeats 'a golden bell and a pomegranate' to convey the idea of repeated alternation: the Greek has the phrase only once.

In xxv 35 the Hebrew has the phrase 'a knop under two branches of one piece with it' three times because there were three pairs of branches, and each pair had a knop below their junction with the stem. The Greek[1] reads 'a knop under the two branches out of it, and a knop under the *four* branches out of it'. It can hardly be doubted that the translators had the triple phrase before them, but combined the second and third clauses into one.

Similar omissions of a repeated phrase, quite in keeping with the Hebrew idiom, are found in other parts of the Pentateuch.

2. xxviii 23–28 in the Hebrew is a lengthy and complicated description of how the Breastplate was to be attached to the Ephod by rings and chains: in the Greek only *vv.* 24, 25 are represented. Yet those two verses are intimately connected with the context, and the whole passage is fully represented in both the Hebrew and Greek of the parallel

[1] In Cod. B. Cod. A omits the second clause.

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xxxix 16–21. It is therefore probable that the original text of c. xxviii also had the whole passage, and that the translators have omitted a considerable part of it.

3. In Hebrew xxx 6 reads

> 'And thou shalt put it before the Veil
> that is by the Ark of the Testimony
> before the Mercy-seat that is over the Testimony.'

The third clause is not in the Greek. The translators may have passed it over accidentally owing to the similar ending of clause 2; but, quite as probably, they may have mistaken *Caporeth* (Mercy-seat) for *Parocheth* (the Veil), and omitted the clause as redundant after clause 1.

The character of the words and phrases peculiar to the Hebrew is such that in all probability they are part of the original text, and their absence from the Greek is due to omission (accidental or intentional) by the translators.

(*c*) *Difference of substance.*

The principal instance of this in Group I is in c. xxviii.

Massoretic.	*LXX.*
(23) And thou shalt make upon the breastplate two rings of gold, and shalt put the two rings on the two ends of the breastplate.	
(24) And thou shalt put the two wreathen chains of gold on the two rings at the ends of the breastplate.	Καὶ θήσεις ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον τῆς κρίσεως τοὺς κρωσσούς· τὰ ἁλυσιδωτὰ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν κλιτῶν τοῦ λογείου ἐπιθήσεις. Καὶ τὰς δύο ἀσπιδίσκας ἐπιθήσεις ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ὤμους τῆς ἐπωμίδος κατὰ πρόσωπον.
(25) And the *other* two ends of the two wreathen chains thou shalt put on the two ouches, and put them on the shoulderpieces of the ephod, in the forepart thereof.	

It will be seen that the Hebrew gives quite clear directions for attaching the Breastplate to the Ephod by means of chains attached to rings on the Breastplate at one end, and to 'ouches' on the Ephod at the other. In the Greek (since in *v.* 22 κρωσσοὺς . . . ἔργον ἁλυσιδωτόν is the equivalent for 'chains . . . of wreathen work') the rings are altogether omitted; the 'ouches' are simply placed upon the shoulderpieces of the Ephod; and no connexion between the two is even suggested. Clearly the Greek is incomplete, and yet bears sufficient resemblance to the Hebrew to shew that it was derived therefrom.

There can be little doubt that the Greek is at fault, and not the Hebrew.

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(*d*) *Difference of order.*

1. In xxix 20, 21 the Hebrew directs that the blood of the ram is to be sprinkled upon the altar round about, and then proceeds (*v.* 21), 'And thou shalt take of the blood that is upon the altar',—the natural sequence. The Greek places the instruction to pour out the blood upon the altar at the *end* of *v.* 21, so that Moses is directed to take of the blood 'that is upon the altar' before there is any intimation that any blood would be there.

2. In the directions to anoint the various parts of the Tabernacle, xxx 26–28, the Hebrew has 'the Table and all the vessels thereof' at the beginning of *v.* 27, between the Ark and the Candlestick, its natural position: the Greek has the Table and its vessels in *v.* 28, between the Altar of Burnt Offering and the Laver, altogether out of place.

Also the Greek text shews signs of perturbation in *v.* 27. The Vatican MS begins the verse with the Candlestick and its vessels, and then, between this and the Altar of Incense, has 'and the Tent of Witness and all the vessels thereof'; an impossible reading, for (1) it is incredible that the Tent should have been mentioned here; (2) it is a repetition of what has been already stated in *v.* 26; (3) the Tent could scarcely be said to have 'vessels'. The other authorities begin the verse with 'and all its vessels' (which cannot refer to the immediately preceding Ark), thereby betraying that something which had 'vessels' ought to stand here.

3. In c. xxviii the Hebrew has the verse (29) directing Aaron to bear the names of the children of Israel upon his heart after the directions for attaching the Breastplate to the Ephod, where it clearly belongs since the Breastplate had the names of the tribes engraved on the twelve jewels: the Greek has this verse after *v.* 22 between the direction to make golden chains, and the direction to place the chains on the Breastplate, as clearly an unsuitable position.

It will be noticed that this one passage (xxviii 23–29) shews three of the classes of difference: (1) a large part of the Hebrew does not appear in the Greek; (2) what does appear differs in substance; and (3) there is a difference of order. Yet in all three it is the Hebrew and not the Greek which is justified.

Where the order differs, the Hebrew order is natural, and the Greek improbable.

Altogether, then, Group I furnishes instances of all four classes of variation, yet

(i) So much of these seven chapters (xxv–xxxi) is the same in both versions that it is unlikely that the texts were materially different;

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(ii) Where the two differ, the Greek and not the Hebrew is suspicious;

(iii) No claim is made that the translators had a different text in this Group.

Variations in Group II.

When we turn to Group II, we find the same four classes of variations, only on a larger scale, and therefore more noticeable.

(*a*) *Greek words or phrases not in the Hebrew.*

1. Words commonly associated with the accompanying word:—xxxv 12, 'the ark *of the testimony*'; xxxix 1, 'Aaron *the priest*'; xxxix 16^{b}, 'the two *golden* rings'.

2. Phrases that have recently occurred repeated:—xxxvii 13, 'two on the one side and two on the second side', of the rings for the staves of the Table (repeated from *v.* 3 of the staves of the Ark); xxxviii 11, 'and the side towards the south, a hundred by a hundred', repeats the immediately preceding phrase, only changing 'north' into 'south' (superfluous here as the south side has already been specified, *v.* 9); xxxviii 20, 'and these were silvered with silver', repeats the last clause of *v.* 19 (inaccurately, for *v.* 20 concerns the pins of the tabernacle which were of bronze and not silvered).

3. Explanations:—xxxvii 6, 'the mercy-seat *above the ark*'; xxxvii 8, 'at the end of *the mercy-seat*' (twice); xxxvii 17, 'the Candlestick *which giveth light*'; xl 17, 'in the second year *of their going forth from Egypt*'.

Two of the Greek passages not found in the Hebrew are noticeable as suggesting that they were influenced by the parallel passage in Group I.

xxxv 10–19—the list of things to be made—closes with 'the Anointing Oil and the Incense of Composition', not in the Hebrew, and not wanted here as they have already been mentioned in the preceding list: the parallel passage in Group I, xxxi 6–11, has them in this position at the end of the list, and not earlier.

After the making of the Laver (xxxviii 8) the Greek adds, 'in the day when he fixed it: and he made the Laver that in it Moses and Aaron and his sons might wash their hands and their feet when they were entering into the Tent of the Testimony; or whenever they approached the Altar to minister, they used to wash in it, as the Lord commanded Moses'.

Here the inclusion of Moses with the priests, and the closing 'as the Lord commanded Moses', shew that this is really a version of xl 31, 32 (absent from the Greek of c. xl). It was probably transferred to this place because the parallel xxx 17–21 has a somewhat similar ending.

Besides all these, at the beginning of xxxviii 1–7, where the Hebrew has 'and he made the Altar of Burnt Offering of acacia wood', the Greek

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reads, 'this man made the Brazen Altar out of the brazen censers which belonged to the men who rebelled with the company of Korah'. Not only is this a manifest anachronism, but it does not agree with the account in Numbers, which represents that the censers were beaten into plates to make a *covering* for the Altar, not that the Altar was made of them.

Near the beginning of xxxix 32–43, after the words 'so did they', the Greek has, 'But of the remaining gold they made vessels wherewith to minister before the LORD; and of the remaining blue and purple and scarlet they made ministering garments for Aaron, so that he might minister in the Holy Place'. The whole of this is superfluous, for the making of the gold vessels has already been recorded in xxxvii 16–23, and the making of the vestments in the passage corresponding to xxxix 1–31. Also, it breaks the connexion between the verse recording the completion of the work, and the verses recording the delivery of the finished work to Moses.

Even more clearly than in Group I, *the character of the words and passages peculiar to the Greek points to the conclusion that they have been inserted by the translators, and not omitted by the Hebrew.*

(*b*) *Words and passages in the Hebrew not found in the Greek.*

Nearly one quarter of the contents of the Hebrew Group II does not appear in the Greek, but this chiefly concerns two chapters, xxxvi, xxxvii. From these, two entire sections (the Framework of the Tabernacle, and the Altar of Incense), and the greater part of a third (the Curtains) are absent from the Greek. These will be noticed later on (see p. 468 and pp. 475, 476).

Of the lesser instances of Hebrew passages not in the Greek, many concern minor details such as the staves of the Altar (xxxv 16, xxxviii 7, xxxix 39), and its horns (xxxviii 2); the cords of the Tabernacle and Court (xxxv 18, xxxix 40); the measurements of the Table (xxxvii 10), of the Mercy-seat (xxxvii 6), and of the Altar (xxxviii 1); and the details about the Cherubim (xxxvii 7–9). As all these are fully given in Group I, it is not unlikely that the translators thought it unnecessary to repeat them here.

In xxxviii 17 the Hebrew reads, 'And he made the Candlestick of pure gold: of beaten work *made he the Candlestick*'; the last four words are not in the Greek: in xxxvii 15 the Greek puts together the making of the staves for the Ark and the staves for the Table, recorded separately in the Hebrew (just as it inserts καὶ τὰ θυσιαστήρια at the beginning of xxxi 8, while the Hebrew mentions the two altars separately afterwards): in xxxviii 5–7, after recording the placing of four rings on the grating of the altar, the Greek continues εὑρεῖς τοῖς μοχλοῖς, ὥστε αἴρειν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ

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θυσιαστήριον, thus combining 'to be places for the staves' of *v.* 5 with 'to bear it withal' of *v.* 7, and omitting the intervening making and placing of the staves. These three instances have all the appearance of condensing the passages to avoid repetition.

xxxvii 24 (the Candlestick and its vessels made of a talent of gold) and xl 29b (sacrifices offered on the Altar of Burnt Offering) are not in the Greek. It is at least as likely that the translators passed over these because not very important as that a Jewish scribe took the trouble to interpolate them.

One matter calls for fuller notice.

In the Hebrew, xxv 6 and xxxv 8 (in the lists of materials to be provided) mention the Oil for the Light, and spices for the Anointing Oil and for the Incense: these verses are not in the Greek, and the Greek has no mention of the Oil for the Light in xxxv 14, 28. Both Hebrew and Greek have instructions about this oil in Group I (xxvii 20, 21), but in Group II neither mentions it among the things that were made, and yet in xxxix 37 both include it among the things delivered to Moses.

The variations seem perplexing enough, especially as the lighting oil is hardly important enough to call for insertion in the Hebrew, or deliberate omission from the Greek. Yet there is a clue.

xxvii 20 has no direction for *making* the Oil for the Light, but only defines it as 'pure olive oil beaten', i. e. clear and of the finest quality (see Driver's 'Exodus', p. 296). Bearing this in mind, the Hebrew is consistent throughout. In xxv 6 the oil is included among the materials to be provided, but it does not appear among the things to be made (xxxi 6–11) because it needed no compounding. The Anointing Oil and the Incense, on the contrary, were composite. Therefore in xxv 6 the requisite *spices* are included among the materials to be provided; in xxv 22–38 full directions for compounding them are given; and in xxxi 6–11 they are named as among the things to be made.

In Group II, the direction to provide oil and spices is repeated (xxxv 8), and they are included among the offerings brought (xxxv 28); no mention is made of making the oil (in xxxv 14 it merely appears along with the lamps as an accessory of the Candlestick); while the making of the Anointing Oil and the Incense is recorded (xxxvii 29), and all three are finally specified in the list of what was delivered to Moses (xxxix 37, 38).

The real harmony of the Hebrew account is so little on the surface that it can hardly be suspected of being artificial. The Greek account, on the other hand, is singularly incomplete. It gives the instruction as to the nature and quality of the lighting oil, and mentions it in the list of things delivered to Moses, but has no direction for providing it, and no mention of it among the offerings. It also gives every mention of

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the Anointing Oil and the Incense, excepting only the two verses (xxv 6, xxxv 8) which prescribe the provision of the necessary spices. Where the *offering* of these spices is recorded (xxxv 28) there is a tiny but significant bit of evidence. The Hebrew runs, 'and the spice, *and the oil for the light*, and for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense': the Greek is καὶ τὰς συνθέσεις, καὶ εἰς τὸ ἔλαιον τῆς χρίσεως, καὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν τοῦ θυμιάματος, where the second καί breaks the sense. Does not this suggest that the italicized clause, which would complete the sense, has been omitted? If so, then the fact that the same words are missing from the Greek of xxxv 14 would imply that in both places they were deliberately omitted.

On the whole, *the character of the words and phrases peculiar to the Hebrew* (as in Group I) *makes it probable that they belong to the original text, and have been omitted by the translators.*

(*c*) *Difference of substance.*

1. xxxvi 3 narrates how Bezaleel and his companions received from Moses the offerings which the children of Israel brought for the service of the sanctuary, and then continues, 'And they' [emphatic, referring to the nearer subject, the children of Israel] 'brought yet unto him [Moses] freewill offerings every morning'. The Greek translators, not realizing the force of the emphatic 'they', have thought that it must be the same as the 'they' which commences the verse, viz.: Bezaleel and his companions. Accordingly they have changed 'brought' into 'received'; have omitted 'unto him', and substituted 'from those that brought'.

The Hebrew gives a terse and vigorous picture of the Israelites bringing more and more offerings to Moses morning by morning: the Greek turns this into the feeble statement that Bezaleel and his fellow-workers continued to receive the offerings from those that brought them (not from Moses as in the earlier part of the verse).

2. xxxvii 17–23, the construction of the Candlestick, is the one passage of any length where the substance of the Greek differs seriously from the Hebrew. This, like the similar instance of differing substance in Group I, deals with a rather lengthy and complicated description. The Hebrew, however, though minutely detailed with a good deal of repetition is clear and free from ambiguity: the Greek is confused, hardly intelligible, and has every appearance of having been condensed (not very intelligently) from the longer statement.

Where the substance differs, as in Group I, the Hebrew is to be preferred to the Greek.

(*d*) *Difference of order.*

1. In xxxv 23 the Greek places the δέρματα ὑακίνθινα before the 'rams' skins dyed red', which is not the usual order: in xxxvi 9 the

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Greek puts 'the same [measure] was to all [the curtains]' *between* the measurements of the length and of the breadth of the curtains: in xxxix 28 the Greek has the 'head-tires' of the priests before the 'mitre' of the High Priest. These are probably instances of scribal inadvertence, transposing clauses.

2. In xxxv 10–19 the Hebrew has a complete list of the things to be made, arranged in regular order: the Tabernacle and its framework; the Ark, Mercy-seat, and the Veil; the Table, Candlestick, Altar of Incense (with the Anointing Oil and Incense), and the Screen of the Door; the Brazen Altar and Laver; the Hangings and Screen of the Court; the pins and cords; and finally the priestly Vestments.

The Greek list is incomplete and strangely disordered. It begins in the same way with the Tabernacle and its framework, the Ark, Mercy-seat, and Veil. But then follow the Hangings of the Court; the Emerald Stones; the Incense and Anointing Oil; the Table and Candlestick; the Altar; the Vestments; and finally the Anointing Oil and the Incense over again. Can this possibly be the original account?

3. In xxxix 33–41 the Hebrew has a perfectly regular list of the completed articles delivered to Moses in the same natural order as the list of c. xxxv.

The Greek begins with στολάς, where the Hebrew 'Tabernacle' is clearly right, being followed by the Tent and framework. Then follow the Ark, the Altar,[1] Anointing Oil and Incense, Candlestick, and Table; the Vestments; the Hangings of the Court; the Screen of the door of the Tent, and of the gate of the Court (bringing together two separate things); all the vessels of the Tabernacle and all its service; the skin and other coverings; the pins; and all the service of the Tabernacle (already mentioned).

The order here not only differs from the Hebrew, but also from the Greek in c. xxxv (notice especially the Vestments at the end of the list in c. xxxv; in the middle of that in c. xxxix).

It may be argued that the imperfect and disordered lists of the Greek may represent an original text which was afterwards sytematically rearranged and filled in so as to form the present symmetrical Hebrew. This argument ought hardly to be urged by those who hold that the whole description of the Tabernacle was an 'ideal' plan drawn up by men whose writings are specially characterized by system and order. Anyhow (1) it is unlikely that lists drawn up by the same writers would be so much at variance as these two; (2) it is very unlikely that the original lists would have shewn such utter confusion of the various parts

[1] If this is the Altar of Burnt Offering it is strangely out of place: the association with Ark, Incense, Candlestick, and Table would rather suggest the Altar of Incense.

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of the Tabernacle as is found in the Greek; and (3) original lists would hardly contain the little anomalies (such as repetitions) which the Greek presents.

Unskilful condensation and rearrangement of a fuller original would account for all these peculiarities.

Where the order differs, the Hebrew is consistent and natural, the Greek confused and contradictory.

So far it has been shewn that, apart from the difference of order in the contents of xxxvi 8b–xxxix 43, the Greek of both Groups shews a large amount of variations from the Hebrew, and that in most (if not all) of these, there is good reason for thinking that the translators used a good deal of liberty in dealing with their text; adding, omitting, altering, and rearranging. The remarkable difference of order in that particular set of chapters is, then, not an isolated phenomenon; and if the other variations are due to the translators, it is not unlikely that this one also may be due to them, and not to a difference of text.

The difference in question will be best shewn in a Comparative Table.[1]

	Hebrew.	*Greek.*
	see below.	Vestments (*a*).
I.	Curtains.	Curtains (fragment).
	Framework.	——
	Veil and Screen.	Veil and Screen.
	see below.	Court Summary (*b*).
II.	Ark.	Ark.
	Table.	Table.
	Candlestick.	Candlestick.
	Altar of Incense.	——
	——	Metal-work (*c*).
III.	Anointing Oil and Incense.	Anointing Oil and Incense.
	Altar of Burnt Offering.	Brazen Altar.
	Laver.	Laver.
(*b*)	Court.	*see above.*
	Summary.	
IV.	Account of Metals.	Account of Metals.
(*a*)	Vestments.	*see above.*
V.	Delivery to Moses.	Delivery to Moses.

[1] The Comparative Table in Dr Swete's 'Introduction' p. 235 is incomplete and obscures some points of resemblance.

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From this it is clear that the arrangement of the sections marked I to V is practically the same.

In section III the first two subsections are transposed in the Greek, but that relating to the Anointing Oil and Incense is only a single verse which might easily be displaced, and the Hebrew order is more natural.

The chief differences are with regard to sections (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*).[1]

(*a*) *The Vestments.*

1. In the Hebrew these come quite at the end after all the details of the Tabernacle, which is intelligible enough, and agrees with the order of things to be made (cc. xxxi and xxxv): in the Greek they come at the very beginning, as though these were the first to be taken in hand. No doubt a great deal of the work would be carried on simultaneously by different sets of workers, but each set of workers would have to receive instructions from Moses, and he would probably first set to work those who had to execute the heavier tasks of the structure and furniture of the Sanctuary.

2. In the Hebrew the section begins with 'And of the blue and purple and scarlet, they made finely wrought garments', following quite naturally on the account of the metals: the Greek begins with Καὶ ἐποιήσε πᾶς σοφὸς ἐν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις [= Heb. xxxvi 8[a]] τὰς στολὰς τῶν ἁγίων, αἵ εἰσιν Ἀαρὼν τῷ ἱερεῖ [= Heb. xxxix 1[b]]. If the translators had decided (for whatever reason) to place the Vestments first, it is quite easy to see how this combination would be made: it is not easy to see how the Hebrew would be derived from the Greek.

3. The section ends with 'as the LORD commanded Moses', which fits very well with what follows in the Hebrew, 'Thus was finished all the work of the tabernacle of the tent of meeting: and the children of Israel did according to all that the LORD commanded Moses, so did they' (xxxix 32): according to the Greek, it only leads up to 'And they made for the tent ten curtains', the commencement of making the Tabernacle.

4. In the Greek the declaration just quoted, that the children of Israel did as the LORD commanded, is followed by a passage (not in the Hebrew) containing a statement that out of the remaining blue and purple and scarlet they made ministering garments for Aaron, which resembles xxxix 1, the beginning of the Hebrew 'Vestments' section. This looks very much as though the translators were conscious that originally some account of the Vestments belonged hereabouts.

Thus in the Hebrew order the section connects naturally with what precedes and with what follows: in the Greek it fits neither, and there

[1] The absence of the Altar of Incense from the Greek will be considered later on, see pp. 475, 476.

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is an indication that there was some statement about the Vestments near the very place where the Hebrew places this section.

(*b*) *The Court—Summary.*

Following on the account of the making of the Court, both Hebrew and Greek have a short passage (xxxviii 21–23) which begins 'This is the sum of the things for the tabernacle'. In the Hebrew this is quite in place, for it comes at the very end of the things made for the Tabernacle, and is only followed by the account of the quantity of metals and the making of the priestly Vestments: in the Greek it stands before the making of the Ark, Table, Candlestick, great Altar, and Laver; clearly out of place. There could hardly be a plainer indication that this passage and the Court section to which it is attached have been removed from their true place at the end, where the Hebrew has them.

(*c*) *Metal-work.*

After the account of making the Ark, Table, and Candlestick, but before the Brazen Altar and Laver, the Greek has a passage containing some miscellaneous details of metal work.

Its position is not very appropriate, as one would hardly expect such minor matters as the rings, hooks, bases, and pins to intervene between the furniture of the Tabernacle and the great Altar. Also, at first sight, it seems as if there were no such passage in the Hebrew, but on closer inspection it will be found that there are scattered fragments in other parts of the Hebrew which do correspond.

The passage begins with a fairly close translation of xxxvi 34, and a sentence founded on xxxvi 36; then follows a blending of xxxvi 13 and 18; then a version of xxxviii 17 re-arranged, and finally a version of xxxviii 20.

Now xxxvi 34 is part of the account of the Framework, otherwise wholly absent from the Greek; and xxxvi 13, 18 belong to that larger part of the Curtains section which is not in the Greek. It would seem then that the considerable portion of c. xxxvi which is otherwise absent from the Greek was not wholly unknown to the translators. On the other hand, the verses from c. xxxviii are a repetition in a different rendering of what has already (in the Greek order) appeared in the Court section.

Further, the passage is marked by a curious change. The preceding sections commence with 'And Bezaleel made', or 'and he made', the subsequent details being only joined on by a simple καί: here, each fragment commences with Οὗτος (with different verbs). The fragmentary nature of the section is clearly indicated.

There can hardly be room for doubt that odd verses relating to the common subject of metal-work have been here grouped together, in

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which case the passage exhibits plain traces of omission, re-arrangement, and varied translation, which must have been deliberately done.

Thus each of the three sections in cc. xxxvi–xxxix wherein the Greek order differs from the Hebrew affords indications that in the Greek they are misplaced. Their evidence goes to shew that the Hebrew has preserved the true order of which the Greek is a dislocation.

Dr Swete ('Introduction' p. 235) notices that both the Greek and the Massoretic version of these chapters 'follow a system, i.e. that the sequence is due to a deliberate re-arrangement of the groups', and suggests as a possibility that 'the Alexandrian translator has purposely changed their relative order, giving precedence to the ornaments of the priesthood'. This would account for the Vestments section standing first, but not for the position of sections (*b*) and (*c*).

System of a kind, however, is to be found in the Greek arrangement. Supposing that the translator had some reason for placing the priestly Vestments first,[1] he has grouped along with them the Curtains, the Veil and Screen, and the Hangings of the Court. That is to say, all the parts involving the use of textile materials are put together. Then come the parts requiring the use of metals: the Ark, Table, and Candlestick; the metal overlaying and casting; and the Bronze Altar and Laver. In this connexion it is significant that the Greek omits all mention of 'acacia wood' in the construction of the Ark, the Table, and the great Altar, as though these were wholly made of metal. In the same way, it omits the whole section about the Boards and Bars, only preserving in another part, section (*c*), the one verse which speaks of their being overlaid with gold.

This grouping, according to material, may perhaps furnish a clue to the arrangement of the Greek.

If it be asked why this Group of chapters (and indeed Group I also in a lesser degree) should shew an amount of perturbation not found elsewhere in the Pentateuch, the answer is simple.

It is precisely these chapters which contain an unusual amount of repetition, peculiar technical terms, and complicated descriptions, and that in matters which the translators might consider of no great interest to those for whom the translation was being made.

The inference, then, that the translators of cc. xxxv–xl had before them a text differing from the present Hebrew rests only on a portion of the evidence. It is based upon the disorder of one particular set of chapters: it disregards the evidence of all the other variations in both Groups, and the special evidence of the three passages which constitute

[1] Can this have had reference to some Egyptian practice or prejudice?

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the chief difference between the Greek and the Hebrew in the disordered chapters.

The evidence taken as a whole rather points to the conclusion that the variations in both Groups are due to the translators; and that in cc. xxxvi–xxxix the Hebrew has preserved the true order, from which the Greek has been derived by a process of re-arrangement.

(C) Later Additions to the Hebrew Text.

The two inferences already considered (that the translators of Group II were not the translators of Group I; and that their text differed from the Massoretic) are only of any real importance in so far as they would serve to confirm a third and graver inference, viz. that the Massoretic text contains a large amount of matter which does not belong to the original book but was added subsequently.

It is held that there are strong reasons for considering that cc. xxx, xxxi are a later addition to Group I; and that the whole of Group II is a still later addition (see Driver 'Exodus' pp. 328 and 378).

I. *Cc. xxx, xxxi an 'Appendix' to Group I.*

The reasons given for believing that these chapters are a later addition to the Instructions relate to two matters; the Altar of Incense, and the anointing of priests. The latter subject will be considered first.

(*a*) *The anointing of the priests.*

It is held that originally only the High Priest was anointed because (1) the anointing is confined to Aaron in Exod. xxix 7 (and his successors, *v.* 29) and in Lev. viii 12; (2) in various passages the High Priest is called the *anointed* Priest, which would be no distinction if all the priests were anointed. Therefore it is held that Exod. xxx 30 and other passages which extend the anointing to Aaron's sons must belong to a later period (see Driver 'Exodus' pp. 329 and 337).

Exod. xxix 7 directs that Aaron is to be anointed by the pouring of the anointing oil on his head, and in the verses that follow nothing is said about anointing his sons: Lev. viii 12 records that Aaron was so anointed, and *v.* 13 does not mention any anointing of his sons. In neither passage is there any express exclusion of the sons: it is not said that *only* Aaron was anointed. That the sons were not anointed is at best only an inference from the silence of these passages.

On the other hand, besides the direction of xxx 30, an earlier passage (xxviii 41) includes the sons in the anointing, and xl 15 is very explicit; 'thou shalt bring his sons . . . and thou shalt anoint them, as thou didst anoint their father . . . and their anointing shall be to them for an everlasting priesthood'. Also the anointing of the sons as well as of Aaron is mentioned in Lev. vii 35, 36, and allusions to it are found in Lev. x 7, Num. iii 3.

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It comes to this, then, that because two passages speak of Aaron being anointed without mentioning his sons, the express testimony of six passages to the anointing of the sons is to be discredited as belonging to later interpolations.

This is surely an unusual way of estimating evidence. If two witnesses testify that a famous personage was knighted without saying anything at all about others, while six witnesses testify that others less famous received that honour at the same time, should we be justified in concluding that only one person was knighted, and that the others were only included by an after-invention? One would think that, by the ordinary rules of evidence, the positive statement of the six would far outweigh the merely negative silence of the two.

Is it not possible, and even in accordance with Hebrew tradition, that there was some anointing of the sons (whether the sprinkling with blood and oil specified in Exod. xxix 21, Lev. viii 30, or not) which was not the solemn anointing by pouring the sacred oil on the head (cf. Ps. cxxxiii 2)? If there was this special anointing of the High Priest, and only a subsidiary anointing of the sons, this would at once account for the latter not being mentioned in Exod. xxix 7, Lev. viii 12 (both referring to the pouring on the head), and also for the High Priest being styled 'the anointed priest' *par excellence.*

Whereas, on the later addition theory, we should be required to believe in an interpolator who has been careful to include the sons in Exod. xxviii 41, but failed to mention them in xxix 8, ten verses later; and in the same way has included them in Lev. vii 35, 36, and left viii 13 (fifteen verses further on) without them. He has also inserted precise directions in Exod. xxx 30, xl 15, and allusions in Lev. x 7, Num. iii 3, but left the mentions of 'the anointed priest' untouched. He must have been very careless.

The one view is simple and supported by the weight of evidence: the other involves some considerable improbability. It can hardly be said that this argument for the late origin of cc. xxx, xxxi is very convincing.

(*b*) *The Altar of Incense.*

The arguments for considering the golden Altar of Incense a later addition, are drawn from (i) the position of the Instruction for making it; (ii) the annual rite of atonement; (iii) the Altar of Burnt Offering called 'the' altar; (iv) the use of censers (see Driver 'Exodus' p. 328).

(i) *The position of the Instruction.*

The Altar of Incense has long been regarded as almost of supreme importance, next indeed to the Ark of the Covenant, and according to Exod. xxx 6 was to be set in the Holy Place with the Table of Shewbread and the golden Candlestick. Yet the Instruction for making

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it is not found in c. xxv with the Instructions for making the Table and Candlestick: it is only first mentioned in xxx 1–10, 'when the directions respecting the Tabernacle seem to be complete, and brought to a solemn close by the promise in xxix 43–46 that Jehovah will take up His abode in the sanctuary so constructed': and is not even mentioned in xxvi 34, 35 'where the position of the vessels in the Tabernacle is defined' (Driver 'Exodus' p. 328).

No doubt, if these chapters were (as is alleged) an 'ideal' scheme drawn up by a systematic writer 'as the embodiment of certain spiritual ideas' (Driver 'Exodus' p. 428), it would be very surprising to find this Altar so far removed from the other furniture of the Holy Place. But if these chapters are, as they profess to be, Divine Instructions, then, except so far as they may guide us, we are not qualified to judge what reasons may have determined this particular order, or what was the precise importance of this Altar in the Divine scheme. Now, however important the Altar may have come to be considered in after ages, in these Instructions it appears to be treated rather as an accessory to the golden Candlestick, the burning of incense being directly associated with the preparation and lighting of the lamps (xxx 7, 8).

This view is the more probable because there is a similar instance in this same chapter. The Instruction for making the Bronze Laver is found here, and not along with the Instruction for making the Altar of Burnt Offering in c. xxvii. As regards the Court, there can be no question that the Altar was the main feature, and the Laver subordinate. It is therefore not impossible that, as regards the Holy Place, the Candlestick and Table were the matters of primary importance, and the Altar of Incense only secondary.

Further, between the Incense Altar and the Laver comes the Instruction that every man was to give a half shekel as 'a ransom for his soul'. Why is it placed here? The ransom money was to be applied to 'the service of the tent of meeting' (xxx 16), and in xxxv 24, xxxvi 1 'the service' undoubtedly refers to the construction of the Tabernacle. The obvious conclusion is that the ransom money provided the silver which was needed, and this is distinctly stated in the Account of Metals (xxxviii 24–31) where this provision of silver (placed between the freewill offerings of gold and bronze) is recorded to have been used for the casting of sockets, hooks, and the like. The silver, then, was for the construction and ornamentation of subordinate parts.

If, then, the Altar of Incense was of secondary importance, the whole of c. xxx is occupied with accessories; and the placing of the Ransom money between the Golden Altar and the Bronze Laver (preserving the order 'gold, silver, bronze' of xxv 3, xxxv 5) indicates that the chapter

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is a deliberate and orderly arrangement, and not a miscellaneous collection of after-thoughts.

But does not all this follow after the 'solemn close' of xxix 43–46? and does not that shew that these were no part of the original Instructions?

Most of the Instructions in cc. xxv–xxxi end with a passage defining the position or use of the articles which were to be made. C. xxviii gives the instructions for making the priestly vestments: c. xxix continues with the ceremonies to be observed at the investiture of the priests, and the sacrifices to be then offered, leading on naturally to the daily sacrifices (*vv.* 38–42). The chapter, then, is something of a digression from the making of the vestments to the consecration and duties of the priests who were to wear them; and it is this digression, not 'the directions respecting the Tabernacle', which is brought to a close by the promise of *vv.* 43–46.

xxvi 34, 35 defines the position of the Mercy-seat, Candlestick, and Table, for the making of which directions had already been given: it could hardly include the position of that which had not yet been ordered to be made.

(ii) *The annual rite of atonement.*

In xxx 10 an 'annual rite of atonement' is prescribed to be performed upon the Altar of Incense: there is no notice of this in Lev. xvi, 'where the ceremonial of the day of atonement is described in detail'; and in that chapter 'only one altar, the altar of Burnt-offering' is mentioned (Driver 'Exodus' p. 328).

Lev. xvi 12–16[a] describes in full detail what Aaron was to do 'within the veil', i. e. in the Holy of Holies: *v.* 16[b] adds 'and so shall he do for the tent of meeting', i. e. the Holy Place, but here no details are given. We have no right to assume that this did not include the rite prescribed in Exod. xxx 10.

'The altar' in *vv.* 18–20 is outside the Tent ('and he shall go out unto the altar', *v.* 18), and there, of course, there was but the one altar. *Vv.* 20 and 33 distinctly mark three stages in the ceremonies: (1) the holy place; (2) the tent of meeting; (3) the altar.

(iii) '*The*' *Altar.*

In a number of passages (e. g. Exod. xxvii–xxix; Lev. i–iii, v–vi, viii, ix, xvi) 'the altar of Burnt-offering is referred to as "*the* altar", implying apparently that there was no other' (Driver 'Exodus' p. 328).

Exod. xxvii–xxix comes before the Instruction to make the Altar of Incense, so there was only one altar to refer to: in Lev. i–iii, v–ix the connexion with sacrifice is so close that only the sacrificial altar could be meant: in Lev. xvi the altar is outside: but in Lev. iv 'the altar of sweet incense' is distinguished from 'the altar of burnt offering' (*vv.* 7,

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10, 18, 25, 30, 34). Where there is no possibility of mistake, the Bronze Altar is simply styled 'the altar': elsewhere it is distinguished.

More than that, there were reasons for styling the sacrificial Altar pre-eminently '*the* altar': (1) the Hebrew word for 'altar' is derived from the root meaning to kill or slaughter, and therefore intimately connected with animal sacrifice; (2) there is reason for thinking the Incense Altar subordinate, while the Altar of Sacrifice was of primary importance; (3) the Incense Altar was secluded from view and small (cubits 1 × 1 × 2); the Bronze Altar was conspicuous in the open court and of great size (cubits 5 × 5 × 3, more than thirty-five times as large).

The use of the term 'the altar', therefore, no more implies that 'there was no other' than the mention of 'the chair' at a public meeting implies the absence of all other chairs. In a description of St Peter's at Rome, 'the altar' would be readily understood to mean the High Altar without any suggestion that there are no others.

(iv) *The use of 'censers'.*

Lev. x 1, xvi 12, Num. xvi 6, 7 mention 'incense being offered on pans or censers' (Driver 'Exodus' p. 328): hence it is inferred that incense was originally offered in this way, and the incense *altar* was a later developement.

Lev. x has to do with the irregular offering of Nadab and Abihu: Lev. xvi directs the High Priest to take the censer into the Holy of Holies, where there was no altar: Num. xvi deals with the test of the claim of Korah and his company which took place 'at the door of the tent of meeting' (*v.* 18).

All of these are clearly exceptional, and therefore no possible proof that there was not an Altar in the Holy Place for the ordinary daily burning of incense.

None of the four reasons for considering the Altar of Incense a later innovation is really convincing when closely examined, and the most plausible (No. i, the position of the Instruction) may fairly be taken to tell the other way.

We are asked to believe that originally there was no mention of any Altar of Incense, and that the Instruction to make one (Exod. xxx 1–10) was added by some one at a later time. Does it not stand to reason that such an one, if he had any sense, would be careful to put his insertion in the most appropriate place? Why should he put it 'after the directions respecting the Tabernacle seem to be complete and brought to a solemn close'? It would have been just as easy for him to insert it in c. xxv with the directions for the Table and the Candlestick.

It is possible (as shewn above) to see a reason for this Altar occupying a subordinate position in the original Instructions: it is not possible

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to imagine any reason for an interpolator inserting this direction anywhere but in the obviously natural place.

Then, again, there are the other contents of the two chapters, xxx, xxxi, to be taken into consideration.

The Instructions about the Altar of Incense and the anointing of priests only occupy 11 verses (xxx 1–10, 30) out of 56. What of the other 45? Were these also part of the later addition?

Dr Driver seems to think so for he marks both chapters P_2, and summarily dismisses four-fifths of the contents with the remark (p. 329), 'The other subjects treated in chs. xxx–xxxi are such as would naturally find place in an Appendix'.

What are these other subjects? (1) 'The ransom of souls at a census'; (2) the construction of the Laver; (3) the composition and use of the Anointing Oil; (4) the composition of the Incense; (5) the nomination of Bezaleel and Oholiab; (6) the summary of things to be made; (7) injunction to keep the Sabbath.

Was there really nothing of all this in the original Instructions? Was the Laver also an afterthought? The Anointing Oil is referred to in xxix 7, 21: was there no direction about this originally? Incense was 'offered on pans or censers'; was there no hint as to its composition? Did the original account make no mention of the principal workers, and contain no summary of the things to be made?

It is difficult to believe that all these 'other subjects' were absent from the original: it is equally difficult to guess why, if they were absent, an interpolator should have thought it necessary to insert some of them. He might be tempted to bring in an altar for burning the incense, and a laver for the priests' washing mentioned in xxix 4; but why should he invent an imaginary census tax? or imaginary workers? or add a seemingly irrelevant injunction to keep the Sabbath? Yet if there was in the original document an 'Appendix' containing some of these things, the insertion of the Altar of Incense among these instead of in the earlier instructions becomes more unaccountable than ever.

The Septuagint furnishes some further evidence.

It is remarkable that in Group II (the carrying out of the Instructions) the passage which narrates the making of the Altar of Incense, xxxvii 25–28, and the mentions of it in xxxv 15, xxxix 8 are not found in the Greek. So also the notices of the Laver in xxxv 16, xxxix 39, xl 7, 11, 30 are not represented.

At first sight this looks like a confirmation of the view that both Altar and Laver were later additions which had not yet found their way into the text used by the translators of xxxv–xl.

But then, while the Altar is not mentioned anywhere in cc. xxxv–xxxix,

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in c. xl there are two passages (*vv.* 5, 6, and 26–28) which recognize both this Altar and the distinctive title of the Altar of sacrifice. Was this one chapter translated at a different time from the preceding five, and after the additions of cc. xxx, xxxi had been introduced into the Hebrew?

Again, while the Greek of c. xl has no mention of the Laver, xxxviii 8, which narrates the making of the Laver, is not only found in the corresponding Greek, but is there actually emphasized by the addition (borrowed from xl 31) about the washing. Are we to suppose that the translators of c. xxxvii had not the passage about the Altar but had the passage about the Laver in c. xxxviii, while the translators of c. xl knew about the Altar, but not about the Laver? If not, then the absence of the Altar from some parts, and of the Laver from others, can only be instances of omission on the part of the translators.

Then, too, all the other subjects in xxx, xxxi—the Census money, Anointing Oil, Incense, chosen workers, summary of things to be made, injunction to keep the Sabbath—are all fully recognized in the Greek of xxxv–xl. If, then, cc. xxx, xxxi are (as marked by Dr Driver) an integral whole, the translators of Group II must have had the whole of these chapters (including the Incense Altar and the Laver) before them, in which case the absence of the Altar section from the Greek is a marked instance of omission.

Yet, as the Altar of Incense is recognized in c. xl, the translators of Group II could hardly have had any reason for *deliberately* omitting the section about its being made. Now, just where this section occurs in the Hebrew, the Greek has the section about Metal-work (see the Comparative Table, p. 466) made up of miscellaneous fragments: and this section is almost exactly the length of the Greek of xxx 1–5, which corresponds to the Hebrew of xxxvii 25–28, which does not appear in the Greek. Can it be that for some reason, such as the mutilation of a page, the text used by the translators was here defective, and that they therefore filled up the gap by stringing together the fragments about the metal-work from other parts?

At any rate, the LXX version of cc. xxxv–xl does not confirm the theory that cc. xxx, xxxi form a later 'Appendix' to the original Instructions. That theory is only founded on a small part of the chapters in question; the reasons drawn from that small part are far from strong; and the theory involves some serious improbabilities as to the action of the supposed interpolator.

II. *Group II later than cc. xxx, xxxi.*

The theory that cc. xxxv–xl are later than xxx, xxxi depends on the difference in order between the two Groups of chapters, the 'most

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noticeable variation' being the difference in the position of the Altar of Incense and the Bronze Laver, which in Group I are relegated to the 'Appendix', and in Group II are 'introduced in accordance with the place' which 'they would naturally hold' (Driver 'Exodus' p. 378).

Of course on any theory cc. xxxv–xl were written after cc. xxv–xxxi, and this rearrangement might have been made even if both Groups were due to the same author.

The two Groups, however, differ in other respects besides the order. Group II is by no means the replica, with trifling changes, of Group I which it is sometimes represented to be, though both Dr Driver ('Exodus' p. 376) and Dr McNeile ('Exodus' p. 223) characterize it as practically a *verbatim* repetition.

But cc. xxxv–xxxix are the record of the work of construction, and therefore verses not enjoining constructive work (e.g. xxv 8, 9; 15, 16; 22; 37^b; 40; xxvi 9^b; 12, 13; 30; &c.) are not included in them. So too directions as to the position or use of the furniture or hangings (e.g. xxv 21; xxvi 33–35; xxx 19–21) are transferred to xl 17–33, the setting up of the Tabernacle; and the whole of c. xxix (the Investiture of the Priests) is found in Leviticus, not in this Group.

The omissions in these chapters are not casual but deliberate, to suit the purpose of the account.

In like manner, in Group II there are considerable passages (xxxv 20–29, the offerings that were made; xxxvi 2–7, the delivery of the materials to the workmen; xxxix 33–43, the delivery of the finished work to Moses) narrating what was actually done, which therefore could by no possibility be included in the Instructions.

Lesser instances also are not without significance.

The Instruction about the Oil for the Light (xxvii 20, 21), and that about the Urim and Thummim (xxviii 30), do not appear in Group II. These do not seem to have required any making, and therefore are not included in the work done.

In the account of making the Ephod, xxxix 3 has the addition, 'they did beat the gold into thin plates, and cut it into wires': xxxix 28, 29 has some added details about the priestly robes (the breeches 'of fine twined linen', and the girdle 'of fine twined linen, and blue, and purple, and scarlet'). These are explanations of how the Instructions were actually carried out.

Neither omissions nor additions are accidental or unmeaning: they shew purpose, and are required by the essential character of the two Groups.

What then of the difference in order? Does that shew any traces of plan or purpose?

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The differences (by no means confined to the position of the Incense Altar and Laver) will again be best seen in a Comparative Table.

Group I.	Group II.
xxv. *see below*, (*g*).	xxxv. Observance of Sabbath.
Materials to be offered.	Materials to be offered.
see below, (*f*).	Summary of things to be made.
—	The offerings and offerers.
see below, (*e*).	The workers.
—	xxxvi. Delivery of materials to workers.
—	Superabundance of offerings.
Furniture: Ark.	xxxvii. *Furniture*: Ark.
Mercy-seat.	Mercy-seat.
Table.	Table.
Candlestick.	Candlestick.
xxvi. *Structure*: Curtains.	*Structure*: Curtains.
Framework.	Framework.
Veil.	Veil.
Screen.	Screen.
see below, (*a*).	Altar of Incense.
see below, (*d*).	Anointing Oil and Incense.
xxvii. *Court*: Bronze Altar.	xxxviii. *Court*: Bronze Altar.
see below, (*c*).	Laver.
Hangings, &c.	Hangings, &c.
—	Summary.
—	*Account of Metals*: gold.
see below, (*b*).	silver.
—	bronze.
Oil for Light.	—
xxviii. *Vestments*: Ephod.	xxxix. *Vestments*: Ephod.
Breastplate.	Breastplate.
Urim and Thummim.	—
Robe of Ephod.	Robe of Ephod.
Gold Plate.	Gold Plate.
Other robes.	Other robes.
xxix. Investiture.	—

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	Group I.	Group II.
xxx.	(*a*) Altar of Incense.	
	(*b*) Census money.	
	(*c*) Laver.	
	(*d*) Anointing Oil and Incense.	*see above.*
xxxi.	(*e*) Workers.	
	(*f*) Summary of things to be made.	
	(*g*) Observance of Sabbath.	
	—	Delivery of articles completed.

Here it will be noticed that, at the commencement of the work, the Furniture and Structure sections have changed places in Group II. Why?

The Instructions begin at once with the Ark (the most sacred of all), the Table, and the Candlestick, the Structure that was to enshrine them coming after: in the work, the external Structure is first put in hand, and the more elaborate Furniture after. This is just what might be expected; the one arrangement is in order of importance, the other according to the order in which the work would naturally be undertaken.

So in the Vestments section, the Instructions place the Gold Plate before the other robes because of its importance: in the work, the other robes follow the Robe of the Ephod, and the Gold Plate, differing in material and workmanship, follows.

Once more the different character of the two Groups is traceable.

Next, it is to be observed that not only the Altar of Incense and the Laver but *all* the contents of cc. xxx, xxxi are altogether differently placed in Group II. The most remarkable variation of all is that the Instructions of c. xxxi which end Group I are found at the beginning of Group II, and in reverse order:—

End of Group I	Workers: things to be made: Sabbath.
Beginning of Group II	Sabbath: things to be made: Workers.

Why is the injunction to keep the Sabbath inserted at all?

Surely to preclude the possibility of the people supposing that the sanctity and urgency of the work might supersede the law of the Sabbath rest. Not even for so sacred a work might that be broken.

Consider then the order of the Instructions.

A list of the materials needed naturally stands first. Next comes the detailed description of the Sanctuary to be erected, beginning with its most sacred part, the Ark of the Covenant and its Mercy-seat. Then follow the Table and Candlestick of the Holy Place, and then the

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Curtains, Framework, Veil and Screen which were to enshrine all these in an awe-inspiring seclusion. After these, the great Altar of the open Court, and the Hangings, pillars, and Screen of the enclosure to guard it. Then the holy Robes in which the priests might enter to minister, and the ceremonies by which they were set apart for their sacred office. After these again come the accessories: the secondary Altar of the Holy Place; the provision of silver; the Laver for purifying ablutions before ministering; the Consecrating Oil, and the Incense.

When the directions for the work to be performed are complete, then the designation of the chief workers, and a short summary of the work they were to do, follow most suitably. Is it not obvious that the command to observe the sacred days of rest makes a most fitting, almost inevitable, conclusion to all that has gone before?

When the whole group of chapters (xxv–xxxi) is regarded as containing the Divine Instructions, an admirable order and unity can be seen to run through them. Could that have been produced by two sets of writers, working independently, and separated by a considerable interval of time?

In the narration of how these Instructions were obeyed, however, clearly some notice is needed of how Moses, who alone had received them, conveyed them to the people. Accordingly c. xxxv begins with Moses assembling the people, and telling them 'what the LORD hath commanded', and now the solemn warning against infringing the Sabbath, which so appropriately closed the Instructions, becomes an equally suitable preface to the address to the assembled people. Before they are told of the work, they are cautioned as to its limitation, and to this caution is made the significant addition, 'Ye shall kindle [*lit.* make flame, or burn] no fire throughout your habitations upon the sabbath day'. Not only are they themselves to rest, but the special injunction against the use of fire is added lest they should think it necessary to keep alive the fires for casting and fashioning metals. *All* work is to cease.

This prefatory warning given, the people are next informed what materials are wanted, and the short summary of things to be made is added so that the people may understand to what purposes these materials are to be applied.

Quite simply and inartificially the matters which form the suitable close to the Instructions come as an equally fitting prelude to the performance of the work, and precisely in that reverse order in which they are actually found.

In response to Moses' address the offerings pour in: men and women bring their golden ornaments, the men bringing also the ready-made materials they possessed, as well as silver, bronze, and acacia wood, the

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women contributing to the supply of materials by their spinning, and their rulers providing the precious stones, the spice, and the oil. Then the workers are convened, the materials delivered to them, and the work of construction commences.

In this account of the performance of the work, those things which, as being of lesser importance, only appear towards the close of the Instructions, are naturally associated with the parts to which they belong. So we find them: the Incense Altar with (but after) the Furniture of the Holy Place; the Anointing Oil and Incense (coupled because of similar composition) immediately after the Altar on which the Incense was to be offered; the Laver after the Altar of Sacrifice; and the Ransom silver in its appropriate place between the gold and the bronze of the freewill offerings.

Again, a perfect order and unity runs through the arrangement of Group II, and, though the order differs so much from that of Group I, it is the order which exactly harmonizes with the professed character of these chapters, viz. the narration of how the Instructions were obeyed. Is it credible that this harmony, so real and yet so far from obvious, could have been produced by yet a third set of writers, merely re-arranging somewhat slavishly the Instructions of Group I 'in order to dwell on their detailed fulfilment' (McNeile 'Exodus' p. 223)?

The inference that the different order of Group II shews that these chapters belong to a later period than Group I really rests on a small part of the evidence: it disregards the significance of the way in which the contents of cc. xxx, xxxi are re-arranged, and it disregards the fact that the omissions and additions in Group II shew a deliberate purpose agreeing with the different character of the two Groups.

The view that Group II gives a straightforward account of how the Instructions were carried out is consistent with the evidence as a whole, explains all the variations (omissions, additions, differences of order), and is coherent and intelligible throughout.

The three inferences to be examined were

(A) that the translators of xxxv–xl were not the translators of xxv–xxxi;

(B) that the text used by the translators of xxxv–xl differed from the present Massoretic text;

(C) that cc. xxx, xxxi were a later addition to xxv–xxix,
and cc. xxxv–xl a still later addition.

It has been the aim of these papers to shew that each of these inferences has been drawn from an imperfect survey of the evidence,

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and that a consideration of the whole evidence shews that there is good reason for believing that

(1) the translators were the same throughout;

(2) the differences of the Greek from the Hebrew are due to the translators, and not to a difference of text;

(3) cc. xxx, xxxi are an integral portion of the original Instructions, and xxxv–xl a plain narrative of how the Instructions were obeyed.

A. H. FINN.

THE TEXT OF JEREMIAH vi 27–30, IN THE LIGHT OF EZEKIEL xxii 17–22.

THIS passage comes at the close of the great series of Jeremiah's songs on the Scythian invasion, but it has no direct bearing on that event itself, except in so far as it throws light on the moral and spiritual condition which demanded and received so terrible a punishment. The text, unfortunately, is in a very corrupt state, as is shewn by the various attempts at translation and emendation made by modern editors. Thus, for instance, Dr Driver, who accepts the text practically as it stands, renders as follows: 'I have made thee an assayer among my people; that thou mayest know and assay their way. They are all the most refractory of the refractory, going about with slanders: they are copper and iron; they all of them deal corruptly. The bellows blow fiercely; the lead is consumed by the fire: in vain do they go on refining, for the evil are not separated. Rejected silver shall men call them, because Yahweh hath rejected them.'[1]

Dr Driver adds an explanation referring to the methods by which silver and gold were extricated from various alloys. Certainly some such explanation is necessary, and in the main that given is satisfactory, but it leaves an element of doubt when closely examined alongside of the Hebrew text. In the first place it may be remarked that Dr Driver has rightly omitted the word מִבְצָר as a gloss from i 18. But *v.* 28 immediately offers difficulties. The sudden introduction of 'the refractory', while not impossible, breaks awkwardly into the metaphor. It is possibly due to confusion with Isa. i 22, 23. By taking the second בְּלֹם with the words that follow, the metrical arrangement is seriously

[1] *The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah* pp. 38, 39.

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disturbed, and a further awkwardness is introduced by the presence of both כֻּלָּם and הֵמָּה in the same clause. The only possible justification for this division of the words is to be found in the athnach under וּבַרְזֶל, which is hardly adequate support in the face of the obvious difficulties.

In *v.* 29 נָחַר as a Qal is not to be found elsewhere. The other possibility, that the word is the Niph'al of חרד = burn, hardly makes good sense, though this is the traditional interpretation. Moreover, the division of the verse which takes מֵאֵשׁ[1] with what follows, though sanctioned by the accentuation of the Hebrew, is not really practicable. And the sudden change from things to persons involved in רָעִים is most awkward. Finally the יהוה of *v.* 30 is quite unexpected; it is Yahweh Himself who speaks to the prophet throughout.

The corruptness of the text has been fully realized by Continental scholars, and the suggestions of three of them may be described. Duhm[2] retains מבצר which he points מְבַצֵּר, a synonym for בָּחוֹן. (This possibility, it may be noted in passing, is mentioned by Orelli, who, however, prefers to regard the word as a noun from the same root.) In order to maintain the metaphor, he reads for דַּרְכָּם, עֶרְכָּם, comparing Job xxviii 13. Objecting, with reason, to סָרֵי סוֹרְרִים, he reads כָּל־מֶכֶר סְגוֹרָם, rendering 'Allen Kaufwert ihres Goldes'. He finds רָכִיל ridiculous, and substitutes בְּדִיל. The last two words of the verse are, he thinks, a most unnecessary and trivial gloss. In *v.* 29 נָחַר is taken as a Niph'al and referred to the goldsmith himself. For מַפֻּחַ Duhm reads מַפִּיהָם, the final ם having been dropped by haplography owing to the מֵ before אֵשׁ. On similar grounds תִּתֻּם is read for תַּם. צָרַף צָרוֹף, by a slight change, becomes צֹרֵף צְרָפוֹ, and for רָעִים is substituted כֶּתֶם. Finally the ו of נִתָּקוּ is transferred to the following word. Duhm accordingly renders thus:—

27 As an assayer of metal do I set thee among my people,
As an assayer of gold that thou mayest seek
And mayest prove their value,
28 All the value of their gold.
They go with lead, with bronze,
And with iron all of them,
29 He who heats them is scorched at the fire,
Lead alone remains.
In vain has the smelter smelted it,
Fine gold is not separated out,
30 They call it spurious coin,
For Yahweh hath spurned it.

[1] Driver rightly disregards the reading of the K'thibh, which took מֵאִשְׁתָּם as one word.

[2] *Kurzer Hand-Commentar* p. 73.

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(It should be remarked in fairness to Duhm that the extreme baldness and prosaic character of the above is not due to him, but, in very large measure, to the translator's desire to give an exact rendering of the German.)

However great one's appreciation of Professor Duhm's work may be, it is impossible to feel that his reconstruction of this passage is in any sense satisfactory, whether one looks at the details of the text or at the general picture which is presented. The first impression made by his text is that it is an extraordinary collection of rare and sometimes doubtful words. It is curious that עֶרְכָּם is textually doubtful in the one passage which Duhm quotes, for there the LXX read דַּרְכָּם, adopted by some modern scholars. Fortunately, however, there is stronger evidence for the word from other passages, and the suggestion is a good one. On the second half of that couplet Cornill says 'But סָכָר means *market value* and סָטַר is only found in association with זָהָב. It is questionable whether the word סְנוֹר which appears in its place in Job xxviii 15 was in use in the time of Jeremiah, and, further, the gold clashes with the silver of *v.* 30'. Evidently Cornill does not appreciate Duhm's attempt to escape the latter charge by rendering כֶּסֶף 'Geld', which might be gold, though the Hebrew word could only be silver. The words מַשְׁחִיתִים הֵמָּה would probably not have seemed so unnecessary had they fitted in with the metrical scheme. The alterations in the fourth couplet are epigraphically sound, though it may be doubted whether they give the best sense. בְּחָם for רָעִים is a possible alteration, but it does not avoid the general confusion of metals in which Duhm finds himself. For the prophet has been trying to extract gold till the last couplet, where he suddenly becomes a silversmith. This is the really fatal objection to Duhm's reconstruction—it does not make sense. This is especially evident in the fourth couplet, the only one in which the conjectures mentioned commend themselves on other grounds. Compared with this, such an awkward restoration as that which makes the sense of the first couplet run on into the second as it does, is a detail which might be easily overlooked, as a possible if not a likely form of writing.

Erbt[1] is even more drastic in his treatment. He regards בָּחוֹן as a gloss on מִבְצָר, which he points as Duhm does. He also rightly accepts Duhm's change of דַּרְכָּם into עֶרְכָּם. He expunges סָרֵי as a piece of dittography, and נְחֹשֶׁת וּבַרְזֶל as a gloss. He fails to find חֵמָּה, the last word of *v.* 28 in the LXX and deletes that also. In *v.* 29 he omits תֹּם עֹפֶרֶת, reads צֹרֵף צָרוֹף for צָרַף צָרָף, and changes רָעִים into רָעָם, the latter with support from the LXX. This involves reading the singular for נִתָּקוּ. In *v.* 30 he accepts only the first half of the verse as original.

[1] *Jeremia und seine Zeit* pp. 134–136.

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Erbt believes the passage to have been originally in the form of a dialogue, of which the first line only was placed in the mouth of Yahweh, and he restores the words indicating the speakers, thus getting a text which he renders as follows :—

Then Jahweh spake unto me :—

27 I have made thee a refiner of gold among my people, that thou mayest
know and prove their worth.
And I said :
28 They are all rebels, slanderers, they all deal corruptly.
29 The smelting furnace is burnt by the fire, the smelter smelts in vain.
Their evil is not refined from them, 30 worthless silver they are called.

It cannot be denied that as far as sense goes, Erbt has made a great advance on Duhm. His conception of the master worker setting the refiner to watch and receiving a report from him, is lively and suggestive, and calls the scene up vividly before the reader. It also goes some way towards removing the awkwardness of introducing the moral shortcomings of Israel into the midst of a metaphorical passage. The word סָבַצָר, however, comes no better from Erbt than from Duhm. His retention of סוֹרְרִים and הֹלְכֵי רָכִיל leaves a difficulty untouched. But the main objection to this attempt at reconstruction lies in its sweeping excisions. The passage needs medical rather than surgical treatment. And the problems of a text are not solved by consigning all difficulties to the limbo of glosses. A reconstruction which demands the rejection of nearly twenty per cent. of the words concerned must be regarded with very grave suspicion. Especially is this the case when the words excised carry with them as much of the metaphor on which the passage is based as they do here. Even where the metaphor is not lost, one does not quite see what bearing the burning up of the furnace itself has on the point at issue. With Erbt, too, one feels that the last word has not been said.

Cornill's[1] criticism on part of Duhm's work has already been quoted. He is far more conservative in this passage than either of these two of his predecessors. He omits סָבַצָר, as a gloss from i 18, and סָרֵי as a doublet for which the LXX has no equivalent. He retains רָכִיל but omits נְחֹשֶׁת וּבַרְזֶל and the first half of *v.* 29, partly on the ground that it is difficult to find a meaning for it which shall harmonize with the rest of the passage, partly because it does not fit in with his metrical scheme. He prefers the LXX pointing קְרֹאוּ in the last verse to the M.T. קָרְאוּ, and obtains the following result :—

27 I have set thee to be an assayer for my people
That thou mayest know and prove their dealings.

[1] *Das Buch Jeremia* pp. 88–90.

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[28] They are all rebellious, they busy them with slander,
They all deal corruptly.
[29] In vain has one smelted and smelted
But their evil ones are not refined away.
[30] Rejected silver call them,
For Jahweh hath rejected them.

Cornill, not only here but elsewhere, is hampered by his theory that Jeremiah always wrote his verse (for Cornill admits a large amount of prose in the book) in stanzas of four couplets each. These are usually composed of elegiac pentameter distichs, and it is somewhat of a surprise here to find him reconstructing a passage in what are apparently hexameter lines for the most part, though the third of Cornill's couplets has the look of the more normal verse. And the result he obtains is no better than that which Driver reaches practically direct from the Massoretic text. It is, indeed, open to most of the objections raised in considering that version. In two points only is there any advance on it, and those are secured by the omissions of סָרֵי and the first half of *v.* 29. Probably the latter excision would not have been made but for the demands of the metrical theory.

As a matter of fact, of all the interpretations brought forward (as distinct from reconstructions of the text), that of Driver remains the best. He alone appears to have reconstructed a satisfactory picture of the prophet's metaphor. His note is of the utmost value in attempting to elucidate this puzzle :—

'In refining, the alloy containing the gold or silver is mixed with lead, and fused in a furnace on a vessel of earth or bone-ash: a current of air is turned on the molten mass (not upon the *fire*); the lead then oxidizes, and acting as a flux, carries away the alloy, leaving the gold or silver pure (J. Napier, *The Ancient Workers in Metal*, 1856, pp. 20, 23). In the case here imagined by the prophet, so inextricably is the alloy mixed with the silver, that, though the bellows blow, and the lead is oxidized in the heat, no purification is effected: only impure silver remains.'

This is undoubtedly the right interpretation, but it does not explain the difficulties already noted, difficulties which have been responsible for the very sweeping changes suggested by the three editors whose work on this passage has been discussed.

Fortunately, however, we have a standard which may help us to the reconstruction of the original. The prophets habitually made use of the work of their predecessors. Thus the dependence of Jeremiah himself on Hosea is unmistakeable in the second and third chapter of the later book. And while the Messianic hope seems to have been common in some form to all the prophets, it is difficult to believe that the picture of the Branch in Jer. xxiii 5 was not written under the

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influence of Isa. xi 1 and xxxii 1, though the Hebrew words used by the two prophets are different. And there is one prophet who must have come under the influence of Jeremiah in his youth. Ezekiel must have been acquainted with at least the Temple-discourses of Jeremiah, and was possibly present when the book was read in the gates of the Temple in 605. Further, there was intercourse between the exiles who were carried away in 596 and those who remained in Jerusalem, as the correspondence indicated in Jer. xxix shews. And there are direct traces of the influence of Jeremiah on Ezekiel. The quotation of the same proverb in Jer. xxxi 29, 30 and Ezek. xviii 2 may be an accident, yet the teaching which Ezekiel bases on it looks like an expansion of Jer. xxxi 30. And, as Cornill has shewn (Das Buch Jeremia, p. 85), the reference in Ezek. xxxviii and xxxix to an earlier unfulfilled prophecy regarding the invasion of Judah by Gog and Magog has all the appearance of an allusion to the Scythian prophecies of Jer. iv–vi. Two other instances may be quoted. The picture of the unjust and just shepherds in Ezek. xxxiv and xxxvii very strongly recalls the passages on the same subject in Jer. xxiii 2–6 and xxx 8, 9. In the first place the metaphor is one of which Jeremiah is particularly fond; cf. the list of passages quoted by Driver (*L.O.T.* eighth edition, p. 275). Then the key-words in Jer. xxiii reappear in Ezekiel, פּוּץ, xxxiv 5, 6, &c. נָדַח *vv.* 4, 16, &c., קִבֵּץ מִן־הָאֲרָצוֹת *v.* 13; so also from Jer. xxx[1] we find the breaking of the yoke and the deliverance from those that enslaved them in Ezek. xxxiv 27. And there is both in Ezek. xxxiv and xxxvii the striking mention of the name of David, indicated in Isa. xi 1 only by reference to his father. There can be no doubt that in these passages Ezekiel has in mind Jeremiah rather than Isaiah. But there is a distinct difference in treatment to be noted. Jeremiah thinks mainly of the restoration of the people, and that he regards as partial; Ezekiel looks forward to the punishment of the wanton shepherds with a vindictive satisfaction, which is only represented in Jeremiah by a single phrase. In Ezekiel the restoration of the whole people is in view, and instead of a number of righteous shepherds, there is to be only one. While, then, there is a general dependence, there is no slavish copying; the circumstances and spirit of Ezekiel have very considerably modified the tone and application of the metaphor. A still more striking instance is to be found in the picture of the two unfaithful sisters, Jer. iii 6–10, Ezek. xxiii. The metaphor is again one which is derived by Jeremiah from an earlier prophet, but the form which it takes in Ezekiel is clearly based on Jeremiah rather than Hosea. And the same features are to be observed as in the former instance. There is a verbal connexion

[1] It should be noted, however, that some modern editors deny the Jeremianic authorship of this passage.

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between the two prophets, but Ezekiel has much more to say about the matter than Jeremiah. He repeats and re-repeats the loathsome physical details of the image, and dwells on the disgrace and dread of the sinners' punishment. Jeremiah, nearer in spirit to Hosea, sees the sin as it is, but is overwhelmed with the moral agony of it. He does not shrink from exposing it, but he does so in utter sorrow and personal shame. Ezekiel's attitude, on the other hand, is that of an absolutely pure and cold avenging judge, and it cannot be denied that his denunciations lose some of the power of Jeremiah's cry through their chilly want of sentiment.

Now, as Cornill saw, the passage of Jeremiah immediately under discussion finds its echo in Ezek. xxii 17–22. Curiously enough, Cornill himself made no attempt to apply the section in Ezekiel to the reconstruction of the text of Jeremiah. The passage in Ezekiel (with minor textual variations which do not affect it for the present purpose) is rendered by Toy thus :—

'Further came to me this word of JHVH : Son of man, the House of Israel, all of them, are become dross to me, copper and iron and tin and lead in the furnace, dross of silver are they. Therefore, thus saith the Lord JHVH : because ye are all become dross, therefore, behold, I will gather you in the midst of Jerusalem. As silver and copper and iron and lead and tin are gathered into the furnace that fire may be blown on them and they be melted, so I will gather you in my anger and in my fury and cast you in and melt you. Yea, I will gather you and blow on you the fire of my wrath, and therein shall ye be melted. As silver is melted in the furnace, so shall ye be therein melted ; and ye shall learn that I, JHVH, have poured out my fury on you.'

As in the case of the other parallels between Jeremiah and Ezekiel, the later prophet does not at all draw the same lesson from the image as the earlier one. But, as in the instances noted, it is obvious that the vindictive element is very strongly developed in these verses. Ezekiel sees in the smelting furnace only an instrument of correction and punishment. For his purpose, the silver alone would have sufficed, for he does not lay any stress on the purifying character of the fire. Apparently the good metal and the bad are all to suffer equally, the silver with the alloy. So the enumeration of metals becomes a significant feature of the passage. Five are mentioned, four of them occurring in the M.T. of Jer. vi 27–30. Further, why the collocation of נְחֹשֶׁת and בַּרְזֶל in Ezek. xxii 20 (and possibly also in *v.* 18, where it is quite conceivable that בְּדִיל stood originally at the end of the list as in *v.* 20)? The obvious answer is that the prophet had in mind some earlier passage in which these metals all appeared, and in which there was some close connexion between נְחֹשֶׁת and בַּרְזֶל. Now the metaphor of the smelting

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furnace, familiar as it is to us, is not altogether a common one in the Old Testament, at least before the time of Ezekiel. It occurs in Isa. i 22, 25, and Deut. iv 20, quoted in Jer. xi 4, also again in Jer. ix 7.[1] A comparison of these passages shews at once that it is this one in Jer. vi which offers the basis for Ezekiel's metaphor. And even if this were not so, it is this passage, Ezek. xxii 17–22, which gives us the most extended account of the operations involved. One remark may be made with regard to the meaning of the word סִיג. This is usually translated 'dross', and that is without doubt its ordinary meaning. But, both in Isa. i 22 and in Ezek. xxii 18 it seems to be capable of a wider interpretation. In the latter case especially it appears to include all that is put into the melting-pot, silver, the alloyed metals, and the purifying agents. In Isa. i 25 and Prov. xxvi 23 also this meaning has been assigned to the word by Buhl.

When we turn back to the Massoretic text of Jer. vi 27–30, one important fact at once emerges. By arranging the text in lines ending with דַּרְכָּם, רָכִיל, הֵמָּה, עֹפֶרֶת, and נִתָּקוּ, there is attained a series of six of the Qinah couplets so often used by Jeremiah in his verse. There need be no wholesale mutilation *metri causa*. And the following is an attempt at reconstruction on lines already suggested, made with much hesitation in the hope that even if it do not commend itself *per se*, it may help to point the way to a sounder restoration of the passage than has yet appeared.

In the first part of *v.* 27 one excision must obviously be made, that of the word מִבְצָר, already removed by Driver and Cornill. (So also Giesebrecht, Cheyne, Streane and Peake, the two latter with probability rather than certainty.) In the second part of the verse, if strict Qinah metre be felt necessary, it may be pointed out that the word בְּחַנְתָּ is not needed to complete the sense, and may well be a gloss. There may, however, be some objection to making an alteration suggested by mere metrical considerations. דַּרְכָּם may be used in a figurative sense, but the passage would undoubtedly be improved by the elimination of the 'moral' or anything approaching thereto at this point, and Duhm's suggestion עֲרָכָם may be accepted here. The first real difficulty meets us in *v.* 29 with סָרֵי. In the light of Isa. i 25 and the passage already referred to in Ezekiel, it is almost impossible to avoid the conviction that some form of סִיג stood here in the first instance, probably סְגִים. As already remarked, סִיג is possibly more than mere dross, it includes all that is put into the furnace to be melted—ore, alloy, and refining agents. סוֹרְרִים offers more difficulty, but the passage in Ezekiel suggests that the word conceals בַּכּוּר. Duhm is probably right in reading בְּדִיל (cf. Ezek. xxii 17, 20) for רָכִיל—

[1] Other instances are found in Isa. xlviii 10, Zech. xiii 9, Mal. iii 2, 3.

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the M.T. may be due to Jer. ix 3—and this leaves הלכי in an extremely awkward connexion. Reference to Ezek. xxii 22 enables us to conjecture that the Inf. Cons. הַתּוּךְ, probably the original of which הָתוּךְ is a false vocalization, stood here also. The only other change needed in *v.* 28 is that we should repoint משחיתים as a Hoph'al, מָשְׁחָתִים—so possibly the LXX. In *v.* 29 the difficulties are serious. For נָחַר the LXX had a word which they rendered by ἐξέλιπεν. This gives no certain clue to the underlying Hebrew text; it is used to translate a large variety of Hebrew words. But it nowhere else renders נחר or חרר, nor does it readily recall any word beginning with נ. Such a reading as בָּלָה would yield an excellent sense, but does not easily explain the present Massoretic reading. Possibly חָנָם stood here originally, and פַּחַת for פחם, cf. Ezek. xxii 20. That at least would give an intelligible and harmonious sense, especially if תם be pointed תֹּם. For צָרוֹף, צָרָף should be read with the LXX, and on the same authority רָעָם לֹא־נִתָּק. If the first part of *v.* 30 be felt to be too long for the metre, we may write קָרָאוּם. For this use of the direct accusative after קָרָא, cf. Num. xxxii 41, though the construction is certainly rare. And the sense requires that instead of יהוה מָאַס, we should read מָאַסְתִּי. Finally, the third couplet (*v.* 29) in its present position may give rise to objection. The line describes the general result of the process, and gives the moral, which here comes too early. The couplet may with advantage be transposed to after נִתָּק, where it gives an admirable parallel to the last line.[1] We thus obtain the following:—

27 As an assayer have I set thee among my people,
That thou mayest know (and assay) their worth.
28a They are all alloys in the furnace,
A melting of tin.
29 In vain is the blowing of the fire,
The expenditure of lead.
To no profit hath the refiner refined,
And their evil is not removed.
28b Brass and iron are they all,
Corrupted are they.
30 Rejected silver are they called,
For I have rejected them.

T. H. ROBINSON.

[1] For the suggestion which led to this transposition I am indebted to Dr G. Buchanan Gray.

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DAVID'S LAMENT OVER SAUL AND JONATHAN.

IT has long been recognized that the Massoretic text in parts of this elegy is corrupt, and the renderings of both the Authorized and the Revised Version—either by the use of italics or by alternative marginal readings—shew the reader of the English Bible that there is a large element of doubt as to the exact meaning of the original.

The harshness and inaccuracy of the English Versions will be apparent if they are set out in order and compared with the Hebrew.

Authorized Version.	*Revised Version.*
17 And David lamented with this lamentation over Saul and over Jonathan his son:	
18 (Also he bade them teach the children of Judah *the use of* the bow: behold, *it is* written in the book of Jasher.)	And he bade them teach the children of Judah *the song of* the bow: behold *it is* written in the book of Jashar.
19 The beauty of Israel is slain upon thy high places: how are the mighty fallen!	[1]Thy glory, O Israel, is slain upon thy high places! How are the mighty fallen!

Hebrew Text.

וַיְקֹנֵן דָּוִד אֶת־הַקִּינָה הַזֹּאת
וַיֹּאמֶר לְלַמֵּד בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה קָשֶׁת
הִנֵּה כְתוּבָה עַל־סֵפֶר הַיָּשָׁר

The English Versions agree in rendering אמר by 'bade'. אמר followed by an infinitive in the sense of the Arabic أَمَرَ 'to command' is only found in the latest books of the Old Testament, viz. Chronicles and Esther (with the exception of 1 Sam. xxiv 11 וְאֹמַר לַהֲרָגֵךְ where the reading of the Septuagint καὶ οὐκ ἠβουλήθην = וְאֶמְאֵן is accepted by modern scholars[2]). It is unlikely, therefore, that the meaning here is other than the obvious one 'and he said'.

The word קשת (*v.* 18) and the first half of *v.* 19 have always been a source of difficulty to commentators,[3] and many emendations have been proposed. Klostermann's suggestion has found favour with many

[1] *Marg.* the gazelle.

[2] See Driver *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* in loc

[3] See the commentaries of H. P. Smith and Karl Budde.

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scholars; he proposed to point the text קָשֹׁת בְּנֵי יהודה [1] and by emending הצבי in *v.* 19 he sought to obtain the sense 'Hear, O Israel, cruel tidings; Be grieved, O Israel, for thy dead'. Smith prefers בְּכִי יהודה, and follows with הֵעָצְבִי ישראל 'Weep, O Judah, Be grieved, O Israel'.

As to these suggestions the late Dr Driver says: 'On the whole, though, in *themselves*, בכי יהודה and העצבי ישראל would both be suitable, it is impossible to feel satisfied that they really express the original text. Some corruption seems to underlie הצבי; for the rest it seems best, with our present knowledge, to leave *vv.* 18–19 substantially as they are, merely with LXX omitting קשת in *v.* 18 and with Lucian prefixing ויאמר to *v.* 19.'

The purpose of this note is to offer another solution, and to this end the evidence of the Greek Versions must be examined.

The LXX has Στήλωσον [2] Ἰσραὴλ ὑπὲρ τῶν τεθνηκότων ἐπὶ τὰ ὕψη σου [3] τραυματιῶν, while Lucian reads καὶ εἶπεν Ἀκρίβασαι Ἰσραὴλ ὑπὲρ τῶν τεθνηκότων σου τραυματιῶν.

The points of outstanding importance are:—

(*a*) Lucian places ויאמר at the beginning of *v.* 19.

(*b*) The rendering of על במותיך by ὑπὲρ τῶν τεθνηκότων.

To deal first with (*b*): this cannot represent על מתיך as has been suggested.[4] Both the initial ב and final ך of the Massoretic text were absent from the exemplar used by the LXX; there is no genitive σου after τεθνηκότων. Their rendering implies a Hebrew על מות (or perhaps עַלְמָת with *scriptio defectiva*, cf. מתיך in 14 Kennicott MSS). Now the only occurrence of על מות [5] in the Massoretic text is in Psalm ix where, curiously enough, the LXX read על עלמות (ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων = עַל־עֲלֻמוֹת), and in view of the sequence of letters ....אלעלעל... here it is not unreasonable to infer that haplography has occurred, and that על במותיך is really the corruption of a rubric or heading of a song עַל־עֲלָמוֹת '(set to) female voices', which has become incorporated with the text. A similar misunderstanding of a rubric has occurred in 1 Kings viii. (See *J. T. S.* xi no. 44 p. 522 ff and the title of Psalm xlvi למנצח לבני קרח על עלמות שיר.) על־במותיך thus being resolved into a rubric or psalm-title על־עלמות it must be transferred to its proper position in *v.* 18. Jeremiah (ix 17) refers to *women* acting as pro-

[1] Against this see Driver.

[2] Στήλωσον implies the same consonantal text: הַצְּבִי.

[3] A doublet.

[4] Kittel's text and elsewhere.

[5] The following לִבְנֵי is perhaps a fragment of לבני קרח or of some other name of a compiler or owner of a collection of psalms.

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fessional mourners (מקוננות), and even at the present day Syrian women chant dirges in metrical form recounting the virtues of the deceased.

(*a*) Since Klostermann most scholars have agreed that ויאמר must be read at the end of *v.* 18, following the reading of Lucian given above, but it is noteworthy that Lucian[1] also places καὶ εἶπε before τοῦ διδάξαι as in the LXX and MT; therefore his evidence can scarcely be considered as conclusive.

Further, in Jos. x 12 we read—

'And he said:
To the sons[2] of Israel.
Sun, stand still!'

and thus it may be better to retain ויאמר here in the same position—especially as קשת seems (see below) to have been introduced into this verse to explain what David said the sons of Israel were to be taught. Cf. the explanations of Jewish commentators Rashi and Kimchi in loc.: 'David said, Now that the mighty men of Israel have fallen it is necessary that the children of Judah learn war and draw the bow.' Kimchi suggests that David reminded his people that Judah was armed with the bow.

The question now arises: Can the remaining words be set in their proper order and be made to yield a suitable sense?

It will be useful in this connexion to examine the opening strophes of other Ḳinoth. The following is a complete list of all Ḳinoth *cited as such* in the Old Testament, from which it will be seen that the 'Lament' always—where the text is beyond suspicion—begins with some striking half-interrogatory exclamation, e. g.:—

Ezek.	xix 1 (מה)	What was thy mother?
	xxvi 17 (איך)	How art thou destroyed!
	xxvii 2 (הָ)[3]	Dost thou dwell at the entry of the sea?
	32 (מי)	Who is there like Tyre . . .?
	xxviii 12 (?)	
	xxxii 2 text corrupt.	
2 Sam.	iii 33 (הֲ)	Should Abner die as a fool dieth?

Hos. v 1 'Hear *this word* which I am lifting up against you *as a Ḳinah*', &c. is not an analogous example.

Add to these Isa. i 21 and the Ḳinoth of Lamentations, which are not formally cited as such:—

Is.	i 21 (איכה)	איכה היתה לזונה קריה נאמנה
Lam.	i 1 (איכה)	איכה ישבה בדד העיר רבתי עם
	ii 1 (איכה)	איכה יעיב באפו אדני את בת ציון
	iv 1 (איכה)	איכה יעם הצהב ונו׳

[1] Lagarde *Lib. Vet. Test. Graece Pars Prior.*

[2] Cf. Hex. *in loc.* and *J.T.S. loc. cit.*

[3] Point thus.

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If, then, we place איך נפלו גברים at the beginning of the elegy in the *first* half of the verse it is in the position sanctioned by Hebrew usage; further, verses 25 and 27 of this ode, where the exclamation of sorrow forms the opening and not the conclusion of the refrain, shew that this position is the right one.

The words קשת (*v.* 18) and הצבי ישראל חלל (*v.* 19) now remain. Striking out the unnecessary ה it is only necessary to restore the words to their proper order, and we have

חָלַל קֶשֶׁת צְבִי יִשְׂרָאֵל

The whole passage now reads

ויקנן דוד את הקינה הזאת על שאול ועל יהונתן בנו:
ויֹאמר ללמד (ל)בני יהודה עַל־עֶלְמוֹת הנה כתובה על ספר הישר:
איך נפלו גברים חלל קשת צבי ישראל[1]

'And David lamented with this lamentation over Saul and over Jonathan his son.

And he said:

For instruction (To) the sons of Judah. (set to) Female voices.
Behold it is written in the book of Jashar.
"How are the mighty fallen!
Slain by the bow is the beauty of Israel!"'

It may seem bold to speak of 'The Beauty' being pierced (חלל), but it is hardly more striking than the phrase ויאבדו כלי מלחמה used figuratively also of Saul and Jonathan in *v.* 27.

The difficulty recognized by Nowack in the occurrence of these intrusive words על במותיך חלל in *v.* 25 is only an apparent one. Although here the LXX itself has become assimilated to the Massoretic text, Theodotion and Vet. Lat., by their readings *εἰς θάνατον ἐτραυματίσθης*, 'in morte vulneratus est', betray at all events *a part* of the gloss על עלמות, for their rendering presupposes a Hebrew of במות חלל(ת). These versions here are interesting, shewing as they do the next stage in the corruption of the text, the ב but not the ך having been added to the gloss.

A. GUILLAUME.

[1] The expression חלל קשת does not seem to occur in the Old Testament, but חלל חרב is extremely common in Isaiah and Ezekiel.

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THE DERIVATION OF THE ACTA FROM EARLY ACTS OF PETER.

The following abbreviations will be used :—

Syr. Hist. Jo. = the recension of *Ac. Jo.* translated from the Syriac by W. Wright in *The Apocryphal Acts of Apostles* vol. 2.

EP = some late centoistic Acts based on early material and translated by Dr Budge from the Ethiopic in *The Contendings of the Apostles* vol. 2 p. 7 f and p. 466 f.

VP = the Vercellensian Acts of Peter or *Actus Petri cum Simone*, printed by Lipsius in *Acta Petri* p. 45 f.

Lewis = the English translation of Arabic Acts published by Dr A. S. Lewis in *Horae Semiticae* iv.

Hist. Desp. = the Acts of the Desposyni used by Hegesippus.

KP = *The Preaching of Peter* as numbered in the edition of E. von Dobschütz. It was perhaps written as early as Domitian.

PPx = a hypothetical and depraved Petro-Pauline Acts which was probably used in *VP*, *EP*, *Ac. Phil.*, *Story PP* (= *The Story of Peter and Paul* Lewis p. 175), and other Acts.

LIPSIUS, in an article in the *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, expressed a somewhat optimistic opinion of the value of the settings of the apocryphal Acts of Apostles as contrasted with the stories themselves, and in his great work he dealt very inadequately with the latter. Later students of this neglected literature have followed in the same path. The matter which is special to some of the more important Acts has been discussed with the view to determine the date and theological position of their authors; the matter which is common stock has been almost wholly ignored.

It is the latter topic with which I am concerned in this article. A study of the Acta suggests that they derive from two volumes of Petrine Acts which were published at a very early date, and in the second volume probably contained the story of Thecla and other genuine traditions of St Paul. The only exceptions to this generalization which are of any importance are the matter derived from the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the influence of a narrative of our Lord's Passion upon the martyrdoms of SS. Peter and Paul, some matter which Leucius and the author of the Clementines probably derived from Papias, and, possibly, some didactic matter. As a rule the points in which the Acta vary from each other merely register the process of the depravation of the original Acts of Peter.

The narrative which was thus depraved brought the apostle Peter,

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with Alexander, Rufus, John Mark, and other companions, to Lydda, Emmaus, Azotus, and Caesarea, where he preached and worked miracles in the pretorium, which was on the east of the city, and in the adjacent tetrapylon. He there healed a member of the household of Theophilus who is almost always the 'king' or 'ruler' of the Acta. A second volume brought the Apostle to Antioch, and either in this volume or in an early recension of it the Apostle reached Rome, where he encountered Simon Magus, preached, and was crucified. Except for some traditions of St Paul and of the Neronian persecution these Roman Acts were a mere *réchauffé* of Palestinian material.

It follows that when reading the Acta we must almost always substitute St Peter for the saint whose deeds they record, Theophilus for (e.g.) Abgar, Misdai, Leucius, and Caesarea for Edessa, Rome, and other scenes of legendary evangelization. Cornelius was at any rate in one line of the tradition the son of Theophilus. In some MSS these identifications are actually made by the copyists. Thus in *Preach. Simon* (Lewis, p. 117) Marcellus is mentioned, and one Arabic MS rightly identifies him with Cornelius, as does the Ethiopic of Dr Budge (*Ethiopic Contendings of the Apostles* p. 73). Again, *EP* probably identified Clement with Mark, and was, I shall argue, substantially right.

There are indications which suggest that the Clementine Romance and the source of the Thaddaean Acts preserve the original Acts of Peter by a line of descent which was independent of the source (? *PPx*) or sources of the other Acta. It will at any rate be advisable to have regard to this working hypothesis when handling our material. It may be added that there is probably a connexion of some kind between *Hist. Desp.* and the Clementines.

The real strength of the argument for my main hypothesis is the vast number of facts which it explains. It will only be possible on the present occasion to give one or two illustrations of it. I have chosen the topic of the Caesarean healing because it is the best instance of verbal agreement at an important point between Acts which are of widely different character, and because in one recension Theophilus is actually named. The second topic, the descriptions of the Apostles, has the advantage of being not entirely unfamiliar and is necessary to the complete discussion of the tradition that St Mark or 'John', as he was probably called at any rate in some passages of the original Acts, was the son of a priest named Aristobulus or Ariston. Moreover, the discussion of this tradition will lead us on to the question whether the source of the Acta did not claim to be Markan, and will involve the questions of the identity of Leucius with St Luke and of the use of a second Petrine cycle. It will also be found to have a bearing on the

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Johannine problem, and it will prepare the way for an examination of the Clementine Romance.

1. *The Healings at Caesarea.*

In the citations which follow, the words which are represented in parallel narratives are italicized :—

Clem. Rec.	*Thaddaean Acts.*	*Proch. Ac. Jo.*	*Story of James* (A)[1] (Lewis, p. 33).
ii 70 The rest with bended knees *prostrated themselves before Peter.*	Eus. *H. E.* I xiii 17 Abdus, son of Abdus, who was *podagrous fell at his feet* and was healed by *the imposition of hands.*[3]	113. 16 John healed a son *lame on both his feet.* 113. 16 (The high priest[2]) *fell at his feet and worshipped.* The father is baptized.	Theophilus had a son whose *feet* were withered. . . . *In the name of Jesus Christ.* . . . He sprang up, stood and walked. . . . (Theophilus) *did obeisance.*
Ib. Crowds. He *invoking* upon them *the name of God*[4] (= Jesus) . . . healed the sick.	He healed also *many other citizens.* *Ac. Thadd.* 7 *Laying his hands* on them he healed *by the invocation of Christ.*	112. 13 Many *crowds.* 113. 6. *In the name of the crucified.*	
iv 7 A multitude was attracted. *Ib. He mounted a pillar . . . beckoning with his hand to the people to be still.*	Cf. *Doctr. Add.* (G. Phillips) p. 8.	109. 7 *He shook his hand and they were all silent and he ascended to the housetop*, and they were all close.	
ii 70 *He dismissed the people* rejoicing (cf. iv 37) *commanding them to come early next day.*	*H. E.* I xiii 20 He *commanded them to assemble early in the morning to hear.*	107. 6 *He dismissed them* to their homes.	
Ib. They dined *in the court* where the disputation was held.		114. 6 A man with dropsy in *the Stoa* of Domitian.	
	Ac. Thadd. 4 He baptized him *with all his house.*	110. 4 *Thirty* are baptized.[5]	*Thirty baptisms.*

[1] This narrative combines throughout two documents, one of which (A) is of great value.

[2] The use made of the priest here is obviously secondary. But in some forms of the tradition Theophilus was a priest.

[3] It is arguable that the phrase is distinctively primitive.

[4] 'God' = Christ in Acta *passim* e.g. *Ac. Thom.* 186. 8.

[5] The number probably underlies the thirty slaves mentioned in *VP* 25 f, where there is throughout the context a very depraved form of the same narrative. 'Thirty baptisms' and a 'household' (*Ac. Thadd.*) correspond.

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These parallels speak for themselves, and the argument for them would be much stronger if I could discuss their contexts and the connected matter.

2. *The Descriptions of the Apostles.*

The following descriptions of the Apostles may be collected from the Acta and related documents:—

Hom. xii 6 (*Rec.* vii 6) 'I use only *bread and olives* and rarely pot-herbs; and this is my *only cloak* and coat that I wear'.

Hom. xiv 1 (cf. xix 25) 'Breaking *bread for the Eucharist* and putting *salt* upon it'.

Rec. i 73 Peter tells Zacchaeus that James was 'still *lame on one foot*'.

Hier. *Comm. in Gal.* i 18 'Peter, who as Clement says in his *Circuits*, was *bald-headed*'.

Hist. Desp. ap. Heg. ap. Eus. *H. E.* ii 23 'He drank *no wine* . . . and ate *no flesh*. No razor came upon his head; he did not anoint himself with oil, and he did not use the bath. He alone was *permitted to enter the Holy Place; for he wore not woollen but linen* (σινδόνας) *garments*'.[1]

Heg. ap. Epiph. *Haer.* 78. 13 'Who wore *no second coat*'.

Heg. ap. *Haer.* 78. 14 'Who wore *no sandal*'. For the derivation of this and the last passage from Hegesippus see Lawlor *Eusebiana* p. 13.

'*Ac. Jo.*' 5 (a Leucian passage) 'His common, low, *poor appearance* . . . He took *a few dates*'.

Syr. Hist. Jo. p. 8 'His sustenance was from the ninth hour to the ninth hour, once when he had finished *his prayer* . . . *bread and herbs with a mass of boiled lentils* . . . *drinking water only*'.

Ac. Thom. 20 'He continually *fasts and prays and eats only bread with salt*, and his drink is *water* and he wears *one coat* . . . and he takes nothing from any one but gives to others what he has'.

Ac. Thom. 29 'And he *took bread, oil, herbs, and salt, blessed it* and gave unto them'.

VP 2 '*They offered bread and water*' at the Eucharist.

Mart. Paul. 2 'Judas Barsabbas *the flat-footed*'.

Ac. Paul. et Thec. 3 'Paul . . . having *curly, scanty hair and large eye-brows, bandy-legged, long-nosed*'. See the note at the end of the article.

Clem. *Paed.* ii 1 'Matthew partook of seeds and nuts and *vegetables without flesh*'.

Hipp. *Philos.* vii 39 'Mark the *stump-fingered*'.

[1] One probable object of *Hist. Desp.* was to exalt the Desposyni at the expense of St Peter. See below, p. 508. The corruptions of the passage (see Lawlor *Eusebiana* p. 5 f) do not affect my argument. An independent but abbreviated and somewhat paraphrastic version may be found in Lewis, p. 144 f.

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In these parallel descriptions we observe more especially the following points:—

(i) The scanty, curly hair of Paul and the baldness of Peter appear to be of one piece, as also the lameness of James, the bandy legs of Paul, the flat foot of Barsabbas, the long nose of Paul, and the stump finger of Mark.

(ii) The Apostle was a vegetarian, and drank water only. This was the case with James.

(iii) In all the descriptions use is made of Matt. x 9, 10 (Mk. vi 8, 9).

1. *Not two coats* occurs in *Hom.*, *Ac. Thom.*, Heg. ap. Epiph.

2. With Heg. ap. Epiph. *Who did not wear a sandal* compare Mk.'s *bound with sandals*, Matt.'s *Not bound with shoes.*

3. The injunctions just cited are used in a series of passages in the Acta which describe the embarking of the Apostles for their destinations, in the source = a voyage from Joppa to Caesarea.

(*a*) *VP* 5 Peter takes no provisions.

(*b*) In *Ac. Thom.* 3 the Apostle takes his master's effects on board, not his own.

(*c*) In *Ac. And. et Matt.* 6 Andrew has neither money nor bread, and cites a conflation of Matt. x 10, Lk. x 4.

(*d*) In a centoistic and probably heretical Acts of Peter which is preserved in Old Slavonic (*ZNTW.* iii p. 316) Peter cites Matt. x 9, 10.[1]

Our citations were probably intended to recall the clergy of the writer's time to apostolic simplicity, for there is a great deal of early matter which enforces this point (e.g. *Did.* 15, *Asc. Is.* 3. 23). They are clearly related, and the relation cannot be direct. It is especially interesting to observe that the passage from Christ's instructions to His Apostles which is cited in other Acts underlies *Hist. Desp.*

It may be added that the whole martyrdom of James contains indications of the influence of that of St Stephen, and this is clearer if we compare with it an ancient Slavonic martyrdom of Stephen which was translated by Franko in *ZNTW.* vii p 153 f. This martyrdom has also affinities with other Acta,[2] which shew that they derive from its source. If Harnack's[3] argument that St Stephen's martyrdom was narrated in St Luke's Antiochene source be accepted, it is obvious that

[1] In some of these voyages Christ is the shipmaster, e.g. in *EP* p. 616. The idea was used in Iren. ap. Timotheus Aelurus (*J.T.S.* xv p. 433) where Christ is said to steer Noah and in *Ac. Phil.* 95 *In rivers and floods I will be your good pilot.* This conception may go back to the earliest Acts, for the presence of Christ with His Apostles is taught in *Domine quo vadis*?

[2] Compare it with *Rec.* i 44 f, Eus. *H. E.* II xxiii, *EP* pp. 638, 639, 646, Lewis, pp. 17, 18, 185, *Ac. Andr. et Matt.* 18 f.

[3] In *Acts* (Eng. tr.) p. 162 f.

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these data accord with my hypothesis that the Acta derive from those documents.

3. *Aristobulus the father of John Mark.*

In the Arabic Lives of the Patriarchs (*Patr. Orient.* i p. 135) there is an interesting account of St Mark which tells us of a certain Aristobulus who lived in Pentapolis, where he was robbed of his wealth by Berbers. He was the brother (a well-informed glossator seems to correct this to brother-in-law) of Barnabas, and married a cousin of Peter, who instructed their son Mark. Mark is said to have carried the jar of water into the house of Simon of Cyrene at the time of the Last Supper, and after the Resurrection to have entertained the disciples in his house. He slew a lion near the Jordan and accompanied Peter to Azotus and Rome. In the fifteenth year of the Ascension he went to Pentapolis and Alexandria, like *a combatant of war*, a phrase which probably in literary relation with *like some noble captain of God* (Eus. *H. E.* II xiv 6).

Alexander the Monk, a careful and learned writer who tells us that he derived his tradition from the *Stromateis* and other ancient records, tells us that Barnabas was educated by Gamaliel, and that he brought to Christ his aunt, Mary, and endeavoured to convert Paul (Lips. *Apoc. Apost. gesch.* iii p 298 f).

Nicephorus in *H. E.* ii 43 (Migne *P. G.* cxlv 876) says that Mark was the nephew of Peter.

In the Constantinopolitan Synaxary (*Acta SS. Propyl.* Nov. p. 77) Simon marries the daughter of Aristobulus, the brother of Barnabas. 'Simon' is primitive and occurs in 2 Pet. i 1, *Didasc.* (*ad fin.*),[1] two contexts which may be regarded as very relevant.

We are not in this study concerned directly with historical problems, but there are several indications of the value of these traditions.

(i) The story of St Mark's escape from the lion is not absurd, and must be Palestinian. Lions haunted the thickets of the Jordan (Jer. xlix 19, Zech. xi 3), where they were still found in the twelfth century (Reland *Pal.* i p. 274), and they were sometimes attacked by shepherds single-handed (1 Sam. xvii 34 f, Amos iii 12, Judges xiv 6). The story derives from the source of a series of topographical notices of Caesarea and Jerusalem which underlie the Acta, and are of great accuracy and value. Our traditions are Palestinian.

(ii) The statement that the Last Supper was held in the house of Simon of Cyrene must represent an early tradition which Alexander deserted in favour of the information which he obtained on the occasion

[1] See Preuschen's reconstruction in *ZNTW.* 1913, p. 12 (line 29). Preuschen argues rightly that the passage derives from the source of *Acts*.

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of his visit to Jerusalem. The view that the Last Supper was eaten in the house of Mary is as old as the source of Cureton's document in *Anc. Syr. Doc.* p. 24 and Jerome, who translated both ἀνάγαιον (Mk. xiv 15, Lk. xxii 12) and ὑπερῷον (Ac. i 13) by *coenaculum*. The Arabic tradition appears to be primitive and historical for the following reasons. (*a*) The change of word suggests that the two rooms were not identical. This argument is the more cogent if St Luke is following Markan Acts. (*b*) There must have been a strong tendency for traditions to gravitate to the house of Mary and 'the Holy Zion'. (*c*) Our Lord's object was secrecy, and there was probably no place where He was more likely to be sought than in the house of Mark. When a few hours later He went to Gethsemane, which some have thought belonged to St Mark's family (*Expos.* iv 3. 220), He knew that He was going to His cross. (*d*) Alexander and Rufus were mentioned in the source of the Acta as evangelists of Caesarea, and may have been among the witnesses mentioned in Ac. x 39 f. Simon was a known follower of Christ. (*e*) The connexion of Mark with Simon agrees with the tradition of Mark's Cyrenian origin.

(iii) Peter follows Philip at Azotus as he did at Samaria and Caesarea and, according to the Acta, at Lydda. The precursors of the Clementines were probably evangelists. The Apostle, according to the uncanonical tradition, 'confirmed' and established churches.

(iv) The attempt of Barnabas to convert Paul agrees well with St Luke's characterization of him, and above all with Ac. ix 26 f. His connexion with Gamaliel is supported by the prominence of the latter in the Acta. They bring him into close contact with the Church. His daughter Neshra was a member of St Peter's evangelistic party together with Tabetha, the daughter of Tobia, and Calletha, the daughter of Nicodemus.[1]

This group of traditions underlies the Acta.

(i) In *EP* pp. 483, 485 Aradus is confused with Azotus. Azotus, therefore, must have occurred in the source. On p. 509 Mark's father is 'Aresto'. On pp. 475, 476, 491 the Apostles meet in 'Zion', i. e. the house of Mary. The whole subject of this house is admirably discussed by Zahn in *Die Dormitio Sanctae Virginis* (Deichert).

(ii) In *VP* 6 Ariston, *who always feared the Lord*, is Peter's host.

(iii) In *Ac. Barn.* 14 Ariston is the host of Mark and Barnabas.

[1] These women accompany Mary (= Peter) in *Trans. Mar.* p. 25 (Lewis *Stud. Sinait.* xi). For the women companions compare *Rec.* ii 1, ix 38, *Ac. Phil.* 30. For Nicodemus cf. *Rec.* ii 1, for Gamaliel (a secret Christian) *Rec.* i 65, for Tabetha *Proch. Ac. Jo.* 7. 6, and for Tobias the Jerusalem Bishops' List and Eus. *H. E.* I xiii 10. The tradition is very coherent and supported by Lk. viii 2, and by a topographical note in *Trans.* p. 23. Cf. *Ev. Nicod.* 15 'house of Nicodemus'.

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In *Ac. Thom.* 8 a lion kills a cupbearer who, like the Mark of our tradition, had gone to the fountain to draw water. The lion laid hold of his right hand, an incident which we should probably connect with the epithet 'stump-fingered'.[1]

(iv) In *Ev. Matt.* 33 (=*Ev. Thom.* 11) Jesus goes to draw water at a fountain, and in ch. 35 encounters lions near the bank of the Jordan.

(v) In Cod. Paris. 1468 we read at *Ac. Jo.* 45 that John *left there* (*at Smyrna*) *as president* (πρόεδρον) *Boukolos and Polycarp his disciples and Andronicus.* 'Boukolos and Polycarp' is obviously an interpolation, but Andronicus, Zahn suggests (*Forsch.* vi 101 an.), represents Ariston who was, according to *Ap. Const.* vii 46, the first bishop of that see. If Zahn's bow was drawn at a venture, an examination of the allusions to Andronicus shews that his arrow hit the mark.

Following an Asian tradition which has some links which connect it with Papias, Leucius in *Ac. Jo.* 30 refers to the deacon Berus who ministered to him at Ephesus, who must represent the Ephesian deacon Byrrhus who ministered to Ignatius.[2] In ch. 31 he introduces Andronicus, a prominent Ephesian. In ch. 37 the brethren from Miletus say that they have been long at Ephesus, and suggest that they should go to Smyrna. The support which Andronicus gives to the proposal indicates that his traditional prototype, if he had one, was in some way connected with that city. The conjecture that he had such a prototype is confirmed by the fact that we have a traditional phrase in his description of John as 'the teacher', and there is another probable fragment of tradition in the quite unmotived statement that the wonderful works of God had been spoken of there. Leucius was acquainted with a tradition of Christian teaching at Smyrna. We may compare the phrase of ch. 45 where John wishes to go to Smyrna in order that *the servants of Christ there may turn to God.* The strange form which this statement assumes may be due to the working in of a phrase from the source. The use of a source is the more probable inasmuch as Zahn has shewn (*Forsch.* vi 16) that Leucius probably used and connected with Smyrna the story of the rich young robber, Clement's introduction to which refers to St John's journeys. We conclude, then, that in matter connected with the church of Smyrna Leucius is probably following tradition, and that he connects Andronicus with that church.

The evidence which follows shews the identity of Andronicus with Ariston.

[1] The Acts of Thomas in this context are exceedingly difficult to interpret. The hymn seems to be substituted for the epitome of Christ's career, and a cryptic attack on St Mark may be suspected in this passage.

[2] His name is spelt Byrrhus in ps.-Abdias *Ap. Hist.* v 23.

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In *Ac. Jo.* 46 John remains in the house of Andronicus. The brethren meet there in chs. 62, 86, and it is assumed that they worship there. We also observe that Andronicus is mentioned in ch. 59, and an inn in the following chapter. Inasmuch as in our tradition he was the host of the Church of Jerusalem, these passages are evidence for the identification of Andronicus with Ariston or Aristobulus.

A trace of Mary, the mother of Mark, may survive in Drusiana, the wife of Andronicus, who was an exceptionally pious woman. In ch. 46 a priest is mentioned who is some one's kinsman. Ariston in one recension of our tradition was the brother of Barnabas, and we shall find that in that tradition he was a priest. This conjecture is confirmed when we turn to pseudo-Abdias and find in *Ap. Hist.* v 21 a priest named Aristodemus to whom John gives a garment. St Mark's priestly garment was, we shall find, mentioned in our tradition. Such retesselations as these of old material are thoroughly in accordance with the methods of Leucius and some others of the apocryphists.

The reader who is not familiar with these strange writers will attach more importance to the fact that in ch. 59 an Aristobula occurs among the Apostle's companions, and with her Cleobius, who was Simon's colleague when he opposed Peter (*Ap. Const.* vi 16, *Ep. Cor. ad Paul.* i 2), and whose name is misused in *VP* 48. 6 much in the same way as it is in *Ac. Jo.* In a related context in the former Acts (51. 17) we find another parallel which clinches my reconstruction. We read of an *Ariston with whom he was wont to stay*. The very same phrase is used of Andronicus in *Ac. Jo.* 62. In *VP* Ariston keeps an inn and in *Ac. Jo.* 60, as we saw above, an inn is mentioned.

We may safely conclude that Leucius was in *Ac. Jo.* using a tradition of Aristobulus or Ariston the father of Mark, that he was acquainted with the tradition of Ariston of Smyrna which underlies *Ap. Const.* vii 46, and that rightly or wrongly he identified the two. It may be added that Leucius made much use of his Petrine source in the parts of his work which only survive in recensions. This is especially clear in his narrative of the writing of the Gospel, an incident which is undoubtedly to be assigned to him.

The Mitre of John Mark.

The allusions of Leucius to the priests bring us to the tradition that St Mark was of priestly descent. The most familiar authority for this is the old prologue according to which he was *Petri in baptismate filius . . . sacerdotium in Israhel agens, secundum carnem Levita* (Corssen *Monarch. Prolog.* p. 9). The tradition is supported by the Levitical descent of St Barnabas who, according to our tradition, was related to Mark on his father's side. The tradition of the prologue underlies

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Ac. Barn. 14, where Ariston is described as a temple-servant, and *ib.* ch. 2, where Mark is baptized by St Paul at Iconium, and probably derives from the tradition cited on p. 8 according to which St Mark was instructed by St Peter. St Paul and Iconium are obviously absurd adaptations of a tradition suggested by the writer's Petrine source.

Our tradition probably underlies also the statement of Theophylact that the young man with the linen cloth mentioned in Mark xiv 52 (see Swete *ad loc.*) was resident in the house where our Lord had eaten the Passover. Inasmuch as in the later tradition of the Church of Jerusalem the Passover was eaten in the house of Mary (cf. Zahn *op. cit.* p. 25) the tradition of Theophylact must have identified the youth with St Mark. The identification is plausible, but the only feature of the narrative which is likely to have suggested it to an ancient exegete is St Mark's statement that the youth wore a *sindon*. This may have suggested the linen of the priests. There is a fragment of evidence which supports our conjecture. According to Dr Swete, Ambrose, Chrysostom, and Bede identify the youth with James, the Lord's brother, and the only possible connexion between the two is the fact that, according to Hegesippus, James wore the *sindon*.

There is now in our hands a thread which we had let drop. We found in the portrait of James traces of the descriptions of the Apostles which occurred in the source of the Acta. It is probable enough, then, that its author would derive matter from the tradition of Mark and Aristobulus. The saint is said to have worn *sindons* and the *petalon*, and to have entered into the Holy Place.

It is impossible for any one who has studied the Acta on comparative principles to refuse a very thorough application to them of the principle formulated by Tertullian, *Quis tam otiosus stilo ut materias habens fingat?* James, then, is evidently wearing borrowed garments. To whom, then, did they belong? Can we doubt that in the source of the *Hist. Desp.* they were worn by John Mark? My conjecture is established when we find that Polycrates (ap. Eus. *H. E.* V xxiv 3), using the exact phrase of Hegesippus, makes the astonishing statement of John of Asia that he wore the *petalon*. He has evidently confused the two Johns. My hypothesis, which was adopted on quite other grounds, has explained two enigmatic passages.

In *Ac. Barn.* 2 'John' describes himself as the ὑπηρέτης of the high-priest. It is possible that this statement is based on *Ac.* xiii 5, but *Ac. Barn.* is based on Petrine Acts and makes strangely little use of the canonical Acts. It is at least equally probable that the word derives from St Luke's Antiochene source which continued to the end of ch. xv. That this is the case appears from *Proch. Ac. Jo.* 7. 3, where each of the Apostles is accompanied by one of the seventy as his ὑπηρέτης. 'Pro-

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chorus' is distinguished from all other apocryphists by his amazing dreariness, and he is certainly following Leucius in the opening part of his work; the ultimate source is throughout the context Petrine. If, then, 'Leucius' described himself as the ὑπηρέτης of John in a Petrine context, the hypothesis immediately suggests itself that he must be identified with St Luke, and that 'Luke' was suggested by 'Mark'.

The identification of Leucius with St Luke has been advocated in *Apoc. Anecdota* ii p. x, by James, who bases his argument on the assumption that 'Leucius' was the supposed author of *VP*. Schmidt in *Alten Petrus-Akten* has shewn that there are doctrinal differences between these Acts and *Ac. Jo.*, but it is probably easier to explain them as due to an interval of time than to postulate two writers who, in the queer ingenuity of their perversions of tradition and in their love of sentimental stories and sermonisings and of coarse and foolish humour, not only closely resemble each other, but are quite unlike all other apocryphists. The argument from the priority of *Ac. Paul.* falls to the ground from my point of view, for both Acts derive from *PPx*.

I may add an important point to the arguments of James. He did not observe that the author of *Ac. Phil.* who certainly used an Acts of Peter, and I think myself *PPx*, mentions in ch. 40 a Leucius, who was physician to a king, who like most other apocryphal kings, may be presumed to represent Theophilus. That this passage derives from *PPx* is shewn by the parallel narrative in the *Story PP* (Lewis, p. 177), *Trans. Mar.* p. 34, and other parallels. Further in ch. 84 a Theophilus is mentioned in a narrative of a healing which is parallel with that of *The Story of James* and *VP* 25 f (see p. 497), the name Theophilus being transferred from the father to the son. Again in the former healing Nicocleides, the father of the healed child, is described as a recorder (*Ac. Phil.* 38). Now we find a ruler in *Proch. Ac. Jo.* 12. 13 who is described as a *scriniarius*, and as having come from Antioch on public business. Further in *Rec.* x 71 Theophilus appears at Antioch, and in x 55 Cornelius has been sent on public business.

We may conclude as the result of this section of my argument that in the source of the Acta Leucius was St Luke and the physician of Theophilus and, inasmuch as Theophilus was said to have freed his slaves (cf. *EP* p. 11, *VP* 77. 7, *Ac. Phil.* 85), that he was not only his *patronus libri* but also his *patronus*. Further, inasmuch as Leucius is often the name of the king in the Acta (Prochorus corrupts it to 'Seleucus') it is probable that Leucius was one of the *tria nomina* of Theophilus in the original tradition.

The original Petrine Acts were attributed to St Mark.

A more important question is raised by the last term of the equation

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Prochorus = Leucius = Luke = Mark. If I am right, Leucius was using in the beginning of his work (i) early Petrine Acts which (ii) claimed to be written by St Mark.

Is there, then, any evidence which suggests that in early Petrine Acts St Peter made a journey to Syria which can have suggested those of John and Prochorus? The evidence is difficult and cannot be adequately discussed on the present occasion, but there is enough for the purpose.

In *KP* 7 (Clem. *Strom.* vi 6, 48) Christ bids Peter and the rest of the Apostles go forth into the world at the end of twelve years. That the journey was in the earliest tradition actually undertaken is proved by the fact that *VP* 5 explicitly connects St Peter's journey to Rome with the command. If allowance be made for the preaching on the way my hypothesis explains the chronological system which brought the Apostle to Rome *c.* A.D. 42, as for instance in the Arabic *History of the Patriarchs* where Mark leaves Rome in the fifteenth year of the Ascension. According to this tradition St Peter was accompanied by St Mark as was St John by Prochorus, the voyage of the former Apostle, as we have already seen, corresponding with that of the latter. Lastly, St John and the other Apostles went forth, according to Prochorus, after the death of Mary. This constitutes another parallel with the Petrine tradition, for this event is said to have taken place in the eleventh year of the Ascension.[1]

The following evidence connects St Peter's journey with Syria:—

(i) In *Proch. Ac. Jo.* 9. 7 Prochorus is shipwrecked off Seleucia, the port of Antioch. This suggests that Peter may in the source have visited Antioch. In 8. 6 Prochorus is bidden to return to James. This suggests that in the source Mark may have returned. In *Syr. Hist. Jo.* p. 59 Peter and Paul go to James at Jerusalem and journey thence to Antioch.

(ii) In *VP* 23 Peter and Paul are together at Jerusalem.

(iii) In *EP* p. 656 Paul and Philip return to Jerusalem. A line or later a slip of the pen reveals the fact that they were in the source Peter and Paul.

(iv) I believe I can prove that a recension of the Clementine Romance which was written *c.* A.D. 145 brought Peter to Laodicea and Antioch, and that this writer used Papias's tradition of the writing of Mark and described Clement who was an esoteric counterpart of St Mark in terms of it. In all recensions of the Romance important events take place at Laodicea.

(v) In *EP* p. 488 the centoist following the earliest recension of the

[1] Basnage thes. mon. III i 27, 29, 35, cited by von Dobschütz *Das Ker. Pet.* p. 53. It is connected with the missions of the twelfth year in *Transitus Mariae*, but the Apostles return from their destinations to the deathbed of the Virgin.

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Romance brings Peter to Laodicea. On p. 490 he has turned to his non-Clementine source and forgetting that he has already stated that Peter had journeyed to this city he brings him there again, adding in words which have a ring very different from that of apocryphal fictions, *Where we dwelt for two years preaching . . . and through us there believed multitudes. . . . And we returned again to Jerusalem and met there with all the disciples, and my master commanded my father and mother to dwell in Jerusalem.* These words cannot have been spoken in the source by Clement to whom the centoist assigns them, but presumably originally referred to Ariston whom *EP* mentions and to Mary. That this is the case appears on p. 491 where Peter is accompanied to Antioch by John, who must be John Mark, for unlike Peter he understands the language of the people. This tradition of the two years' work of the Apostle at Laodicea explains the prominence of that city in the Clementine Romance.

(vi) There is an allusion to Laodicea in the chaotic narrative of *Ac. Barn.* (ch. 11).

(vii) A Northern journey of Peter is implied in *KP* 7 cited above. There is no tradition of a journey of Peter to the South. Journeys to the East or West are obviously impossible.

I may add that two cycles of the Apostle's activity are suggested by *Ac. Thom.* where a second journey begins at the Seventh Act and by *Ac. Thadd.* where the first (i. e. the Caesarean) cycle ends in ch. 5. The Apostle then goes to Amis and Beyrout where he remains five years, i. e. the interval between the seventh year of the first cycle (*Rec.* i 43, ix 29) and the twelfth year.

I cannot attempt within the limits of this article to shew that the evidence collected above can be reduced to a coherent tradition which fits in with the canonical and other evidence, but such, I believe, is the case. The data, however, suggest as a working hypothesis a second cycle of Acts in which St Mark played a part, and in which the Apostle visited Laodicea and Antioch.

My equation 'Prochorus' = 'Mark' has been confirmed by the fact that I have shewn the existence of a second Petrine cycle, and that in this cycle St Peter and John (Mark) visited Syria as did Prochorus. My hypothesis is again confirmed when we find that in *Ac. Barn.* 2 'John'[1] is the writer of those Acts. It will be established, if I can, as

[1] 'John' is thus used in *EP* p. 491 and probably in p. 481. Though St Mark was so designated when St Luke wrote (Col. iv 10, 1 Pet. v 13), St Luke only so designates him in his last notice (xv 39). Elsewhere he calls him 'John' (xiii 5, 13) or laboriously 'John called Mark' (xii 12, 25, xv 37). Clearly his source used 'John' as does *EP* and the source of Polycrates. 'John', then, like 'Simon', is primitive, and in my view Markan.

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I believe I can, shew that Clement is the counterpart of Mark, for in *Rec.* i 72 Peter is bidden by James to send him every year an account of his sayings and doings, *and especially at the end of every seven years.* The words 'every year' may be attributed to the wish of the Ebionite writer to subordinate Peter to James. The italicized words suggest that in the tradition there were two volumes of Acts and Preachings. The first volume, I am inclined to think, derived matter from a catechetical manual which St Mark drew up for the use of the Church of Caesarea, containing an epitome of Christ's career such as we find in *Ac.* x 36 and in parallel sermons in the Acta. The second volume was pseudo-Petrine and Roman, and should probably be identified with *KP.* But the Apocalypse to which *KP* 7 probably alludes (for Christ bids the Apostles reveal the future in their preaching), was probably included in the same cycle. In the Akh. fragment ch. 2 the twelve ask Christ to reveal the condition of the righteous in order that they may encourage their hearers.

If my discussion has been somewhat digressive and discursive, the data have been difficult, and it has not been easy to illustrate the main features of my reconstruction of the Acta, and my view as to the methods employed by their authors without assuming results which it was impossible to prove within the limits of this article. In order to complete the treatment of the subject of the descriptions of the Apostles a note is appended on that of St Paul.

The Description of St Paul.

The data for the description of St Paul are as follows:—

(i) In the Armenian version (Conybeare *Monuments of Early Christianity* p. 62) the description runs: *Of moderate stature, with curly hair . . . scanty, crooked legs, blue eyes, and large nose; and he was full of grace and pity in the Lord, sometimes having the appearance of men and sometimes looking like an angel.*

(ii) Conybeare gives the Syriac thus: *Of middling size and his hair was scanty and his eyebrows met and his nose was somewhat long; and he was full of grace and mercy; at one time he seemed like a man and at another he seemed like an angel.*

The two following passages are interesting as illustrating the use of the source of *Ac. Paul.* i. e. *PPx.*

(iii) *Mart. Mark* (Lewis, p. 150): *Of middle height with dark blue eyes and large eyebrows with curly hair, full of divine grace.*

(iv) *Story PP* (Lewis, p. 191), Satan addressing Paul, says, *O bald pate.*

(v) *EP* p. 501 (cf. p. 531): *Bald with red hair.*

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(vi) Greek *Ac. Paul. et Thec.* 3: *Small in size, baldheaded, bandy-legged, of noble mien, with eyebrows meeting, rather longnosed, full of grace, sometimes like a man and sometimes like an angel.*

It will be observed that the borrowed Arabic description of St Mark varies at three points with the Armenian against the Greek.

There can be no doubt that the description of the Apostle is Petrine. This is shewn not only by the parallels to the allusions to his hair and legs, but also by the statement that he sometimes looked like a man and sometimes like an angel. We compare the vision which Abgar saw appear on the face of Thaddaeus and before which he prostrated himself (Eus. *H. E.* I xiii 13), and also *Ac. Thom.* 8 where the flute-girl looks at Thomas whose form changes. She says, *This is either God or God's apostle.* Both incidents are related to *Ac.* x 25 f, the source of which passage, I shall shew, much influenced the Acta.

The Armenian recension of the Story of Thecla is undoubtedly, as Conybeare argues, superior to the Greek, but it is not likely to represent the earliest form of the story unless the story was in its earliest literary form adapted to some depraved Acts of Peter, a hypothesis which is exceedingly improbable. That the opening is Petrine is shewn by the parallelism with *EP* p. 7, where the tetrapylon must be that of Caesarea and original. In each case the Apostle preaches immediately on his arrival and borrows his sermon from the same book.

H. J. BARDSLEY.

ST AMBROSE AS AN INTERPRETER OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

ALLEGORICAL interpretation of the Scriptures has been described as 'a convenient method of interpretation by which anything whatever can be made to prove anything one likes'.[1] But it was employed by St Clement of Alexandria, Origen, St Ambrose, and St Augustine—to make no mention of smaller names—and is a chapter in the history of Biblical exegesis which cannot be ignored. At the beginning of the Christian era it was known in Jewish circles. Philo[2] found in it a means of combining Hellenic philosophy with Jewish religion.

[1] H. F. Hamilton *The People of God* i p. 224.

[2] DCB. s. v. Philo.

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It was also useful as a means of meeting the charges which might be brought against the Old Testament by cultivated pagans who urged that its picture of God is unduly anthropomorphic, that it inculcates barbarous wars, and commends actions of questionable morality. For those who were already believers it shewed that the sacred text possessed richer stores of meaning than they had supposed.

Traces of it appear in the New Testament.[1] Classical scholarship had applied it to Homer as a means of meeting the moral difficulties raised by his portraiture of the gods.[2] It was therefore perfectly natural that Christian writers should feel themselves at liberty to interpret the Scriptures, particularly the Scriptures of the Old Testament, allegorically if they wished to do so, and Alexandria soon became the head-quarters of this school. The allegorical method was adopted by the great Gnostic teachers who flourished there during the first half of the second century and their practice was accepted by the Church. It was too valuable a weapon for the Christian apologist to ignore.

Thus the 'Epistle of Barnabas'[3] teaches that the law never had any literal significance at all. The directions of Leviticus as to unclean animals really refer to various classes of sinners whom the Israelites were to avoid.[4] The scape-goat is nothing but a type of Christ.[5]

The idea of a Christian γνῶσις which is to be attained by studying the deeper meaning of the Scriptures appears in the epistle.[6]

But the real father of Christian Allegorism is St Clement of Alexandria. It was firmly established by him in the Catechetical School and so became the tradition of the Alexandrine Church. If he needed authority for it he found it in a book which he regarded as inspired Scripture. Hermas relates how the woman (representing the Church) gave him a book to copy *καὶ μετεγραψάμην πάντα πρὸς γράμμα, οὐχ ηὕρισκον γὰρ τὰς συλλαβάς.*[7]

On this St Clement comments: *ἐδήλου δ' ἄρα τὴν μὲν γραφὴν πρόδηλον εἶναι πᾶσι κατὰ τὴν ψιλὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ἐκλαμβανομένην, καὶ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν πίστιν στοιχείων τάξιν ἔχουσαν, δι' ὃ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τὸ γράμμα ἀνάγνωσις ἀλληγορεῖται, τὴν διάπτυξιν δὲ τὴν γνωστικὴν τῶν γραφῶν προκοπτούσης ἤδη τῆς πίστεως εἰκάζεσθαι τῇ κατὰ τὰς συλλαβὰς ἀναγνώσει ἐκδεχόμεθα.*[8]

With St Clement it is a principle that almost all Scripture has an esoteric meaning which is to be grasped by the 'advanced' Christian

[1] 1 Cor. x 4, Gal. iv 24–28, St Matt. xii 40.

[2] Xenophanes (Ritter and Preller, p. 78). Cf. also R. Jebb *Introduction to Homer* p. 89; H. Browne *Homeric Study* p. 30; Longinus *περὶ ὕψους* ix 7.

[3] 'An Alexandrian writing of the time of Hadrian'—H. B. Swete *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church* p. 18.

[4] X. [5] VII. [6] XVIII.

[7] *Pastor* Uis. II. [8] *Strom.* VI xv 131.

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reader. 'Elementary' Christians will not get below the superficial meaning:—

μακρὸν δ' ἂν εἴη πάντα ἐπεξιέναι τὰ προφητικὰ καὶ τὰ νομικὰ τὰ δι' αἰνιγμάτων εἰρημένα ἐπιλεγομένους· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα ὧδέ πως θεσπίζεται γραφή.[1]

There may be as many as four classes of meaning in a single passage, literal, mystic (i.e. allegorical), moral, and prophetic.[2]

Two kinds of allegorical meaning may be found in the stories of the Old Testament. An incident beside being a historical event which did actually take place may symbolize some external spiritual truth. Thus —to take a single example—the stripping of Joseph and the casting him into the pit expresses the hostility always felt by the ignorant against the more enlightened.[3]

Or an incident may prefigure the Life of Christ and anticipate some detail of it. Thus the Burning Bush may be regarded as an earnest of the Incarnation and prefigures our Lord's Crown of Thorns.[4]

Origen adopted allegorism *ex animo* and all his exegetical writings are permeated with it. But his use of it differs somewhat from that of St Clement. St Clement thinks primarily of the faithful whom it may edify; Origen of the enemies whom it may overthrow. In his eyes it is one of the most valuable weapons which the Church can wield against the unbeliever, and his first task is therefore to place it on a scientific basis. He has to shew not merely that Scripture has commonly been interpreted in this way, but that the Church is entitled to prefer this method to any other. Any objection to the Scriptures which can be met by allegorism can no longer be considered to be of any weight at all.

He finds authority for his principle in Proverbs xxii 20—*καὶ σὺ δὲ ἀπόγραψαι αὐτὰ σεαυτῷ τρισσῶς εἰς βουλὴν καὶ γνῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸ πλάτος τῆς καρδίας σου*[5]—where the existence of different classes of meaning in the Scriptures seems to him to be explicitly asserted.

The adoption of this principle makes the literal meaning of any passage wholly unimportant. Indeed it is doubtful whether the Bible should be considered to have any literal meaning at all—*οὐ γὰρ νομιστέον τὰ ἱστορικὰ ἱστορικῶν εἶναι τύπους καὶ τὰ σωματικὰ σωματικῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰ σωματικὰ πνευματικῶν καὶ τὰ ἱστορικὰ νοητῶν.*[6]

In this way many of the difficulties raised by the Old Testament can be met. The wars of extermination said to have been waged by the Israelites never took place at all. They represent the struggles of the soul with its besetting sins. But where incidents which are historical

[1] *Ib.* V vi 32. [2] *Ib.* I xxviii 176. [3] *Ib.* V viii 54. [4] *Paed.* II viii 75

[5] Have I not written unto thee excellent things of counsels and knowledge? R.V.

[6] *In Ioann.* x 18.

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are open to moral criticism the difficulty is met by postulating a higher and a lower kind of truth. The ideal is to maintain both. But when this is impossible the lower must be sacrificed. Thus what may appear at first sight to be deceit is justifiable as being the only means of conveying spiritual truth. 'The spiritual truth', he says, 'is often preserved in what may be called the bodily lie.'[1]

Thus Jacob was justified in passing himself off as Esau. As Esau had already forfeited his birthright, Jacob had obtained a spiritual seniority which entitled him to assume the externals of his brother's character.[2] The events related in the Gospel have more than a historical significance. For example, the Entry of our Lord into Jerusalem represents the entry of the Word of God into the soul. Every detail of the narrative has its counterpart in the spiritual experience of the individual believer as he receives the word through the medium of the Scriptures—*Ἰησοῦς τοίνυν ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος ὅστις εἰσέρχεται εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσόλυμα καλουμένην ψυχὴν, ὀχούμενος τῇ ὑπὸ τῶν μαθητῶν λελυμένῃ ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν ὄνῳ, λέγω δὲ τοῖς ἀφελέσι τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης γράμμασι σαφηνιζομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν λυόντων αὐτὰ μαθητῶν δύο· τοῦ τ' ἐπὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνάγοντος τὰ γεγραμμένα καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὴν αὐτὰ ἀλληγοροῦντος . . . ὀχεῖται δὲ τῷ νέῳ πώλῳ τῇ καινῇ διαθήκῃ . . . μόνος δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἱεροσόλυμα ψυχὴν οὐκ ἔρχεται . . . πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ προάγοντα τὸν τελειοῦντα ἡμᾶς λόγον θεοῦ δεῖ ἐν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, καὶ ἕπτα πλεῖστα ὅσα τὰ ἑπόμενα αὐτῷ· πάντα μέντοι γε αὐτὸν ὑμνοῦντα καὶ δοξάζοντα, καὶ τὸν ἴδιον κόσμον καὶ περιβολὴν αὐτῷ ὑποτιθέντα, ἵνα αὐτοῦ τὰ ὀχήματα μὴ ἅπτηται γῆς, ἔχοντα τὸν οὐρανόθεν καταβεβηκότα ἐπαναπαυόμενον αὐτοῖς· ἵνα δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀνωτέρω τῆς γῆς τυγχάνωσιν οἱ ὀχοῦντες αὐτὸν παλαιοὶ καὶ καινοὶ λόγοι τῶν γραφῶν ἐκκόπτεσθαι κλάδους δεῖ ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων ἵνα βαίνωσιν ἐπὶ τῶν εὐλόγως ἐκκειμένων. δύνανται δὲ οἱ προάγοντες καὶ ἀκολουθοῦντες αὐτῷ ὄχλοι δηλοῦν καὶ ἀγγελικὰς συνεργείας.*[3]

It is unnecessary to multiply quotations from Origen's writings. He reads the Bible without any historical perspective whatever. Any passage may be taken in conjunction with any other and the value of the Scriptures does not reside in what they seem to say but in the 'mystical' meaning which they skilfully conceal. To expound this inner meaning is the principal task of the Christian student. The value of Origen's method has been summed up as follows: 'It is at once elusive and fruitless. He finds in it a convenient method of compelling Scripture to yield an answer to the many speculative questions that agitate his own restless brain. But it is no proper or satisfying answer that he thus obtains. As a Jew even Philo had to pay some regard to the literal and historical sense of the Old Testament; but the reins of Origen's imagination knew no such restraining influence. For him allegorical exegesis meant licence to father his own speculations

[1] *Ib.* x 5. [2] *Ib.* [3] *Ib.* x 28.

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upon a sacred text which was venerated as the depository of all truth.'[1]

But to Origen and his contemporaries the results obtained by this method were entirely satisfactory. Allegorism became firmly established as one of the most valuable weapons of the Church's armoury. Except at Antioch its usefulness was hardly questioned, and although the Antiochene school claimed many distinguished adherents[2] the fact that the Arians looked back to Lucian as in some sense their master must have tended to bring it into disrepute. Allegorism and orthodoxy seemed to stand or fall together[3]: especially when Alexandria became in the person of Athanasius the stronghold of the Catholic Faith.

Allegorism had been introduced into the Western Church at least as early as the time of Hippolytus. In the fourth century it might be said to be demanded by Catholic tradition. Certainly those to whom it appealed could justify their use of it by saying that it was so demanded. There is nothing surprising in its adoption by any fourth-century writer unless he were avowedly a disciple of the school of Antioch. And there were special reasons why it should be adopted by St Ambrose.

1. Auxentius, his immediate predecessor in the See of Milan, had been an avowed Arian and Arianism was strongly entrenched at the Imperial Court. A new bishop who wished to place his own orthodoxy above suspicion could do so most easily by adopting whole-heartedly the tradition of Alexandria.

2. St Ambrose had had no Christian training before he was elected bishop, and from the very beginning of his episcopate laid great stress on the teaching side of his office.[4] But as he was not fitted by his antecedents to undertake any original departure he would naturally expound the Scriptures according to whatever method seemed to him to possess the greatest weight of Church-Authority.

His veneration for the Scriptures was profound, and he quickly became very familiar with their contents. His power of quotation, whether relevant or not, is extraordinary. He was never tired of preaching expository sermons, and St Augustine has paid a noteworthy tribute to their value.[5]

Like Origen, St Ambrose recognized that the sacred text contains much which is beyond human comprehension.[6] But he felt that there is no more worthy task than to elucidate their mysteries as far as possible.

[1] W. Fairweather *Origen and Greek Patristic Theology* p. 78.

[2] Malchion, Lucian, Dorotheus, Chrysostom, Diodorus, Theodoret, Theodore of Mopsuestia.

[3] Cf. J. H. Newman *Arians of the Fourth Century* p. 414.

[4] Paulinus *Uita* 38.

[5] *Conf.* VI iv.

[6] *De Paradiso* ii 7 (cf. *Philocalia* ii 2).

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The following is a complete list of his extant exegetical writings :—

Title.	*Date.*
De Paradiso	Between 375 and 378.
De Cain et Abel	Between 376 and 379.
De Tobia	377 (*circa*).
De Noe et Arca	380.
Apologia Prophetae Dauid	Soon after Aug. 25, 383.
De Interpretatione Job et Dauid	383–384.
Expositio in Lucam	386–387.
Hexaemeron	Soon after 386.
De Elia et Ieiunio	After 386.
Expositio in Ps. cxviii	387–388.
De Abraham De Isaac et anima De Iacob et Uita Beata De Ioseph Patriarcha De Benedictionibus Patriarcharum	387–390.
De Nabuthe Iezraelita	After 386.
Enarratio in xii Ps. Dauidicos	At intervals between 381–397.

The dates are ascertainable chiefly from internal evidence. In three instances they are clear. *Ap. Proph. Dauid* (vi 27) and *En. in Ps.* lxi (xvii 26) refer to the death of Gratian (Aug. 25, 383) as a recent event. *En. in Ps.* xxxvi (xxv) alludes to Theodosius's victory at Aquileia (Sept. 6, 394).

En. in Ps. xliii is said to have been dictated from his death-bed[1] and therefore belongs to the last days of March 397.

With the exception of *De Elia*, *De Tobia*, and *De Nabuthe*, which seem to have been preached to 'general congregations', these expositions seem to have been originally sermons intended primarily for Catechumens. They do not aim at confuting unbelievers but rather at removing the difficulties to which the Scriptures must give rise in the minds of those who wish to believe. These were naturally more acute where the Old Testament was concerned. Except for the series which may be called '*Studies in the Lives of the Patriarchs*', St Ambrose does not seem to have been guided by any principle in his selection of subjects.

We must illustrate his method and the results which it yielded by means of quotations, and then endeavour to estimate his debt to previous writers and his influence upon his successors.

The Method of St Ambrose.

1. *His Principle.*

He follows St Clement and Origen in adopting a threefold sense

[1] Paulinus *Uita* 42. Cf. also M. Ihm *Studia Ambrosiana* (Leipzig 1889).

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of Scripture. But not every passage can bear the triple interpretation. Some may belong entirely to one class. Genesis may be called collectively *naturalis*, because it tells the story of Creation: Leviticus *mysticus*, because it contains the mystery of the Priesthood; Deuteronomy *moralis*, because it contains the precepts of the Law.

The three books of Solomon correspond with these three classes.[1]

Beside this the division of wisdom—traditionally ascribed to Plato[2]—into three classes is accepted.[3] These St Ambrose calls *Rationalis*, *Moralis*, *Naturalis*. These are symbolized by the three wells dug by Isaac (Gen. xxvi 20–23). Ezek = *Uisio* = *Sapientia Rationalis*; Sitnah = *Abundantia* = *Sapientia Moralis*; Rehoboth = *Iuramentum* = *Sapientia Naturalis*.

He gives no reason for these equations, which are not derived from the LXX rendering of the names (ἀδικία, ἐχθρία, εὐρυχωρία).

The books of Solomon shew him to have been equally proficient in each class. The Evangelists are not deficient in any branch, but St John may be considered to have excelled in *Sapientia Naturalis*, St Matthew in *Moralis*, St Mark in *Rationalis*. St Luke's Gospel exhibits the highest degree of each.[4]

Of the three interpretations which the Scriptures can bear the mystical is the most important:—

> In mysticis fructus est, in moralibus folium . . . nam uirtutes sine fide folia sunt . . . haec forte sunt folia quae Saluator in illa ficu reperit, sed fructum non inuenit. Mystica saluant et a morte liberant: moralia autem ornamenta decoris sunt non subsidia redemptionis. Praestare autem mystica moralibus etiam ipse Dominus docet in euangelio suo dicens de Maria . . . *Martha Martha, Maria optimam partem sibi elegit quae non auferetur.*[5]

Enough has been said to shew what was the general attitude of St Ambrose to the Bible as a whole. In his eyes it is really a species of sacred cypher. The plain, obvious meaning of any passage is never the whole of what it is intended to mean to the Christian reader. Faith lives by the deeper meanings which can be disinterred, and the task of the Christian teacher is to lay these before his audience. To this task St Ambrose brought an utterly uncritical mind, unhampered by any knowledge of Hebrew or by any considerations of historical perspective. He is like a man turning over an immense heap of variously shaped fragments. What the original design may have been does not concern him. He merely fits them together as his fancy prompts into wholly unexpected patterns. It is a laborious exercise and one which could only be undertaken by the possessor of a retentive

[1] *Praef.* in Ps. xxxvi. [2] Cf. Aug. *De Ciu. Dei* VIII iv.
[3] *Praef. in Luc.* 2. [4] *Ib.* 4. [5] In Ps. i 41, 42.

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memory coupled with great power of application. No doubt as to the value of the patterns which he formed seems ever to have crossed his mind.

His Results.

We must give examples of his handling of each of the three classes of meaning which he recognized:—

A. *Naturalia.*

It is not easy to see exactly what St Ambrose understood by the *naturalis sensus* of a passage. Certainly he understood by it more than we should understand by the 'literal sense'. The book of Genesis may be called collectively *naturalis*, but that does not mean that no part of it is susceptible of allegorical interpretation.

Naturalia are more than the historical facts related. For instance, the reason why Noah took seven of the various species of clean animals into the Ark is to be explained by the fact that seven is in itself a clean, sacred, virgin number. And the discussion of the various properties of the number Seven ends with the words *Haec naturalia.*[1]

Another example of 'natural' interpretation is when the structure of the ark is compared with that of the human body. The passage is sufficiently important to be quoted at length:—

'Sed iam de ipsa Noe arca dicendum[2] quam si quis uelit impensius considerare inueniet in eius aedificatione descriptam humani figuram corporis. Quid est enim quod ait Deus *Fac igitur tibi arcam de lignis quadratis.* Quadratum certe hoc appellamus quod omnibus bene consistat partibus et conveniat sibi. Itaque et Deus auctor nostri corporis . . . opus ipsum perfectum esse iis sermonibus significatur. Quadrata autem hominis membra esse euidens ratio, si consideres pectus hominis, consideres uentrem pari mensura longitudinis et latitudinis . . . iam pedes et manus brachia femora et crura quadripartita quis non ipso uisu aduertat?

Quid etiam sibi uult quod ait *Nidos facies in arca* . . . naturaliter enim dictum arbitror eo quod omne corpus nostrum attextum est sicut nidus . . . nidi quidam sunt oculi nostri . . . nidi sunt nostrarum sinus aurium . . . nidus est narium . . . nidus est quartus maior ceteris hiatus oris . . . unde uox euolat. Unde et puto et illum in psalmo non solum mystice sed etiam naturaliter dixisse *Passer inueniet sibi domum et turtur nidum ubi reponat pullos suos.*'[3]

In a sense this might be called an allegorical interpretation of the passage. But in the eyes of St Ambrose it is not 'mystical' because the ark symbolizes a material object: not an event in the Life of Christ or any spiritual truth.

The extract quoted above will be sufficient to shew that the exigencies

[1] *De Noe et Arca* xii 39. [2] *Ib.* vi. [3] Ps. lxxxiii 4.

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of *naturalia* impose no serious check upon the imagination of the expositor.

B. *Moralia.*

By *moralia* St Ambrose meant ethics. Although he subordinates them to *mystica* he was not blind to their importance. He dwells on the need of Christian living[1] and attacks the sins of the time—especially usury, drunkenness, and fraudulent trusteeship with great vigour and shrewdness. For this purpose he makes most use of St Luke's Gospel and of the lives of the Patriarchs, pointing out that the characters of the Old Testament are to be regarded as warnings as well as examples.[2]

In this region neither his method nor his results call for special comment. A modern preacher would have no difficulty in using many of his sermons on *Moralia.*

C. *Mystica.*

St Ambrose nowhere states whether a commentator of sufficient spiritual insight could interpret every passage of Scripture 'mystically' or not. But a 'mystical' interpretation is to be found wherever possible. Reference to Christ, the Church and the spiritual experience of the individual soul are to be sought on every page of the inspired writings.

The following extracts are typical examples of the results which he obtained :—

1. Adam enim mentem diximus (*De Paradiso* ii) Euam sensum esse significauimus, serpentis specie delectationem expressimus . . . purgauerat enim terram Dominus diluuii infusione . . . sed non satis erat ad uirtutis profectum, nisi ut instrueretur homo quemadmodum se regeret et gubernaret. Abraham mentis loco inducitur. Denique Abraham transitus dicitur. Ergo ut mens quae in Adam totam se delectationi et illecebris corporalibus desiderat in formam uirtutis speciemque transiret uir sapiens nobis ad imitandum propositus est. Denique Abraham pater dictus est eo quod mens paterna quadam auctoritate . . . totum gubernat hominem. Haec ergo mens erat in Charra, id est in cauernis obnoxia uariis passionibus. Ideoque dicitur ei *Exi de terra tua*, id est de corpore tuo. Exiuit de hac terra ille cuius conuersatio in caelis est. Et de cognatione inquit tua. Cognati sunt animae nostrae corporis sensus. *Et de domo tua* inquit *exi.* Dominus mentis prolatiuum est uerbum. Sicut enim paterfamilias habitat in domo sua . . . ita etiam mens in sermonibus nostris habitat . . . et uis eius et disciplina in sermone elucet.[3]

It is difficult to tell whether he regarded the Fall and the Migration of Abraham as actual historical events or not. If they are history their principal permanent value for the Christian reader lies in the 'mystical' meaning which can be read into them.

[1] e.g. in Ps. cxviii 1. [2] e.g. *De Abraham* I vi 58. [3] *De Abraham* II 1.

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2. The meeting between Isaac and Rebekah prefigures the Church. Isaac represents the human soul which is attracted by the Church's beauty. Or he may represent Christ, to whom the Church gives herself as bride.

Ergo uel anima patriarchae uidens mysterium Christi, uidens Rebeccam uenientem cum uasis aureis et argenteis tanquam ecclesiam cum populo nationum, mirata pulcritudinem uerbi et sacramentorum eius dicit *Osculetur me ab osculis oris sui.* Uel Rebecca uidens uerum Isaac, uerum illud gaudium, ueram laetitiam, desiderat osculari.[1]

The story in St Luke's Gospel (vii 36–50) of the woman who kissed our Lord's feet is cited as parallel.

3. Commenting on St Luke xxii 36–38 he writes :—

Domine cur emere me iubes gladium qui ferire me prohibes? . . . Multis hoc iniquum uidetur, sed non iniquus Dominus . . . est enim gladius spiritalis ut uendas patrimonium, emas uerbum quo nuda mentis penetralia uestiuntur. Est enim gladius passionis ut exuas corpus et immolatae carnis exuuiis ematur tibi sacri corona martyrii.

Mouet tamen adhuc quod duos gladios discipuli protulerunt ne forte unum noui alterum ueteris testamenti quibus aduersus diaboli armamur insidias? Denique dicit Dominus *Satis est*, quasi nihil desit ei quem utriusque testamenti doctrina munierit.[2]

He would not have doubted the historical character of the incident. But he is not content to treat it solely as history. It is, as it were, an episode in a drama the value of which for edification lies in its allegorical significance.

His debt to previous writers.

As a disciple of the Alexandrine School St Ambrose was acquainted with the writings of Philo and of Origen. He mentions Philo by name once[3] and Origen three times.[4] On at least five occasions he controverts Philo for the ultra-Jewish character of his exegesis without naming him.[5] He must presumably have been acquainted with the writings of St Clement, but I have not been able to notice any direct reference to him.

But while in general agreement with the Alexandrines St Ambrose seems to have borrowed directly from two writers only : St Hippolytus and St Basil. With St Basil he had personal relations.[6]

[1] *De Isaac et Anima* iii 7, 8. For the debt of the whole treatise to Hippolytus's commentary on the *Song of Songs*, see M. Bonwetsch *Texte u. Unter* N.F. viii 2 (Leipzig 1902).

[2] *Expos. in Luc.* x 53–55.

[3] *De Paradiso* ii 11.

[4] *De Abraham* II viii 54 ; *In Ps.* 118 iv 16 ; *Ep.* 75. 1.

[5] *Ep.* 28, 1 ; *De Parad.* II 11 ; *De Cain et Abel* I viii 32 ; *De Fuga* III iv 20 ; *De Noe* v 12. I am indebted for these references to P. de Labriolle *Saint Ambroise*, esp. pp. 163–180 (Bloud et Cie, Paris).

[6] Cf. St Basil *Ep.* 197.

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The indebtedness of his treatise *De Isaac et Anima* to St Hippolytus's commentary on *The Song of Songs* has been discussed by Bonwetsch (*vide supra* p. 11 note), and it is therefore unnecessary to go over the ground again.

St Basil published some homilies on the Six Days' Work of Creation as related in the opening chapters of Genesis under the title *Hexaemeron*. This furnished St Ambrose with a model for a similar set of discourses. He copies St Basil's title and arrangement of the subject. In some places he translates the Greek directly.

But it would not be fair to call the *Hexaemeron* of St Ambrose a mere reproduction of St Basil's work. The differences between them are often very wide and are due to a considerable difference between their general mental attitudes.

1. St Basil expressly disavows the allegorical method—*οἶδα νόμους ἀλληγορίας . . . ἐγὼ δὲ χόρτον ἀκούσας χόρτον νοῶ, καὶ ἰχθὺν καὶ θηρίον καὶ κτῆνος πάντα ὡς εἴρηται οὕτως ἐκδέχομαι.*[5]

2. St Basil's purpose is apologetic. He seems to have in mind readers in whose eyes the authority of the Bible is still an open question. He aims at shewing that the Scriptures are thoroughly reasonable and throw light on many questions which philosophers have found insoluble. They have, therefore, an irrefragable claim upon all unprejudiced minds.

The purpose of St Ambrose is entirely exegetical. In his eyes the divine authority of Scripture is beyond question, and he assumes that this is recognized by his audience. But the meaning of the Sacred Text is often obscure and commonly far richer than the ordinary reader would suspect. His task is to edify the faithful by shewing them how great these hidden treasures of meaning really are.

The following extracts will illustrate his debt and his independence.

1. *ἐνθυμηθῆς ὅτι ὁ εὐδοκήσας ἐν τῇ μωρίᾳ τοῦ κηρύγματος σῶσαι τοὺς πιστεύοντας μυρίας ἐκ τῆς φύσεως ἀφορμὰς πρὸς τὴν πίστιν τῶν παραδόξων προλαβὼν κατεβάλετο.* *Hex.* viii 6.

nonne advertimus quod Dominus ex ipsa natura plurima exempla ante praemisit quibus susceptae incarnationis decorem probaret et astrueret unitatem? *Hex.* v 20.

The matter in hand is the Birth of our Lord from a Virgin. Both refer to the belief that vultures lay without having mated. But their use of the analogy is different. To St Basil the Christian belief is a matter of difficulty. But nothing in the Gospel is more incredible than the admitted wonders of nature. Nature forbids us to say that anything is impossible. To St Ambrose Faith needs no such assistance.

[1] *Hex.* ix 1.

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But God has so ordered the working of the natural world that it points to the Incarnation and makes it perfectly natural that the Birth of Christ should have been as it was.

2. οἱ γὰρ θεὸν ἀγνοήσαντες αἰτίαν ἔμφρονα προεστάναι τῆς γενέσεως τῶν ὅλων οὐ συνεχώρησαν . . . νῦν μὲν γὰρ συνιόντων ἀλλήλοις τῶν ἀμερῶν σωμάτων, νῦν δὲ μετασυγκρινομένων, τὰς γενέσεις καὶ τὰς φθορὰς ἐπιγίνεσθαι (sc. ἐφαντάσθησαν) καὶ τῶν διαρκεστέρων σωμάτων τὴν ἰσχυροτέραν τῶν ἀτόμων ἀντεμπλοκὴν τῆς διαμονῆς τὴν αἰτίαν παρέχειν. οὕτως ἐστὸν ἀράχνης ὑφαίνουσιν οἱ ταῦτα γράφοντες, οἱ οὕτω λεπτὰς καὶ ἀνυποστάτους ἀρχὰς οὐράνου καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ὑποτιθέμενοι. *Hex.* i 2.

aduertit enim uir plenus prudentiae (sc. Moses) quod uisibilium atque inuisibilium substantias origines et causas rerum mens sola diuina contineat, non ut philosophi disputant ualidiorem atomorum complexionem perseuerantiae iugis praestare causam: sed iudicauit quod telam araneae texerent qui sic minuta et insubstantiua principia caelo ac terris darent. *Hex.* i 2.

In St Basil's eyes materialistic views of the origin of the universe stand condemned by reason. To St Ambrose they are equally irrational, but they are condemned primarily by the authority of Moses.

3. When commenting on Gen. i 9 (*Hex.* iv 2) St Basil dwells exclusively on the physical aspect of the act. He refers to the natural properties of water and to the difficulties which might be felt in view of the fact that all the water on the surface of the earth is not now in one place, but is distributed in widely separated seas.

St Ambrose ignores all questions of this kind (*Hex.* iii 3). To him the gathering of the waters represents the recruiting of the Church from the whole world and the separation of the faithful from heretics.

4. Both St Basil and St Ambrose published homilies, originally delivered in the form of sermons, upon selected Psalms. Their selections are not the same, but we have discourses from both upon Psalms i, xlv, xlviii, and lxi. In these St Ambrose shews a debt and an independence similar to that which he shews in the *Hexaemeron*.

πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος καὶ ὠφέλιμος. διὰ τοῦτο συγγραφεῖσα παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἵν' ὥσπερ ἐν κοινῷ τῶν ψυχῶν ἰατρείῳ πάντες ἄνθρωποι τὸ ἴαμα τοῦ οἰκείου πάθους ἕκαστος ἐκλεγώμεθα . . . ἄλλα μὲν οὖν προφῆται παιδεύουσι, καὶ ἄλλα ἱστορικοί, καὶ ὁ νόμος ἕτερα, καὶ ἄλλα το εἶδος

etenim licet omnis Scriptura diuina Dei gratiam spiret, praecipue tamen dulcis psalmorum liber . . . historia instruit, lex docet, prophetia annuntiat, correptio castigat, moralitas suadet: in libro psalmorum profectus est omnium et medicina quaedam salutis

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τῆς παροιμιακῆς παραινέσεως. ἡ δὲ τῶν ψαλμῶν βίβλος τὸ ἐκ πάντων ὠφέλιμον περιείληφε· προφητεύει τὰ μέλλοντα, ἱστορίας ὑπομιμνήσκει, νομοθετεῖ τῷ βίῳ, ὑποτίθεται τὰ πρακτέα, καὶ ἁπαξαπλῶς κοινὸν ταμιεῖόν ἐστιν ἀγαθῶν διδαγμάτων τὸ ἑκάστῳ πρόσφορον κατὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐξευρίσκουσα. τά τε γὰρ παλαιὰ τραύματα τῶν ψυχῶν ἐξιᾶται, καὶ τῷ νεοτρώτῳ ταχεῖαν ἐπάγει τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν, καὶ τὸ νενοσηκὸς περιποιεῖται καὶ τὸ ἀκέραιον διασώζει.

In Ps. i 1.

humanae. Quicumque legerit habet quo propriae uulnera passionis speciali possit curare remedio. Quicumque curare uoluerit tamquam in communi animarum gymnasio et quodam studio uirtutum diuersa genera certaminum reperiens praeparata id sibi eligat cui se intelligit aptiorem quo facilius perueniat ad coronam.

In Ps. i 4 and 7.

To St Basil the intrinsic merits of the psalter need no external justification. But while St Ambrose recognizes them fully he finds an additional reason for regarding the psalter as the flower of the Bible in the fact that Moses had recourse to song after two of the great crises of his life (Exod. xv, Deut. xxxii).

ὑπὲρ δὲ κρυφίων εἴρηται ὁ ψαλμὸς. τούτεστιν ὑπὲρ ἀπορρήτων, καὶ τῶν ἐν μυστηρίῳ κεκρυμμένων.

γενόμενος δὲ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ῥητοῖς τοῦ ψαλμοῦ μαθήσῃ τὸ κεκρυμμένον τῶν λόγων· καὶ ὅτι οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος ἐστὶν ἐνιδεῖν τοῖς θείοις μυστηρίοις ἢ μόνου τοῦ δυναμένου γενέσθαι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἐναρμόνιον ὄργανον ὥστε ἀντὶ ψαλτηρίου κινεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνεργοῦντος αὐτῇ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

In Ps. xlv 1.

Quid est *Pro occultis*? . . . quae autem illa sint occulta in euangelio sancto docemur, dicente Dei Filio quod mysteria sapientiae abscondita sint sapientibus et paruulis reuelata. Haec sunt illa, ni fallor, quae oculus non uidit nec auris audiuit nec in cor hominis ascenderunt quae praeparauit dominus diligentibus eum. Ergo in occulto cordis nostri occulta sapientiae recordamus, non temere aliquibus diuulgemus nisi sacramentorum consortibus quos dominus uocauit ad gratiam suam, qui se in abscondito uult rogari, quoniam solus est qui abscondita et occulta cognoscat. *In Ps.* xlv 1.

The influence of St Ambrose upon succeeding writers.

The correspondence of St Ambrose shews how highly his contemporaries esteemed his exegetical powers. Many of his letters shew that he had been asked to interpret some perplexing passage. But his

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correspondents were not men of literary distinction, and we have therefore no means of knowing how closely they followed him.

The writer in whom we should naturally expect to find most traces of his influence is St Augustine. St Augustine has told how much he owed to the sermons of St Ambrose upon the Bible (*vide supra*, p. 513 n.), and we might therefore expect to find him reproducing his master. But his debt to St Ambrose is general rather than particular.

He accepts a fourfold division of Old Testament Scripture,[1] and dwells on the importance of recognizing where any given passage demands an allegorical interpretation.[2] To take literally a passage which is meant to be understood allegorically is a mark of carnal-mindedness. But he does not surrender himself completely to allegorism. To him it is one valuable line of interpretation, but only one. It is to be adopted where no other method seems to yield satisfactory results.[3] Accordingly many passages are to be interpreted partly historically and partly allegorically.[4] In his writings both upon the Book of Genesis and upon the Psalms he makes full use of the method which he had learned from St Ambrose. But the thought is always his own. I have not been able to notice any certain instance of direct borrowing.

St Ambrose had not sufficient originality to make him an attractive model for successive writers. His strength lay primarily in his conduct of affairs. He was remembered as one who had ruled wisely and firmly in his day, and had valiantly upheld the rights of the Church against aggression in high places, more than as a thinker and a theologian.

But more than any other single figure he established allegorism in the west. He made the Alexandrine method of interpreting the Scriptures familiar to Latin readers. The fact that St Augustine gave it a still wider currency was due primarily to him.

But as a method of interpretation it had its own dangers. Those who used it might easily overrate the value of their own subtleties and treat them as profound divine truths. And allegorism might become so fantastic as to defeat its own ends by exciting the ridicule of the pagans whom it was designed to convert. St Jerome was keenly alive to this possibility, and saw the need of emphasizing the historical sense.[5]

But though allegorism fell somewhat into abeyance immediately after St Ambrose's own time it never died. It revived during the Middle Age, and his influence was probably stronger then than at any earlier period.

R. H. MALDEN.

[1] *De Utilitate Credendi* iii. (Cf. *De Genesi ad Literam* c. II.)

[2] *De Doctr. Chr.* iii 9. (I owe both these references to W. Cunningham *S. Austin*, C.U. Press, 1886). [3] *De Gen. ad Lit.* xi c. 1. [4] *Ib.* viii c. 1.

[5] *Praef.* lib. v *Comm. in Is.* (*P. L.* xxiv 158). Cf. also his commentary on Obadiah (*P. L.* xxv 1097). I owe these references to M. de Labriolle, *op. cit.* p. 207.

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NOTES ON THE *APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS*.

II. The Apostolic Canons.

In the number of the Journal for October 1914, in the first of some 'notes on the Apostolic Constitutions', I tried to emphasize, to a point beyond what previous scholars had done, the ingrained Arianism of the compiler. At the end of that note I expressed the intention of following it up with another on the Apostolic Canons, with special reference to the genuineness of three canons on Baptism; and that intention it is the purpose of the present note to carry out. As I indicated in my former note, the problem with which I am now dealing has been raised, and discussed with his customary brilliance and acuteness, by Prof. Eduard Schwartz[1]; and though I do not agree with his conclusions, and indeed am venturing to offer a quite different solution, it is but fair to say that I am largely dependent upon him for my material.

The Apostolic Canons are preserved for us in several different lines of transmission, of which the following are the chief:—

A. Greek.

(1) In numerous MSS of the Greek Canon Law, among which the oldest are probably the two Patmos MSS POB', POΓ', of about the year A.D. 800; 85 canons without other prologue than some title like *κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων*, but in most or all cases with the same epilogue as is printed just below under no. 2.

(2) In the MSS of the Apostolic Constitutions, at the end of the eighth and last book, but to all appearance as an integral part of it, the same 85 canons, with the same or similar title,[2] and with the following epilogue or conclusion to the whole work: *Ταῦτα καὶ περὶ κανόνων ὑμῖν διατετάχθω παρ' ἡμῶν, ὦ ἐπίσκοποι· ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐμμένοντες [μὲν] αὐτοῖς σωθήσεσθε καὶ εἰρήνην ἕξετε, ἀπειθοῦντες δὲ κολασθήσεσθε καὶ πόλεμον μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀίδιον ἕξετε, δίκην τῆς ἀνηκοΐας τὴν προσήκουσαν τινύντες. θεὸς δὲ ὁ μόνος ἀγέννητος καὶ τῶν ὅλων διὰ Χριστοῦ ποιητὴς πάντας ὑμᾶς διὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἑνώσει, καταρτίσει εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἀτρέπτους ἀμέμπτους ἀνεγκλήτους, καταξιώσει τε τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς σὺν ἡμῖν διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· δι' οὗ ἡ δόξα αὐτῷ τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι τῷ παρακλήτῳ, νῦν τε καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.*

[1] *Ueber die pseudoapostolischen Kirchenordnungen*: von E. Schwartz. (*Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Strassburg.*) K. J. Trübner, Strassburg, 1910.

[2] The original title here was probably *κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοί*.

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(3) In some MSS of the Apostolic Constitutions and in the 'systematic' collection of John Scholasticus—made in the middle of the sixth century and by a long way the earliest form of Greek Canon Law generally accessible[1]—the same 85 canons with the same epilogue, but with the addition of another passage, also in some degree partaking of the nature of a concluding address, after the last of the canons on Baptism, no. 50: *Διδασκέσθω μέντοι ὁ βαπτιζόμενος . . . ὑμεῖς οὖν ὦ ἐπίσκοποι εἰς ἕνα πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τρίτον βαπτίσατε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου γνώμην καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐν πνεύματι διάταξιν.* This passage I printed in *J. T. S.* xv (Oct. 1913) p. 57, and I do not reprint it here, because I shall have occasion lower down to print what I think is clearly a more original form of it, as rendered by Schwartz from Syriac into Greek.

B. LATIN.

(4) In the version or versions of Dionysius Exiguus, made early in the sixth century, only the first 50 canons are included.[2] The title in both forms of the version is INCIPIVNT CAPITVLA CANONVM APOSTOLORVM . . . INCIPIVNT REGVLAE ECCLESIASTICAE SANCTORVM APOSTOLORVM PER CLEMENTEM PROLATAE [+ ECCLESIAE ROMANAE PONTIFICEM Dion-II]; the colophon is EXPLICIVNT CANONES APOSTOLORVM. There is nothing at all in the nature of either prologue or epilogue.

(5) Not yet known when Schwartz wrote in 1910, because it was first published in *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* (I ii 1) in 1913, a Verona fragment of Book viii of the Apostolic Constitutions contains the complete number of the Apostolic Canons, separated from the preceding part of Book viii only by the title REGVLA[E] ECCLESIASTICA[E], and equipped with the same epilogue as the Greek MSS of the Constitutions. The canons are here not numbered, and perhaps were not numbered in their original form; but after the leaf which ends almost at the end of the second canon on baptism (that ordinarily numbered 47) one or possibly two leaves are lost, the next extant leaf commencing in the middle of the 52nd canon. The intervening canons would not cover a whole leaf, and it is therefore fairly clear that the Verona MS once contained something like the insertion *Διδασκέσθω ὁ βαπτιζόμενος* described above under no. 3. If what is here lost is only one leaf, as I assumed in *J. T. S.* xv pp. 56, 58, then the Verona insertion was decidedly shorter than the one described above

[1] The canonical collection known as that of 'the 14 titles' has been edited by a distinguished Russian scholar, Dr Beneschewitch of Petrograd, but it can hardly be said to be as yet accessible in the West. Schwartz speaks with real enthusiasm of the value of Beneschewitch's work.

[2] In the first form of Dionysius's version, these 50 canons are, by a slightly different system of numeration, made into 49: see my *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* I 1–32. But the amount translated is exactly the same.

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from Greek sources: but now that we know through Schwartz's publication from the Syriac (no. 7 below), that all extant Greek sources give what is only an abbreviated and doctored recension of the original insertion, it becomes likely enough that the loss in the Verona MS was one of two leaves, and that the Latin like the Syriac represented the full and highly unorthodox form which I print below. If so, there is really no need to be surprised that some orthodox reader of the MS took offence and removed these pages as obviously unedifying and, if the document were apostolic or even orthodox, obviously spurious.

C. Syriac.

(6) The Apostolic Canons are unfortunately not contained in Schulthess's valuable edition of the Syriac versions of the early Greek Councils. But in fact the collection of early Syriac MSS in the British Museum has preserved three copies of the Apostolic Canons, Add. 12155 fol. 203 *b* (saec. viii), Add. 14526 foll. 4 *b* (saec. vii) and 44 *b* (saec. viii): and I am fortunate enough to possess a series of notes on the text of these copies made for me by the kindness of Mr. E. W. Brooks. In all of these the last three of the four canons which deal with baptism—canons 47, 49, 50—are omitted: and *a fortiori* the passage appended to these canons in no. 3 and probably in no. 5 above, Διδασκέσθω ὁ βαπτιζόμενος, is not found either. The title is 'Ecclesiastical canons of the holy apostles', as in Greek MSS of Canon Law: and just as in the Greek MSS, the epilogue Ταῦτα περὶ κανόνων, with the following doxology, is found also in the Syriac.

(7) Just as in Greek and Latin, so also in Syriac we find the Apostolic Canons preserved not only in their secondary form as a constituent part of Greek Canon Law, but also in their original position as a constituent part of the Apostolic Constitutions. Funk made use of two Syriac authorities for this purpose, one of which, the Nomocanon of Ebed-Jesu,[1] must apparently have drawn its text of the canons directly from a MS (Syriac or Greek) of the complete Constitutions, while the other, the well-known Paris MS from which Lagarde published the Syriac Didascalia, contains the canons and other parts of the eighth book of the Constitutions as books iv–viii of a 'Clementine Octateuch'. Both these Syriac witnesses give the whole number of 85 canons, including (that is) all the four canons on Baptism: both give the epilogue Ταῦτα περὶ κανόνων and doxology: both insert after canon 50 the passage Διδασκέσθω ὁ βαπτιζόμενος. From Funk's apparatus one would have concluded that both give this last passage in the form known to us from John Scholasticus, and published by myself in *J. T. S.* xv 57 from cod. Vat. gr. 1506 of the Constitutions. But it is one great merit of

[1] Accessible in Mai's *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* vol. x.

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Schwartz's tractate that he has retranslated literally into Greek the Syriac of Lagarde's text; and it is clear at once on examination both that this Greek differs widely from the Greek text hitherto known, and also that it is beyond doubt the earlier and purer form of text, of which John Scholasticus and the other Greek witnesses give us a shortened and orthodox recension. For proof of this I print, after Schwartz, but with some slight approximations to the known Greek text, the Greek that appears to underlie Lagarde's Syriac.

Διδασκέσθω μέντοι ὁ βαπτιζόμενος ὅτι **ὁ ἀγέννητος θεὸς**[1] οὔτε ἐσταυρώθη οὔτε γέννησιν ἀνθρώπου ὑπέμεινεν,[2] **ἀβασίλευτος**[3] **ὢν οὐδὲ ἄλλου θελήσει ἢ γνώμῃ**[4] **ὑποχείριος**· οὔτε δὲ **ὁ παράκλητος**[5] ἄνθρωπος ἐγένετο **καὶ οὕτως ἦλθεν**[6] [εἰς τόνδε τὸν κόσμον] ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ πάθος ὑπέστη ὁ ἄσαρκος—οὐ γὰρ ἐσαρκώθη[7] †—[ἐλυτρώσατο δὲ τὸν κόσμον τῆς ἐπικειμένης ὀργῆς] **μόνος** ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός. ἐνηνθρώπησε[8] γὰρ φιλανθρωπίᾳ,[8] ἑαυτῷ ἐκ παρθένου σῶμα ἀναπλάσας (ἡ σοφία γὰρ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον[9]) ὡς δημιουργός,[10] σταυρὸν δὲ ὑπέμεινεν ἑκὼν **συγχωρήσει πατρός,**[11] ἐξείλετο δὲ τὸν κόσμον τῆς ἐπικειμένης ὀργῆς[12] **ὡς ἀρχιερεύς.**[13]

βαπτιζόμεθα οὖν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρός, οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπου γενομένου ἢ παθόντος, **οὐδὲ ὡς ἀρχιερέως τινός,**[13] **ἀλλ' ὡς αὐθέντου**[14] **εὐδοκήσαντος μὲν τῇ γεννήσει συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τὸ πάθος**[15] **προσδεξαμένου δὲ τὴν μεσιτείαν** ‡ **τοῦ ἀρχιερέως**· εἰς δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ υἱοῦ **οὐχ ὡς αὐθέντου, οὐχ ὡς προσδεξαμένου, οὐχ ὡς συγχωρήσαντος, ἀλλ'** ὡς ὑποστάντος γέννησιν,[16] ὡς ὑπομείναντος σταυρόν, ὡς ἀποθανόντος καὶ ἀναστάντος·[17] εἰς δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ **παρακλήτου, οὔτε ὡς πατρὸς οὔτε ὡς υἱοῦ ἀλλ' ὡς μαρτυροῦντος**[18] **τῇ τε εὐδοκίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῇ συγχωρήσει καὶ τῇ ἐν πᾶσιν ὑπακοῇ τοῦ μονογενοῦς.**[19]

οἱ δὲ μὴ οὕτως βαπτίζοντες ὡς ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ μυστήριον τῆς εὐσεβείας καθαιρείσθωσαν. ὁ γὰρ τὸν πατέρα πεπονθέναι λέγων ἀσεβεῖ Ἰουδαίων βαρύτερα, μετὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὸν πατέρα προσηλῶν·[20] ὁ δὲ τὸν **κύριον** ἀρνούμενος[21] δι' ἡμᾶς σαρκωθῆναι καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν ὑπομεῖναι θεομάχος[22] ἐστὶν καὶ τῶν ἁγίων πολέμιος· ὁ δὲ τὸν **παράκλητον** πατέρα ὀνομάζων ἢ υἱὸν ἀνεπιστήμων ἐστὶν [καὶ ἀνόητος], **τὸν διάκονον τοῦ μονογενοῦς συνδημιουργὸν καὶ συμπρονοητὴν**[23] **καὶ συννομοθέτην καὶ συγκριτὴν καὶ συναίτιον** § **τῆς ἀναστάσεως ἢ ἀρχιερέα ὁμότιμον τῷ υἱῷ ἢ τῷ πατρὶ ἀποδεικνύων, ἢ δύο ἀνάρχους δοξάζων ἢ δύο πατέρας λέγων,**[24] **ἀνήκοος τοῦ λέγοντος** Κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστιν.[25] **ταῦτα δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν Σίμων** ὁ μάγος ἐξηρεύξατο σπάσας τὸ πονηρὸν καὶ λαοπλάνον καὶ ἄστατον εἰς ἑαυτὸν πνεῦμα[26] καὶ ἕνα τριώνυμον[27] εἶναι φλυαρήσας τὸν θεόν, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν γέννησιν περικόψας.[28]

† I have kept *οὐ γὰρ ἐσαρκώθη* of the Greek, which suits the context much better than Schwartz's *οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἀρχιερεύς*: and again in the third paragraph I retain *σαρκωθῆναι* with the Greek, where Schwartz gives *ἐνηνθρωπηκέναι*.

‡ I have substituted *μεσιτείαν* for Schwartz's *πρεσβείαν*.

§ I have substituted *συναίτιον* for the *μεσίτην* of Schwartz: cf. *αἴτιον* of the Greek.

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ὑμεῖς οὖν, ὦ ἐπίσκοποι, εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τρίτον βαπτίσατε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου γνώμην καὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐν πνεύματι διάταξιν.

In the above text the words or sentences in heavy type are those which are now for the first time added on the Syriac evidence to the Greek as hitherto known. It is obvious that they completely change the doctrinal complexion of the whole passage, which instead of being orthodox becomes rather definitely Arian. Those who accept the argument of my former Note in *J. T. S.*, 'The compiler an Arian', will not see in this a feature which makes it more difficult to identify the author with the author of the Apostolic Constitutions, but rather the reverse. But in any case it is desirable to shew in some detail the close relationship which exists between the language and thought of both parts of this passage—of the parts common to the Greek and Syriac texts, and of the parts known only from the Syriac—with the language and thought of the Apostolic Constitutions and the pseudo-Ignatian letters. An asterisk distinguishes those words or phrases which are common to the Greek and Syriac texts of our passage.

1. Cf. A. C. vii 41 (Funk 444. 15) βαπτίζομαι εἰς ἕνα ἀγέννητον μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν, and *passim*.

*2. Cf. Ps.-Ign. *Phil.* 3 εἷς γὰρ ὁ ἐνανθρωπήσας, οὔτε ὁ πατὴρ οὔτε ὁ παράκλητος ἀλλὰ μόνον ὁ υἱός.

3. Cf. A. C. viii 5 (474. 2) ὁ μόνος ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀβασίλευτος, viii 12 (496. 19) τὸν μόνον ἀγέννητον καὶ ἄναρχον καὶ ἀβασίλευτον καὶ ἀδέσποτον.

4. Cf. Ps.-Ign. *Phil.* 7 ὁ μήτε γνώμῃ τινὸς μήτε ἐξουσίᾳ εἴκων. Perhaps we ought to read εἴκων in our passage, rather than (with Schwartz) ὑποχείριος. γνώμη (= will) is also one of the words selected in Brightman *Liturgies Eastern and Western* p. xxiv as characteristic of the interpolator of the Didascalia, A. C. books i–vi.

5. Cf. A. C. vi 15 (337. 16) θεὸς . . . Χριστὸς . . . παράκλητος, v 7 (263. 10, 11), and Ps.-Ign. *Philad.* 4 εἷς ἀγέννητος ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, καὶ εἷς μονογενὴς υἱὸς . . . καὶ εἷς ὁ παράκλητος: also *Phil.* 3 quoted above under 2. παράκλητος is a specially characteristic word throughout A. C.: Brightman *op. cit.* p. xxv.

6. A. C. vii 22 (406. 6) τοῦ ἐλθόντος Χριστοῦ.

7. Cf. A. C. viii 12 (506. 27) ἐσαρκώθη ὁ ἄσαρκος.

*8. Cf. A. C. v 5 (245. 6) διὰ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς φιλανθρωπίαν ὑπομείνας . . .

*9. Cf. Ps.-Ign. *Trall.* 10 ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῷ σῶμα ἐκ . . . τῆς παρθένου, *Phil.* 3 ἡ γὰρ σοφία ᾠκοδόμησεν ἑαυτῇ οἶκον, καὶ ἐγεννήθη ὡς ἄνθρωπος . . . μετὰ σώματος ἐκ τῆς παρθένου: *Smyrn.* 2.

*10. Cf. A. C. viii 12 (506. 18) εὐδόκησεν . . . ὁ δημιουργὸς ἀνθρώπου ἄνθρωπος γενέσθαι: vii 23 (408. 11, 12): Ps.-Ign. *Hero* 4 (I owe this reference to Schwartz) ἐκ μόνης τῆς παρθένου . . . ὡς δημιουργῷ.

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11. Cf. A.C. viii 1 (464. 6) *συγχωρήσει θεοῦ σταυρὸν ὑπέμεινεν*, and elsewhere. Ps.-Ign. *Phil.* 7 *σταυρῷ προσηλῶσθαι . . . τίνος συγχωρήσαντος;*

*12. Cf. A. C. viii 12 (506. 21) *τῷ κόσμῳ κατήλλαξεν καὶ τῆς ἐπικειμένης ὀργῆς τοὺς πάντας ἠλευθέρωσεν.*

13. Cf. A.C. viii 46 (560. 30) *τῇ φύσει ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ μονογενὴς Χριστός*, and with *ἀρχιερέως τινός*, 'high priest of any one', 560. 23 *τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχιερέα.* Ps.-Ign. *Smyrn.* 9 *τὸν . . . μόνον τῇ φύσει τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχιερέα, Magn.* 4. Brightman, p. xxv.

14. A. C. v 7 (263. 9) *ἐπὶ αὐθεντίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πατήρ.*

15. A.C. vii 25 (410. 17) *συνεχώρησας παθεῖν . . . εὐδόκησας δοξάσαι*: ii 24 (91. 23) *συνεχώρησεν παθεῖν.*

*16. A. C. vii 36 (434. 2) *ὡς δι' ἡμᾶς γένεσιν ὑπέστη.*

17. Ps.-Ign. *Magn.* 11 *τὸ πάθος ὑποστάντι . . . καὶ σταυρὸν ὑπομείναντι καὶ ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἀναστάντι.*

18. The Holy Spirit as witness is a common thought in A. C., cf. Brightman, p. xxv: e.g. iii 17 (211. 22), vii 22 (406. 6), viii 5 (474. 12).

19. A. C. vii 43 (448. 18) *ὑπήκοον αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ἐν πᾶσι.*

*20. Ps.-Ign. *Phil.* 7 *σταυρῷ προσηλῶσθαι τὸν ἄναρχον.*

*21. A. C. vi 26 (367. 13) *ἀρνοῦνται γὰρ καὶ τὴν κατὰ σάρκα αὐτοῦ γέννησιν, τὸν σταυρὸν ἐπαισχύνονται.* Ps.-Ign. *Phil.* 3 *ὅταν τις ἀρνῆται τὸν σταυρόν*: *Hero* 2.

*22. A. C. vi 5 (309. 16) *ὡς θεομάχοι.* Ps.-Ign. *Trall.* 11 *τὸν σταυρὸν ἀρνούμενοι καὶ τὸ πάθος ἐπαισχυνόμενοι καλύπτουσι τὴν Ἰουδαίων παρανομίαν τῶν θεομάχων.*

23. A. C. vii 36 (434. 28) *τὸν μεσίτην τὸν προνοητὴν τὸν νομοθέτην τὸν ἀναστάσεως αἴτιον.* For the compounds with *σύν* compare A. C. vii 43 (450. 4) *συσταυρωθῆναι καὶ συναποθανεῖν καὶ συνταφῆναι καὶ συναναστῆναι.*

24. A. C. vi 8 (319. 6) *οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἐναντίους ἀνάρχους . . . δοξάζουσιν*, vi 10 (323. 9) *οἱ δὲ τρεῖς ἀνάρχους, οἱ δὲ δύο ἀγεννήτους*: in both contexts Simon is named or implied. Ps.-Ign. *Phil.* 2 *εἷς οὖν θεὸς καὶ πατήρ, καὶ οὐ δύο οὐδὲ τρεῖς . . . οὔτε οὖν τρεῖς πατέρες οὔτε τρεῖς υἱοὶ οὔτε τρεῖς παράκλητοι.*

25. Quoted A. C. ii 6, vi 23: Ps.-Ign. *Phil.* 2, *Ant.* 2.

*26. Ps.-Ign. *Philad.* 5 *ἓν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἴλκυσαν πονηρὸν καὶ ἀπατηλὸν καὶ λαοπλάνον πνεῦμα.*

*27. Ps.-Ign. *Phil.* 2 *οὔτε εἰς ἕνα τριώνυμον.*

*28. A. C. vi 26 (367. 13–16) *ἀρνοῦνται καὶ τὴν κατὰ σάρκα αὐτοῦ γέννησιν . . . τὸ πάθος ἀδοξοῦσι . . . τὴν πρὸ αἰώνων αὐτοῦ γέννησιν περικόπτουσιν.* Ps.-Ign. *Phil.* 4 *τὸ πάθος ἐπαισχύνεσθαι . . . τὴν ἐκ παρθένου γέννησιν περικόπτειν*: *ib.* 5 *τί περίκοπτεις τὴν γέννησιν;*

When these parallels are digested, there will remain I think no doubt

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that the author of the whole passage was one who moved familiarly in the plane of the same ideas and phrases as the editor of the Constitutions and of the interpolated Ignatian epistles. Those who, with myself, believe that the same hand edited the pseudo-Clementine Constitutions and the pseudo-Ignatian epistles, will naturally attribute the same authorship to the passage which has been here under discussion.

D. Egyptian.

Three forms of the Apostolic Canons are known which may be grouped together under this head.

(9) The first of these to be printed was Tattam's *Apostolical Constitutions or Canons of the Apostles in Coptic, with an English translation*, London 1848. The work is what is otherwise known as the Clementine octateuch; it is divided into seven or eight books, each book, from the 2nd to the 7th, bearing an alternative number from 3rd to 8th. The Canons of the Apostles form the last (seventh = eighth) book, under the title 'The Seventh Book of the Canons of our Holy Fathers the Apostles by the hands of Clement, which is the end of the Eighth Book'. The numbering of the canons is not that of the Coptic text, but is borrowed by the editor from the ordinary Greek texts. The four canons 47–50 are omitted: the epilogue and doxology after can. 85 are present. The colophon explains that the whole work has been rendered into the dialect of Lower Egypt from the dialect of Upper Egypt: it is in fact no doubt a translation from the next item on our list. Tattam's MS was acquired by the Royal Library at Berlin (Orient. Q 519).

(10) Lagarde's Sahidic text—printed on p. 209 of his *Aegyptiaca* (Göttingen, 1883), but without any translation into either Latin or German—is taken from a British Museum MS, Or. 1320, to which Lightfoot was the first to call attention: the colophon gives the year 722 of Diocletian, i. e. A.D. 1006. The title implies in Greek something like κανόνες ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων οἱ διὰ Κλήμεντος: the epilogue and doxology are represented in full. The canons are 71 in number, partly because the numeration is independent of the ordinary Greek tradition of the text, partly because between the canon on the reception of heretical baptism or eucharist—ordinarily numbered 46, but in this MS 38—and the canon following—ordinarily numbered 51—the same group of four canons, 47–50, is omitted as in Tattam's book. Of these four the first and the two last deal with baptism, the second with laymen and divorce.

(11) Last of all mention may be made of an Ethiopic edition of the canons: *Canones Apostolorum Aethiopice*, ed. Winandus Fell, Leipzig 1871. The title, epilogue, and doxology are all as in the Sahidic. The canons themselves are 56 in number: between the 33rd and 34th—

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which are identical with the 37th and 38th of the Sahidic—the same group of four canons drops out. At the end of the edition a Latin translation is given.

These three Egyptian and Ethiopic documents do not really constitute more than one authority: even if the Ethiopic is not derived (as very likely it is) from our extant Sahidic, both derive no doubt from only a single source, whether that source was Greek or Syriac. And it is further to be noted that this Egyptian group omits not three canons but four: canon 48, on laymen and divorce, disappears equally with the three canons 47, 49, 50, on baptism. This does not look as though we had here an original text, expanded in our other witnesses by interpolation, but rather an abbreviated or mutilated text in which what has happened was simply that more has been struck out than was strictly necessary for the purpose of the abbreviator.

The explanation offered by Schwartz of the differences between the different forms of text above enumerated is roughly as follows. He distinguishes four scholars as having been at work on the Apostolic Constitutions, the Apostolic Canons, and the pseudo-Ignatian letters. The eight books of the Constitutions (without the Canons) were published after the year 370—for the Christmas festival of December 25 was not known in the East before that date—but not very long after, since the second writer, who composed the Apostolic Canons, knew the Constitutions and refers to them in the last of the Canons,[1] and he himself wrote long enough before the year 394 to be quoted as an authority in the synod held at Constantinople in October of that year: *μὴ χρῆναι πρὸς τὸ ἑξῆς μηδὲ παρὰ τριῶν, μήτιγε παρὰ δύο, τὸν ὑπεύθυνον δοκιμαζόμενον καθαιρεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ πλείονος συνόδου ψήφῳ καὶ τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας, καθὼς καὶ οἱ ἀποστολικοὶ κανόνες διωρίσαντο*: the reference in these phrases being clearly to Ap. Can. 74. A third writer emerges in the interpolator of the Ignatian letters, who wrote after the triumph of the Nicene cause in the East—between the years, I gather Schwartz to mean, 380 and 400. To a fourth writer again Schwartz attributes the three Apostolic canons on Baptism, numbered in the ordinary texts 47, 49, 50, together with the disquisition Διδασκέσθω ὁ *βαπτιζόμενος* in its original form, as now represented only in the Syriac texts: these additional canons were certainly in their present place in the collection before the Council of Chalcedon, possibly before the Council of Ephesus —on a later page (p. 15) Schwartz takes them even further back, 'into the fifth century, if not into the fourth'.

[1] Εὐαγγέλια *τέσσαρα, ὡς καὶ ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν εἴπομεν* [where the reference is to A.C. ii 57 (163. 1) *τὰ εὐαγγέλια ἃ ἐγὼ* Ματθαῖος *καὶ* Ἰωάννης *παρεδώκαμεν ὑμῖν καὶ οἱ συνεργοὶ* Παύλου *παρπληφότες κατέλειψαν ὑμῖν* Λουκᾶς *καὶ* Μάρκος] . . . *καὶ αἱ* Διαταγαὶ *ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις δι' ἐμοῦ* Κλήμεντος *ἐν ὀκτὼ βιβλίοις προσπεφωνημέναι.*

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Schwartz seems to me to have succumbed to a temptation which is not rarely fatal to historical critics. Just as those who approach the history of the early Church from an ecclesiastical point of view tend to regard things centripetally and to overestimate the amount of unity or uniformity that existed beween different individuals or schools or generations, so those who approach it from the critical point of view fall into the opposite danger and exaggerate every element of difference. Documents are resolved into component parts: one writer becomes several: divergences are magnified into irreconcilable enmities: emphasis on one aspect of things is treated as denial of every other or complementary aspect. Schwartz is peculiarly liable to this fault: his profoundly anti-ecclesiastical bias combines with an extraordinary acuteness of critical power to produce a temper in which he sees as it were with the multiplying capacity of a pair of field-glasses the least indication of dogmatic difference, and quite similarly in literary problems leans to the solution which brings into play the largest number of contributors. For myself I believe that the pseudo-Clement of the Constitutions, the pseudo-Ignatius of the Epistles, and the author of all the Apostolic Canons are no more than one and the same person: and I think that Schwartz underestimates, if he does not rather entirely forget, the natural differences and changes which mark or may mark the work of the same scholar at different periods of his life. It is likely enough that even the eight books of the Constitutions were not brought into their present shape all at the same moment: and at the end of this paper I shall venture to submit the conjecture that the true explanation of the bewildering difference between our early authorities for the Canons is that the editor composed them and attached them to the Constitutions in two different forms, the one earlier and shorter, the other longer and later.

It will be convenient here to insert the text of all the canons that refer to Baptism, and for the sake of completeness the one canon which breaks the series (no. 48) will be included.

46. *Ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον αἱρετικῶν δεξαμένους βάπτισμα ἢ θυσίαν, καθαιρεῖσθαι προστάσσομεν· τίς γὰρ συμφώνησις Χριστοῦ πρὸς Βελίαν, ἢ τίς μερὶς πιστῷ μετὰ ἀπίστου;*

47. *Ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος τὸν κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἔχοντα βάπτισμα ἐὰν ἄνωθεν βαπτίσῃ, ἢ τὸν μεμολυσμένον παρὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσῃ, καθαιρείσθω ὡς γελῶν τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου θάνατον καὶ διακρίνων ἱερέας ψευδιερέων.*

48. *Εἴ τις λαϊκὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐκβαλὼν ἑτέραν λάβοι ἄλλου ἀπολελυμένην, ἀφοριζέσθω.*

49. *Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου διάταξιν βαπτίσῃ εἰς πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, ἀλλὰ ἢ εἰς τρεῖς ἀνάρχους ἢ εἰς τρεῖς υἱοὺς ἢ εἰς τρεῖς παρακλήτους, ἀφοριζέσθω.*

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50. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος μὴ τρία βαπτίσματα μιᾶς μυήσεως ἐπιτελέσῃ ἀλλὰ ἓν βάπτισμα τὸ εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου διδόμενον, καθαιρείσθω· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος ἡμῖν Εἰς τὸν θάνατόν μου βαπτίσατε, ἀλλά Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος.

These canons are given in this order in all extant Greek and Latin authorities: the Verona Latin, in which as we have seen (p. 524) there is a lacuna after canon 47, implies the full text just as clearly as the other witnesses, since if 47 is retained there is no reason at all to suppose that 49 or 50 were absent. Of the Syriac texts, one, and that probably the most important of them, also has all the disputed canons, though with small differences of order and number. The presumption is therefore rather strong on external grounds in favour of the genuineness of the ordinary text. What then are the reasons adduced by Schwartz in favour of the contrary conclusion?

1. A large number of the Oriental witnesses omit these canons—Syriac, Sahidic, and Ethiopic: the Syriac authorities for omission being as ancient as the seventh and eighth centuries. And the omission of genuine canons is less likely than the insertion of spurious ones.

But it is doubtful how far these Eastern texts are independent of one another; and though omission may be in itself less likely than insertion, we have the parallel of the treatment of the last canon of Nicaea in the Latin texts—this canon, against kneeling at Eastertide, is absent from half a dozen of the oldest authorities—to warn us that omission becomes possible enough as soon as there is a motive for it. In the case in point the omission may possibly have been due to the attitude adopted in canon 47 towards heretical baptism.

2. The 48th canon as it stands interrupts very strangely the sequence of the four canons dealing with Baptism—all of them addressed to bishops and presbyters—by a canon dealing with alien subject-matter and addressed to the laity.

This is true enough; but if there is one thing more characteristic than another of the whole code of the 85 Apostolic Canons, it is their extraordinarily haphazard and unsystematic arrangement. It looks as if the author had simply jotted down from time to time, as each new thought struck him, an additional canon or group of canons, regardless of its logical place in the series. Take for instance canons 76–82: the first four of these deal with disqualifications for ordination; the halt and maimed may become a bishop but not the blind or dumb, the demoniac may not become a cleric, the neophyte may not become a bishop: then comes canon 80, to the effect that bishop and presbyter may not undertake public offices, harking back to canon 7: but canon 81 returns to the disqualifications for ordination, forbidding it to slaves

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save after emancipation: and canon 82 once more returns to the subject of canon 80, the competing claims of the government service and of clerical duty. The parallel with canons 46–50 is sufficiently close.

And against these arguments of Schwartz there are others to be set based on internal evidence, which converge to the same result as that to which on external evidence alone we should arrive.

I have shewn how intimately intertwined the dogmatic passage *Διδασκέσθω ὁ βαπτιζόμενος* is in its whole texture with both the Apostolic Constitutions and the pseudo-Ignatian epistles. The same relation is to be found in the three disputed canons, and common authorship is again the obvious solution. With canon 47 compare the following from A. C. vi 15 (337. 10–25): *βαπτίσματι ἑνὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι μόνῳ τῷ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου θάνατον δεδομένῳ . . . τῷ παρὰ τῶν ἀμέμπτων ἱερέων δεδομένῳ εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος· μήτε δὲ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν δεκτὸν ὑμῖν ἔστω, μήτε τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὁσίων ἀκυροῦσθω διὰ δευτέρου. ὡς γὰρ εἷς ὁ θεὸς καὶ εἷς ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ εἷς ὁ παράκλητος* [cf. can. 49] *. . . οὐ γάρ εἰσιν ἐκεῖνοι ἱερεῖς . . . οὔτε μὴν οἱ βαπτισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν μεμύηνται ἀλλὰ μεμολυσμένοι ὑπάρχουσιν . . . ἀνασταυροῦσιν τὸν Κύριον . . . γελῶσιν τὰ θεῖα.* For canon 49 compare the parallel phrases about the Eucharist in A. C. viii 12 (510. 5) *κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν*, and about Baptism, with a similar reference to Matt. xxviii 19, A. C. vii 22 (406. 2) *ὡς ὁ Κύριος διετάξατο ἡμῖν*: for the *τρεῖς ἀνάρχους* see the references to A. C. and ps.-Ign. collected under no. 24 on p. 528 above. The matter is a little different with canon 50, since the Constitutions are stuffed full of allusions to baptism as 'baptism into the Lord's death',[1] following Rom. vi 3: but the full baptismal formula of Matt. xxviii 19 is throughout implied and often expressed: A. C. iii 16 (211. 13), vi 15 (337. 12), vii 22 (406. 3), vii 40 (444. 7), and the writer of the Constitutions, though his terminology is that of a school which laid stress on this aspect of baptism and prepared the way for the substitution of a baptism 'into the Lord's death' as the actual formula,[2] certainly did not contemplate such a substitution

[1] A. C. ii 7 (43. 15), iii 17 (211. 18), v 7 (263. 9), v 16 (285. 22), vi 15 (337. 17), vi 23 (361. 8), vii 22 (406. 22), vii 25 (412. 6), viii 8 (484. 1). Ps.-Ign. *Phil.* 1. Of all these passages there is only one which even seems to suggest that baptism into the Lord's death had anything to do with the formula, A. C. v 7, but there, too, the Trinitarian formula is obviously implied, and an explanation of it is given on the lines of the writer's theology, *μαθητεῦσαι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ βαπτίσαι εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον ἐπὶ αὐθεντίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ πατήρ, καὶ μαρτυρίᾳ πνεύματος, ὅς ἐστιν παράκλητος.*

[2] This became a practice of the extreme Arians: Conc. Constant. can. 7 (A. D. 382) *Εὐνομιανοὺς τοὺς εἰς μίαν κατάδυσιν βαπτιζομένους*: Philostorgius *H. E.* x *ἐβάπτιζον οἱ περὶ Εὐνόμιον οὐκ εἰς τρεῖς καταδύσεις ἀλλ' εἰς μίαν, εἰς τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Κυρίου βαπτίζοντες, ὃν ἅπαξ μὲν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ δὶς ἢ τρὶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀνεδέξατο*: Socrates

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himself, and could quite honestly condemn it. It should be noted also how fond he is of the use of *μυέω* and *μύησις* in connexion with baptism.[1]

Nor is this dependence upon the Constitutions anything peculiar to the three suspect canons and the dogmatic passage which is bound up with them. With the canons of Antioch and the canons of Laodicea the Constitutions form a third main source of the Apostolic Canons. The following canons appear to depend directly on the Constitutions:—

can. 1	A. C. iii 20 (217. 12), viii 27 (530. 2).[2]
can. 8	A. C. v 17 (287. 10–15).
can. 17	A. C. vi 17 (339. 29–341. 2).
can. 18	A. C. vi 17 (341. 7–9).
can. 26	A. C. vi 17 (341. 3–7).
can. 33 *b*	A. C. vii 28 (414. 15, 16: 416. 4, 5).
can. 51	A. C. vi 10 (323. 10, 11), vi 11 (325. 21–24).
can. 52	A. C. ii 24 (91. 14–16), ii 13 (51. 5–7).
can. 53	A. C. v 18 (289. 10–12), v 19 (293. 13), v 20 (301. 3–5).
can. 60	A. C. vi 16 (339. 12–14).
can. 64[3]	A. C. v 20 (301. 1, 2), v 14 (281. 2, 3), vii 23 (408. 7–10).
can. 65	A. C. ii 61 (175. 26).
can. 69	A. C. v 13 (271. 1), Lent fast; v 20 (299. 20), vii 23 (408. 3), Wednesday and Friday fast.
can. 79	A. C. viii 32 (534. 20–22).

In some of these instances the resemblance is so close that the parallel text in the Constitutions is of decisive weight in estimating the probabilities of one or another 'varia lectio' in the text of the Canons. Thus in canon 26 the evidence is divided between *τῶν εἰς κλῆρον παρελθόντων* and *τῶν εἰς κλῆρον προσελθόντων* and *τῶν εἰς κλῆρον προελθόντων*: and the MSS are similarly divided in the source from which the canon is derived: but both in vi 17 and in the canon the best MSS agree on *παρελθόντων*. Or again in canon 64 the Greek MSS (except Vat. gr. 1506) read *πλὴν τοῦ ἑνὸς μόνου*, but the Verona Latin 'excepto uno': and we find that the latter reading is demonstrated to be correct by its agreement with the 'source' in A. C. v 20 *πᾶν σάββατον ἄνευ τοῦ ἑνός*.

But further the phraseology of the Canons is the phraseology of the

H. E. v 24, some Eunomians *τὸ βάπτισμα παρεχάραξαν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς τὴν Τριάδα ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν Χριστοῦ βαπτίζουσι θάνατον.*

[1] In the sixth, seventh, and eighth books of A. C.: vi 15 (337. 22, 24), vii 22 (406. 22), vii 25 (412. 10), vii 39 (440. 12), vii 42 (448. 12), viii 6 (478. 27, 480. 19), viii 8 (484. 1, 9), viii 15 (520. 3), viii 34 (542. 11).

[2] Note that the 5th canon of Nicaea is not the source, for it speaks of three bishops, whereas both Constitutions and Canons speak of 'two or three'.

[3] The older editions give canons 64–66 in wrong order, 65, 66, 64.

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Constitutions, even where we cannot say that a particular passage of the one depends directly on a particular passage of the other. With the language of cann. 9, 51, 63, Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος ἢ διάκονος ἢ [ὅλως] ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ compare A. C. iii 15 (209. 3) μήτε οὖν ἐπίσκοπος μήτε πρεσβύτερος μήτε διάκονος μήτε ἄλλος τις ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ. With canon 20 Κληρικὸς ἐγγύας διδοὺς καθαιρείσθω compare A. C. ii 6 (39. 11) ἔστω δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος . . . μὴ ἐγγυώμενός τινα. With canon 22 αὐτοφονευτὴς γάρ ἐστιν cf. A. C. viii 2 (468. 16) καὶ Καϊάφας ὕστερον αὐτοφονευτὴς ἑαυτοῦ γέγονεν. With canon 29 ὡς Σίμων ὁ μάγος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ Πέτρου cf. A. C. iv 7 (227. 28) ἀλλὰ καὶ Σίμων ὁ μάγος ἐμοὶ Πέτρῳ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ. With canon 30 κοσμικοῖς ἄρχουσι cf. A. C. ii 45 (141. 3) κοσμικοὺς ἄρχοντας, vi 10 (325. 2) τοὺς κοσμικοὺς ἄρχοντας. Of canon 37 the main structure is derived from Antioch can. 20; but several phrases are independent of the Antiochene canon, and with τὰ δόγματα τῆς εὐσεβείας compare A. C. iii 5 (189. 23) τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας δόγματα, with ἀντιλογίας διαλυέτωσαν A. C. ii 45 (141. 6) τὰς ἀντιλογίας διαλῦσαι. So in the next canon the Antiochene model has τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων, but the copy τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων, and ἐκκλησιαστικός is a favourite word of the Constitutions: cf. A. C. ii 35 (121. 14) διοικητὴν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων. And quite similarly in canon 40 τὰ κυριακά is substituted for the Antiochene τὰ διαφέροντα τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ: cf. A. C. ii 25 (93. 17) τοῖς κυριακοῖς κεχρήσθω and (95. 2) χρώμενοι ἐκ τῶν κυριακῶν. In canon 61 use is made of a word ἀπηγορευμένης (πράξεως) of which the editor of the Constitutions is very fond in this sort of connexion, e. g. iv 7 (227. 24) ἑκάτερα γὰρ τοῖς νόμοις ἀπηγόρευται: i 3 (13. 2) ἐπείπερ καὶ ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει is very like canon 63 τοῦτο γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἀπεῖπεν. With canon 73 παράνομον γάρ compare the similar turns in which the same word is employed in A. C. ii 49 (145. 26) παράνομον γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον, iii 9 (201. 1) ἐπισφαλὲς γάρ, μᾶλλον δὲ παράνομον καὶ ἀσεβές: ps.-Ign. *Magn.* 7 τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτον παράνομον. And with the last words of can. 81 κατὰ τὴν κυριακὴν παρακέλευσιν compare the last words of a sentence in A. C. ii 44 (139. 12) κατὰ τὴν κυριακὴν θέσιν.

Last of the passages belonging to the Canons comes the final epilogue and doxology (see p. 523 above). When the relation between this and the Constitutions is established by the same method of argument as that employed up to this point, we shall have brought every part of the document before us into line.

1. **ταῦτα περὶ κανόνων ὑμῖν διατετάχθω παρ' ἡμῶν.** A. C. viii 15 (520. 28) ταῦτα περὶ τῆς μυστικῆς λατρείας διατασσόμεθα ἡμεῖς οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὑμῖν.

2. **ὦ ἐπίσκοποι.** So in A. C. ii 54 (153. 34), iv 2 (219. 17), vi 1 (303. 3).

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3. **ἐμμένοντες** [*sc.* *τοῖς κανόσιν*]. A. C. viii 46 (556. 11) *ἐμμένειν τῇ τάξει τῇ δοθείσῃ.*

4. **θεὸς ὁ μόνος ἀγέννητος.** A. C. vii 41 (444. 15) *εἰς ἕνα ἀγέννητον μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν*: viii 5 (474. 1) *ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ ὁ μόνος ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀβασίλευτος*: viii 6 (480. 5) *τῷ μόνῳ ἀγεννήτῳ θεῷ.*

5. **τῶν ὅλων διὰ Χριστοῦ ποιητής.** A. C. viii 37 (544. 18) *ὁ τῶν ὅλων ποιητὴς διὰ Χριστοῦ καὶ κηδεμών.*

6. **ἀτρέπτους ἀμέμπτους ἀνεγκλήτους.** A. C. viii 5 (476. 11), viii 11 (492. 18), viii 12 (514. 6), viii 18 (524. 7), viii 41 (552. 16): a favourite tag of the Constitutions.

7. **καταξιώσει τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς.** A. C. viii 9 (486. 12–14) *καταξιωθῶσιν . . . τύχωσιν τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς.*

8. **διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας.** A. C. viii 13 (514. 16) *διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.*

9. **τοῦ ἠγαπημένου παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰ. Χ.** A. C. viii 5 (474. 23) *τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ σου παιδὶ Ἰ. Χ.*

10. **Ι. Χ. τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.** A. C. viii 1 (460. 4) *τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν* I. X.

11. **δι' οὗ ἡ δόξα αὐτῷ . . . ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι τῷ παρακλήτῳ.** A. C. viii 73 (546. 11), corrected in accordance with cod. Vat. 1506 (Funk's *d*), *δι' οὗ σοι καὶ ἡ ἐπάξιος ὀφείλεται προσκύνησις . . . ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ τῷ παρακλήτῳ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.*

12. **τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων θεῷ καὶ πατρί.** A. C. i 8 (21. 18) *τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ κεφαλὴ ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ*: iii 17 (213. 1) *πατὴρ ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός*: vi 26 (369. 2). Ps.-Ign. *Tars.* 2 *οἱ δέ, ὅτι αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων θεός*: *Phil.* 7.

The process of argument has been long and perhaps tedious: but it leads to a clear result. All parts and portions of the Apostolic Canons, including the doubtful canons and the two epilogues—both that attached in some authorities to canon 50 and that attached to canon 85—shew everywhere the same intimate relation with the style and language of the Constitutions and, where opportunity of comparison offers itself, of the pseudo-Ignatian letters. The whole body of this literature comes from the same workshop, if not (as I myself prefer to believe) from the same pen.

But how then can we explain the presence in the middle of the series of the 85 canons of the lengthy doctrinal disquisition which follows the group of canons on Baptism? There is no question that it is out of place where it stands: it breaks into the continuous series of canons, while itself partaking rather of the nature of a summary and conclusion. I cannot see that Dr Schwartz has really made any attempt to solve the literary problem: for it is no solution to say that it, together with the three canons which go with it, 'was added in the margin and found its

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way into the series of canons'. There is room for a solution which will explain the breach of continuity and at the same time preserve the unity of authorship.

I venture to propose the view that the writer or editor of the Canons (that is, as I think, the editor of the whole book of the Constitutions) drew up the series of canons in two recensions—first a series of 50, closed with the passage Διδασκέσθω μέντοι, and later on a larger series of 85, closed with the epilogue and doxology Ταῦτα περὶ κανόνων. Whether in the later recension the passage Διδασκέσθω was retained or omitted, I should not like to say: if this recension was posterior to the accession of Theodosius and triumph of the Nicene cause, it is possible that the author thought it wise to suppress a profession of faith so highly Arian, particularly as it occupied a position as the conclusion of the whole work where it could hardly escape attention.

Now too for the first time the riddle of the version of Dionysius Exiguus is explained. Why should Dionysius have translated only fifty of the canons, if he had more in his hands? His preface refers expressly to people who refused to admit the authority of these canons, but he speaks throughout as though he was producing a complete translation.[1] Prof. Schwartz indeed considers that he has himself cleared up the difficulty: Dionysius found the passage Διδασκέσθω in his Greek MS and broke off the work of translation, because the colour of the passage was too obviously heretical. We should all agree that Dionysius would hardly have served up to the pope a faithful version of Διδασκέσθω in its genuine form as a work of the holy apostles. But nothing would have been simpler than just to omit the passage, which after all was in no sense a 'canon', and go on to translate the rest of the series. That Dionysius should have rendered into Latin the canons rejecting heretical baptism—which baptism the Roman Church, as we know, accepted—shews that he was an honest workman: and when he says that he translated 'the canons' of the apostles, I entertain no doubt that he translated the whole series that lay before him. Doubtless the epilogue Διδασκέσθω was also before him, and it is certain that he omitted it: but he did exactly the same with regard to non-canonical material for the remaining councils. No Latin canonical collection is so rigid in its limitation of its subject-matter: no other one for instance omits, as Dionysius does, the Nicene Creed. Even if the orthodox recast

[1] Preface to his second edition (Maassen, p. 961) 'In principio itaque canones qui dicuntur apostolorum de graeco transtulimus, quibus quia plurimi consensum non praebuere facilem, hoc ipsum vestram noluimus ignorare Sanctitatem': preface to his third edition (*ib.* p. 965) 'Canones autem qui dicuntur apostolorum, et Serdicensis concilii atque Africanae provinciae, quos non admisit universitas, ego quoque in hoc opere praetermisi, quia . . . et hos in illa prima digessi translatione, et vestra Paternitas auctoritatem qua tenentur ecclesiae orientales quaesivit agnoscere.'

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of Διδασκέσθω that we meet in John Scholasticus had lain before Dionysius (and it is possible that it did), we may be quite sure that it would have been excluded from his Latin version of the Greek Canon Law.

But I cannot close this paper without expressing once more my sense of the debt under which all students of the subject lie towards Prof. Schwartz for the very remarkable essay, one part of which it has fallen to my lot in this paper to criticize. One may agree with Schwartz, or one may disagree with him; but one can never neglect him. It is safe to say of any work of his that it is not written at second-hand, but that it is original, in the best sense of the word, from beginning to end.

C. H. TURNER.

UN TEXTE PEU REMARQUÉ DE SAINT AUGUSTIN SUR LE CANON DE LA MESSE.

QUE peut-on savoir du contenu du canon de la messe en Afrique au temps de saint Augustin? J'ai touché à cette question dans mon livre *L'Eucharistie* (1913) pp. 430–433. Sans avoir connu le travail de W. C. Bishop, 'The African Rite', publié par le *Journal of Theological Studies* t. xiii (1912) pp. 250–277, j'avais cité les mêmes textes d'Augustin que cite M. Bishop et qui jettent quelque lumière sur le point à éclaircir[1]: *De Trinitate* iii 21; *Epistula* cxlix 16; *Sermo* ccxxvii; *Sermo inedit.* vi 3. J'avais cité ailleurs (p. 425) le *Sermo* cclxxii, que cite M. Bishop, mais qui a moins directement trait au canon. De ces divers textes d'Augustin le plus explicite est celui du *Sermo inedit.* vi 3. Augustin y dessine les grandes lignes de l'anaphore africaine: d'abord la salutation *Dominus vobiscum*, le *Sursum cor*[*da*], et le *Domino Deo nostro gratias agamus.* A la fin, la 'dominica oratio' pour clôturer l'action, les 'acta', comme s'exprime Augustin. Entre ces préludes et le Pater se place la prière consécratoire, qu'Augustin rappelle en termes imprécis, parce qu'il adresse le sermon à des catéchumènes:

Et inde iam (*suppléer*: sequuntur) quae aguntur in precibus sanctis, quas audituri estis, ut accedente verbo fiat corpus et sanguis Christi. Nam tolle verbum, panis est et vinum. Adde verbum, et iam aliud est. Et ipsum aliud quid est? Corpus Christi et sanguis Christi.

[1] Rapprochez Dom Cabrol, article 'Afrique' (Liturgie postnicéenne), du *Dictionn. d'arch. chr. et de liturgie* t. i (1907) pp. 635–636. F. Mone *Lateinische und griechische Messen* (1890) pp. 90–101.

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Tolle ergo verbum, panis est et vinum. Adde verbum, et fiet sacramentum. Ad hoc dicitis : Amen . . . Deinde dicitur dominica oratio . . .

Dans ce texte, on relèvera l'expression *aguntur*, qui peut avoir une valeur, si, comme il est probable, elle répond au mot liturgique *agenda* synonyme africain de messe.[1] On relèvera l'expression *quae aguntur in precibus sanctis*, entendant par *preces sanctae* le contenu même du canon, la prière eucharistique ou consécratoire. *Preces sanctae quas audituri estis* : les catéchumènes auxquels s'adresse Augustin n'ont jamais encore entendu ces prières saintes, puisqu'ils n'assistent pas aux saints mystères ; mais un jour viendra où ils les entendront, et ils les entendront parce que bien évidemment elles sont prononcées à haute et intelligible voix, tout comme le *Dominus vobiscum* ou le *Sursum corda*, l'usage n'étant pas encore que l'officiant les prononce dans le secret.[2] *Adde verbum, accedente verbo*, une parole efficace est prononcée, qui fait du pain le corps et du vin le sang du Christ. Qu'est ce *verbum* tout-puissant ?

Augustin ne le dit pas. Mais au sujet du baptême Augustin a écrit : 'Sanctitas sacramenti verbis euangelicis consecrata' (*De bapt. contra Donat.* iii 19 ; cf. iv 16 et v 27). On peut conjecturer que la sanctification du pain et du vin est opérée pareillement par le prononcé de paroles évangéliques, et ces paroles ne sauraient être que celles de l'institution de la cène. Cependant, ce silence d'Augustin ne laissait pas d'être embarrassant, encore qu'il s'expliquât au mieux par la règle que s'impose Augustin de ne pas découvrir les saints mystères aux catéchumènes.

Un texte d'Augustin n'a pas été remarqué qui nous apporte le mot de cette énigme. Ce texte se trouve dans le *Contra litteras Petiliani*, c'est-à-dire dans un traité qui date de l'an 400 environ. Petilianus, évêque donatiste de Cirta, a écrit une grande lettre à ses ouailles contre le catholicisme. Il nie la validité du baptême catholique, il nie par surcroît le sacerdoce catholique. Il argumente *a pari*, il demande : Est-ce que la justice est rendue par un homme qui n'est pas magistrat municipal ? '*Numquid ius dicit, qui non est curiae magistratus ?*' (ii 66). Et de même celui-là est-il *sacerdos*, qui, sachant de mémoire les formules sacerdotales, les prononce d'une bouche sacrilège[3] ?

Aut si quisquam carmina sacerdotis memoriter teneat, numquid inde sacerdos est, quod ore sacrilego carmen publicat sacerdotis (ii 68, éd. Petschenig, p. 58) ?

[1] *Concil. Carthaginen.* ii (c. 387-390), can. 9 : '. . . presbyteri qui . . . in domiciliis agant agendam. . . . Quisquis presbyter . . . agendam . . . voluerit celebrare. . . .'

[2] Sur l'usage de prononcer en secret le canon de la messe, usage attesté pour la première fois par l'*Ordo Romanus* ii, voyez Thalhofer-Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der kathol. Liturgik* (1912) t. ii p. 139.

[3] Rapprochez Plin. *Epistul. ad Traian.* 13 (éd. Kukula, p. 271) '. . . ut iure sacerdotii precari deos pro te publice possim, quos nunc precor pietate privata.'

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Petilianus suppose un personnage qui sait par cœur les formules liturgiques et que l'on croit *sacerdos* parce qu'il les prononce. Remarquez l'ambiguïté voulue des termes dont se sert Petilianus. *Sacerdos* peut s'entendre d'un évêque, mais aussi bien d'un prêtre païen, encore que en 400 il ne dût plus se rencontrer couramment de sacerdoces païens en exercice.[1] *Carmen sacerdotis* n'est pas un terme chrétien. Au contraire, *carmen* est le terme qui s'impose pour désigner les formules sacrées dont se servaient les sacerdoces païens dans les cérémonies du culte païen.[2] On sait d'ailleurs combien la liturgie du paganisme romain tenait à l'exacte récitation des formules sacerdotales: 'Quia generis certi hostias certis ius est consecrare numinibus *certaque et supplicamenta praestari*', a dit Arnobe (*Adv. nat.* vii 21).[3] On pourrait donc croire que Petilianus a voulu tirer sa comparaison de ce qui se passe dans le culte païen. Mais cette interprétation a contre elle la manière dont Augustin a ici-même compris Petilianus: pour Augustin, il n'y a pas de doute que Petilianus a voulu parler du culte catholique. Et on réalise bien, en effet, Petilianus parlant de la messe catholique comme d'une cérémonie païenne, puisque, pour un Donatiste, tout Catholique, fût-il évêque, est un païen.[4] Petilianus aura donc choisi méchamment les termes les plus exactement païens pour décrire la messe catholique: *carmen* et *carmina sacerdotis* sont des termes qui désigneront les *preces sanctae* de la messe. La preuve en est bien que le personnage qui les usurpe ne le fait pas sans sacrilège, '*ore sacrilego carmen publicat sacerdotis*'.[5]

Ainsi, voici désignée la célébration des saints mystères: une prière sacerdotale, *carmen*, récitée par cœur, *memoriter*, ce qui suppose que le texte en est fixé, invariable, récité à haute et intelligible voix, *carmen publicat sacerdotis*.

[1] Augustin. *Contra epistulam Parmeniani* i, 19 (éd. Petschenig, p. 39) 'Inhiberi etiam sacrificia sub terrore capitali'.

[2] Macrob. *Saturnal.* ix, 6–8 (éd. Eyssenhardt, p. 187) 'Nam repperi in libro quinto rerum reconditarum Sammonici Sereni utrumque carmen, quod ille se in cuiusdam Furii vetustissimo libro repperisse professus est. Est autem carmen huius modi, quo di evocantur, cum oppugnatione civitas cingitur: Si deus, si dea est . . .' Cf. G. Wissowa *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (1902) p. 32, qui renvoie lui-même à la dissertation de R. Peter, *De Romanorum precationum carminibus*, parue dans les *Commentationes philol. in honorem A. Reifferscheidii* (1884).

[3] Cf. Arnob. *ibid.* iv (éd. Reifferscheid, p. 166) 'Si in caerimoniis vestris . . . per imprudentiae lapsum aut in verbo quispiam aut simpuvio deerrarit . . .' Le *simpuvium* est la coupe de libation.

[4] Augustin. *De baptismo contra Donatistas* ii 10 (éd. Petschenig, p. 185). Cf. Optat. iii 11 (éd. Ziwsa, p. 98) '. . . unicuique audetis dicere: Gai Sei, Gaia Seia, adhuc paganus es aut pagana.'

[5] Le sacrilège consiste à usurper le *carmen sacerdotis* quand on n'est pas *sacerdos*. Le mot *publicat* s'entend de l'action de 'far sapere a tutti, rivelare', comme traduit Forcellini, *s.v.*

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Il reste à savoir ce que contient ce *carmen*, Augustin en répondant à Petilianus va enfin nous le dire. Il lui répond, en effet :

Et tamen, ut eo quoque simili utar quod ipse posuisti, si audias ab aliquo vel profano precem sacerdotis verbis et mysteriis euangelicis conformatam, numquid potes ei dicere : 'Non est vera', quamvis ipse non solum verus non sit, sed etiam nullus sacerdos sit ? . . . Cur nos, apud quemlibet invenerimus quod Christi est et verum est, etiamsi ille apud quem invenitur perversus et fallax est, non discernimus vitium quod homo habet et veritatem quam non suam sed Dei habet, et dicimus : 'Sacramentum hoc verum est' ? (ii 69, p. 59.)

Augustin raisonne ainsi : Je me servirai du cas que tu as imaginé, je supposerai que tu entends la *precem sacerdotis* prononcée par quelqu'un qui n'est point *sacerdos*, qui est dans ce sens un profane. Pourras-tu dire à ce profane que la prière qu'il prononce n'est pas la prière sacerdotale authentique, alors qu'elle l'est ? Ce profane n'est pas un *verus sacerdos*, il est même *nullus sacerdos*, mais la prière sacerdotale n'en sera-t-elle pas authentique pour cela ? Il est un pervers qui veut nous tromper, d'accord ; mais nous devons distinguer le mensonge de cet homme et la vérité de Dieu, et nous devons dire : Les paroles sacramentelles qu'il prononce sont authentiques.

Il suit de là que la prière sacerdotale n'est pas une prière laissée à l'improvisation du célébrant, c'est une prière reconnaissable, donc invariable, comme le *carmen sacerdotis* que Petilianus supposait su par cœur, *memoriter*. Ce que Petilianus appelait *carmen sacerdotis*, Augustin l'appelle *precem sacerdotis*. Cette prière sacerdotale est qualifiée par Augustin '*precem sacerdotis verbis et mysteriis euangelicis conformatam*'. Nous entendrons qu'elle est conforme aux paroles et aux gestes évangéliques, elle est une reproduction, une répétition, des paroles et des gestes de la cène.[1] Nous entendrons par gestes le *benedixit*, le *fregit*, de la cène ; par paroles, les paroles de l'institution. Voilà pourquoi Augustin peut dire que, là où nous retrouvons la '*precem sacerdotis*', nous retrouvons '*quod Christi est*' et '*veritatem Dei*'.

On voit aussitôt l'exacte correspondance du langage d'Augustin et du langage de saint Ambroise, car Ambroise, parlant de la consécration, disait : '. . . *verba ipsa Domini Salvatoris operantur*'. Il l'appelait '*benedictionem verborum caelestium*'.[2] Augustin et Ambroise ont en vue un même type de prière.

PIERRE BATIFFOL.

[1] Rapprochez *Contra litt. Petiliani* ii 11 (p. 29) '. . . pessimo capiti conformemur', avec le sens de 'similem reddere, aptare, cum dativo vel ad.' *Thesaurus linguae latinae* t. iv (1906) p. 249.

[2] *Eucharistie* pp. 336–337.

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THE ORDINATION PRAYER FOR A PRESBYTER IN THE CHURCH ORDER OF HIPPOLYTUS.

THE admirable paper which Dr Frere contributed to the April number of the JOURNAL has strengthened the reasons for referring to Hippolytus the authorship of the earliest Ordinal known to us—a brief tract which has come down to us in the original Greek only in the altered and barely recognizable form into which the compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions worked up his ancient material, but in other languages has been preserved with a good deal more fidelity. For the purpose of the present note, however, it is indifferent whether the document is really, as I myself now believe, traceable to Hippolytus, or whether the true author is unknown. It is enough to say that the treatise was certainly written in Greek, and certainly written at some time within the third century.

Of the texts which have preserved the document in translations, the most valuable is undoubtedly the Latin palimpsest, no. LV among the MSS of the great Chapter Library at Verona, the under writing of which, attributed to the beginning of the sixth century, was deciphered by E. Hauler and published by him in 1900.[1] Next in importance appears to be the Ethiopic, published in Mr Horner's *Statutes of the Apostles* (London 1904) pp. 138–147: and this has the advantage of completeness, whereas the Latin unfortunately breaks off near the end of the ordination of deacons, so that the sections on confessors, widows, and the minor orders are entirely absent. But this defect again is of no moment for my immediate purpose, which is concerned only with the ordination prayers for bishop and presbyter.

Those who attribute any great authority to the so-called Canons of Hippolytus are naturally much impressed with the statement made in them that 'the bishop's prayer shall be said over him[2] entire, except the name "bishop" only. The bishop is in all respects the equivalent of the presbyter except in regard to the throne and ordination, because [the presbyter] was not given authority to ordain'. But these Canons are a very secondary authority, a version of a version, not only late in their present Arabic dress but also certainly not earlier than the fourth century in their substance. They represent Hippolytus at one stage at least further from the original than the Latin and Ethiopic, which are

[1] *Didascaliae Apostolorum fragmenta Veronensia Latina: accedunt canonum qui dicuntur Apostolorum et Aegyptiorum reliquiae.* Primum edidit E. Hauler. (Lipsiae 1900.) Our tract commences on p. 101.

[2] That is, over the candidate for ordination to the presbyterate.

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independent renderings of the same third-century original. And if we turn to their evidence, we shall see at once that what they say is something quite different from the 'Canons of Hippolytus', but yet something which might easily be misunderstood as the compiler of the Canons has misunderstood it.

Latin (Hauler, p. 108)	Ethiopic (Horner, p. 143)
et dicat secundum ea quae praedicta sunt, sicut praediximus super episcopum, orans et dicens **Deus et pater domini nostri Iesu Christi respice super servum tuum istum . . .**	and [they] shall pray over him; in the form which we said before he shall pray, saying **My God, the Father of our Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, look down upon this thy servant . . .**

Now both these authorities agree in representing an original Greek which gave two, on the surface, contradictory directions—namely to do as before directed in the case of a bishop, and also to say a prayer which is not the prayer directed to be said for a bishop at all. Little wonder that the Canons of Hippolytus selected out of two apparently inconsistent directions the first and simpler, and dropped the other entirely. But if we look a little closer, we shall perhaps find reason to think that the two directions are not as inconsistent as they seem.

The true solution of the problem had presented itself to me before I lit upon the parallel which I am now going to adduce: but it seems to me quite illuminating, and I think therefore that it will smoothe the way for my argument if I put it before my readers at once. In the Gregorian Sacramentary, as just re-edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society by my colleague Mr H. A. Wilson, there is a long prayer for the consecration of a bishop at the outset of the collection (p. 5), and at the end of the original collection (as sent to Charles the Great by Pope Hadrian) there is a prayer for the ordination of a pope (p. 143). But the latter consists of only half a dozen lines, because *the greater part of the earlier prayer is to be repeated without alteration*, and only at certain points in the second half of the prayer does a change in the language become necessary: and it is only for these few clauses that additional or alternative forms are given when the ordinand is being consecrated to the see of Rome. The rubric in fact runs 'Oratio ad pontificem ordinandum: quae addi debeat in consecratione cuius initium est **Deus honorum omnium**, ad locum **et idcirco huic famulo tuo**'. I print the two prayers in such way as to shew both the part that is common and the parts that are separate.

Deus honorum omnium, Deus omnium dignitatum, quae gloriae tuae sacratis famulantur ordinibus; Deus qui Moysen

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famulum tuum secreti familiaris affatu, inter cetera caelestis documenta culturae, de habitu quoque indumenti sacerdotâlis instituens electum Aaron mystico amictu vestiri inter sacra iussisti, ut intelligentiae sensum de exemplis priorum caperet secutura posteritas, ne eruditio doctrinae tuae ulli deesset aetati, cum et apud veteres reverentiam ipsa significationum species obtineret et apud nos certiora essent experimenta rerum quam aenigmata figurarum. illius namque sacerdotii anterioris habitus nostrae mentis ornatus est, et pontificalem gloriam non iam nobis honor commendat vestium sed splendor animarum; quia et illa quae tunc carnalibus blandiebantur obtutibus, ea potius quae in ipsis erant intelligenda poscebant. **et idcirco huic**

famulo tuo quem ad summi

famulo tuo quem apostolicae sedis praesulem et primatum omnium qui in orbe terrarum sunt sacerdotum ac universalis ecclesiae tuae doctorem dedisti et ad summi sacerdotii ministerium elegisti, hanc quaesumus Domine gratiam largiaris, ut quicquid illa velamina in fulgore auri, in nitore gemmarum, in multimodi operis varietate signabant, hoc in eius moribus actibusque clarescat. comple in sacerdote tuo mysterii tui summam, et ornamentis totius glorificationis instructum caelestis unguenti flore sanctifica. hoc Domine copiose in eius caput influat, hoc in oris subiecta decurrat, hoc in totius corporis extrema descendat, ut tui Spiritus virtus et interiora eius repleat et exteriora circumtegat. abundet in eo constantia fidei, puritas dilectionis, sinceritas pacis. tribuas

ei cathedram episcopalem

ei cathedram pontificalem ad regendam ecclesiam tuam et plebem universam. sis ei auctoritas, sis ei firmitas, sis potestas. multiplices super eum benedictionem et gratiam tuam, ut ad exorandam misericordiam tuam tuo munere semper idoneus, tua gratia possit esse devotus. Per Dominum.

The explanation of the rubric in the *Liber* of Hippolytus is substantially the same as the explanation of the rubric in the *Liber* of Gregory: in both the second prayer is on the model of the first, and the earlier portion is identical. Since, however, pope and bishop are more nearly one in character than bishop and presbyter, there is naturally more variation between the two prayers of Hippolytus than between the two prayers of Gregory. But there is this in common between the two cases that the whole of the opening is left unchanged, and that

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change begins at the mention of 'this thy servant'. I now print the prayers in Hippolytus after the same method that I have just followed for the prayers of St Gregory.

> **Ὁ θεὸς**[1] **καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ**, *ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ θεὸς πάσης παρακλήσεως, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἐφορῶν, ὁ γινώσκων τὰ πάντα πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν· σύ, ὁ δοὺς ὅρους ἐκκλησίας διὰ λόγου χάριτός σου, ὁ προορίσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς γένος δικαίων*[2] *ἐξ Ἀβραάμ, ἄρχοντάς τε καὶ ἱερεῖς κατα-στήσας τό τε ἁγίασμά σου μὴ καταλιπὼν ἀλειτούργητον, ὁ ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου εὐδοκήσας ἐν οἷς ᾑρετίσω δοξασθῆναι· [αὐτὸς καὶ]*[3] *νῦν ἐπίχεε τὴν παρά σου δύναμιν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ πνεύματος, ὅπερ [ἔδωκας] τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ σου παιδὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ,*[4] *ὅπερ ἐδωρήσατο*[5] *τοῖς ἁγίοις [σόν]*[6] *ἀποστόλοις οἳ καθίδρυσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατὰ τόπον ἁγιάσματός σου εἰς δόξαν καὶ αἶνον ἀδιά-λειπτον τοῦ ὀνόματός σου.*

δός, *καρδιογνῶστα [πάτερ]*,[7] *ἐπὶ τὸν* **ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον καὶ δοῦλόν σου τοῦτον**[8] *ὃν ἐξελέξω εἰς* *ἔμπλησον αὐτὸν πνεῦμα χάριτος καὶ*

[1] The opening words of the prayer, 'The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ', repeated by Lat. Eth. in the rubric before the ordination prayer of a priest, are the cue for the starting-point of the common matter, just as the next words, 'Look down upon this thy servant', are the cue for the beginning of the separate matter. The Greek text of this prayer, here printed, has been restored from the parallel passages in the *Constitutiones per Hippolytum*—which are perhaps a preliminary draft by the compiler of the Apostolic Constitutions, see Brightman *Liturgies Eastern and Western* I xx—printed by Dr Frere in the right-hand column, pp. 337, 339, 347 *supra*. But I have modified this text both by reference to the Latin version and to the Apostolic Constitutions themselves, which occasionally keep nearer than the *Const. per Hipp.* to the original. All such modifications are enumerated in the following notes.

[2] *δικαίων* Lat. Eth. : *δίκαιον Const. per H.*

[3] *αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν*. So *Ap. Const.* viii 5 (Funk, 474. 21), and *αὐτός* seems almost required by the balance of the clauses : *καὶ νῦν Const. per H.* : *νῦν* Lat. Eth. The alternative is *νῦν* simply : *καὶ νῦν* is impossible.

[4] The dative *τῷ ἠγαπημένῳ σου παιδὶ Ἰ. Χ.* is guaranteed by the agreement of Lat. Eth. and *Ap. Const.* (474. 23): this is one of the places where *Const. per H.* has wandered further from the original. The verb *ἔδωκας* is not represented by either Greek authority : *Const. per H.* omits, *Ap. Const.* changes to *διακονεῖται*. But the consensus of Lat. and Eth. justifies the reading adopted.

[5] *ἐδωρήσατο Ap. Const.* (474. 24) with Lat. : *δεδώρησαι Const. per H.* and Eth.

[6] *τοῖς ἁγίοις σου ἀποστόλοις Const. per H.* : *τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις σου Ap. Const.* : Lat. omits *σου* altogether, perhaps rightly.

[7] *καρδιογνῶστα πατέρ* from Lat. 'cordis cognitor pater' : *καρδιογνῶστα θεέ Ap. Const.* (476. 1) : *καρδιογνῶστα πάντων Const. per H.* : *καρδιογνῶστα* alone Eth., which may perhaps be right. All other authorities agree against *Const. per H.* in putting *δός* at the beginning of the sentence.

[8] *τοῦτον Const. per H.* with the prayer for a presbyter both in *Const. per H.* and

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ἐπισκοπήν, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἁγίαν σου ποίμνην[9] καὶ ἀρχιερατεύειν σοι ἀμέμπτως λειτουργοῦντα νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, ἀδιαλείπτως τε ἱλάσκεσθαι τὸ πρόσωπόν σου[11] καὶ προσφέρειν σοὶ τὰ δῶρα τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἀρχιερατικῷ ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν σου, διδόναι κλήρους κατὰ τὸ πρόσταγμά σου, λύειν τε πάντα σύνδεσμον κατὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἣν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀποστόλοις, εὐαρεστεῖν τέ σοι ἐν πραότητι καὶ καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ προσφέροντά σοι ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας συμβουλίας [τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου], τοῦ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι[10] καὶ κυβερνᾶν τὸν λαόν σου ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ· ὃν τρόπον ἐπεῖδες ἐπὶ λαὸν ἐκλογῆς σου καὶ προσέταξας Μωσεῖ αἱρήσασθαι[12] πρεσβυτέρους, οὓς ἔπλησας πνεύματος [ὅπερ ἐδωρήσω τῷ θεράποντί σου],[13] καὶ νῦν Κύριε παράσχου, ἀνεκλιπὲς τηρῶν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτός σου[14] [καὶ ἀξίωσον ὅπως πιστεύοντές σοι ὑπηρετῶμεν ἐν ἁπλότητι καρδίας, αἰνοῦντές σε][15]

διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δι' οὗ σοι δόξα καὶ κράτος [καὶ τιμή], πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι [ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ]

Ap. Const. (viii 16 : 522. 13) and also with cod. Vat. gr. 1506, the MS whose value I have done my best to emphasize, in *Ap. Const.* here (476. 1) : the other MSS of *Ap. Const.* here give *τόνδε*.

[9] *ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἁγίαν σου ποίμνην* *Ap. Const.* (476. 2) with Lat. and Eth. (which latter, however, omits *ἁγίαν*) : *εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν σου τὴν ἁγίαν*, omitting *ποιμαίνειν* and *ποίμνην*, *Const. per H.*

[10] *τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου τοῦ ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι.* *ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι* is no doubt the right Greek (Latin 'adiuvet') ; for it is not only supported by both *Const. per H.* and *Ap. Const.*, but together with the following verb *κυβερνᾶν* it is unmistakeably intended as an echo of 1 Cor. xii 28 *ἀντιλήμψεις κυβερνήσεις*. I have doubtfully inserted *τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου* before it, on the strength of the Latin, where Hauler gives 'presbyteris' with the two last letters doubtful ; I should prefer 'presbyterii' and take it with the preceding *συμβουλίας*, as Eth. has two nouns there, though quite different ones ('the gift of holiness'), and the Greek authorities have *εἰς πρεσβυτέριον* in the immediate neighbourhood.

[11] *τὸ πρόσωπόν σου* with Lat. 'vultum tuum' and *Ap. Const.* (476. 4) *σοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον* : *Const. per H.* less correctly the dative, *τῷ προσώπῳ σου*.

[12] *αἱρήσασθαι* with *Ap. Const.* (522. 18) : *αἱρετίσασθαι Const. per H.*

[13] *ὅπερ ἐδωρήσω τῷ θεράποντί σου* I have inserted with Lat. and Eth. (Eth. adds *Μωσεῖ*, but *ὁ θεράπων* by itself was a well understood expression for Moses ; see Lightfoot on 1 Clem. 4, and add Origen *Philocalia* 14 [68. 26] *παρὰ τῷ θεράποντι* = 'in Moses', i.e. in the Pentateuch, *Ap. Const.* vii 35 [432. 5] *τοῦ θεράποντός σου λόγιόν ἐστιν φάσκοντος κτλ.*) : the Greek authorities omit, but the original prayers appear to have emphasized the Biblical precedents in each ordination, and the phrase I have inserted has its exact parallel earlier in the prayer, in respect of the New Testament Gift of the Spirit *ὅπερ ἐδωρήσατο τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις*.

[14] This clause *καὶ νῦν Κύριε* down to *χάριτός σου* has disappeared in *Const. per H.* : but *Ap. Const.* has gone back to it and preserved it unaltered (522. 18–20). There is just a doubt between the forms *ἀνεκλιπές* (so cod. Vat. 1506), which has LXX authority, and *ἀνελλιπές*, which is a commoner word.

[15] I have here made a rough attempt to restore the Greek original with the sole help of the Latin 'et dignos effice ut credentes tibi ministremus in simplicitate

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καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.[16]
Ἀμήν.

I am not without hopes that I may have succeeded in this paper in clearing up for good one small obstacle that has helped to bar the way to successful research in the early history of the Christian Ministry. The solution I propose has at least the merit of simplicity: it accounts, so far as I can see, for all the known elements of the problem: the parallel I have been able to cite from the Gregorian Sacramentary shews that the method applied in the case of Hippolytus is not one invented for the occasion, but one that can actually be seen in use elsewhere. The alternative view requires us to believe that the prayer of ordination for a presbyter asked for him the gifts of shepherding the flock, of high-priesthood and propitiation and official representation of the Church, of remission of sins in the high-priestly Spirit, of distribution of offices, of loosing of all bonds after the authority given to the Apostles. Does any one really think that at any time in the third century, in any part of the Church, it is conceivable that such language could have been applied to a presbyter?

C. H. TURNER.

cordis laudantes te'. I cannot hope to have been successful with regard to more than the general outline of the prayer: but I am at least quite sure that *Const. per H.* and *Ap. Const.*, which agree in putting here references to ἐνεργήματα ἰατικά, to λόγοι διδακτικοί, to παίδευσις τοῦ λαοῦ, and to αἱ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ λειτουργίαι, as functions of the presbyter, have got quite off the lines, partly because they have meant to be archaic and to introduce the ideas of the first century (1 Cor. xii 10, 28 suggests the ἐνεργήματα ἰαμάτων), and partly because without meaning it they have betrayed themselves by introducing the sacerdotal ideas (ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ λειτουργίαι) which did not attach to the presbyterate, apart from the episcopate, before the fourth century.

[16] In the doxology the two forms unite again. About the opening words of it there is no doubt: all our authorities agree. It is also fairly clear that the prayer for the bishop contained δόξα κράτος τιμή (so Lat. Eth. *Const. per H.*), while that for the presbyter omitted τιμή. It is less certain what form the doxology proper took: but δι' οὗ σοί . . ., πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι seems to me most likely to be right [cf. Eph. iii 21, and see doxology of Anaphora (Hauler, p. 107) and Hippolytus *contra Noëtum* 18]. The reference to 'holy Church' has the authority of Eth. on both occasions and Lat. on the second: it is characteristic of the style of the whole prayer.

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LITURGICAL NOTES.

I. KYRIE ELEISON.

1. *Kyrie eleison* appears three times in the New Testament, and each time it is due to Matthew's editing of Mark. Mt. xx 30, 31 has Κύριε, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, υἱὸς Δαυείδ, where Mark x 47, 48 has Υἱὲ Δαυείδ, (Ἰησοῦ,) ἐλέησόν με; and Mt. xvii 15 Κύριε, ἐλέησόν μου τὸν υἱόν, where Mark has no equivalent. We may note also Ἐλέησόν με, Κύριε, υἱὸς Δαυείδ in Mt. xvi 22, where Mark is silent as to the Syrophenician's words. Κύριος is a favourite word with Matthew as in Q, and he frequently substitutes it for another expression in his source, Mark. 'Jesus is Lord' is the Christian's creed (see Rom. x 9, 1 Cor. xii 3), and Christians are 'those who in every place call upon the name of the Lord' (1 Cor. i 2: cf. Rom. x 13, Acts ii 21), the title proper to Jehovah being transferred to our Lord. Can it be that, apart from its occurrence in the Psalms, *Kyrie eleison* was a common Jewish prayer formula, which was adopted by Christians? In 1 Tim. i and ii we read 'Howbeit I obtained mercy (ἠλεήθην) because I did it ignorantly in unbelief... howbeit for this cause I obtained mercy (ἠλεήθην) that in me first Jesus Christ might shew forth all his longsuffering, for an ensample of them which should hereafter believe on him unto eternal life... I exhort *therefore* first of all that supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings, be made for all men, for kings and all that are in high place... This is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who willeth that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth.... I will *therefore* that men pray in every place lifting up holy hands (ἐπαίροντας ὁσίους χεῖρας)'. We may compare the use at the 'litany' in 2 Mac. iii 20. The orant with uplifted hands became typical of a Christian at prayer, and the origin of the People's Prayers with *Kyrie eleison* before the Offertory in the liturgies can hardly be independent of St Paul's advice to Timothy. It is really that mercy may be bestowed on all men as on himself that St Paul exhorts the faithful to pray, and the prayer is to be 'in every place', the exact phrase used when he speaks of Christians as 'those who in every place call on the name of the Lord'. For St Paul's intercessions *Kyrie eleison* would be an appropriate formula, and it is suggested by ἠλεήθην and by what, in view of 1 Tim. ii 8, must be taken with it, 1 Cor. i 2 'who call on the name of the Lord'. At any rate, the presence of *Kyrie eleison* in Matthew, where it is deliberately added to Mark's narrative, is not only

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remarkable in itself, but is a possible link between its use in Jewish worship to which the Psalms bear witness, and its use in Christian worship according to almost every liturgy.

2. In the younger Pliny's *Ep.* x 96 we are told that the Christians of Bithynia were accustomed 'convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem'. This has been often interpreted as referring to a hymn sung antiphonally; but from other evidence it seems almost certain that antiphonal singing is a much later developement; and, besides, *dicere* in prose does not usually mean 'to sing', nor is *carmen* necessarily a 'hymn'. The elder Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxviii 2 §§ 3 sq.) discusses *carmina* at length, and he certainly does not limit the meaning of the word to hymns, or even suggest that that was its usual meaning. 'Ex homine remediorum primum maximae quaestionis et semper incertae est, polleantne aliquid verba et incantamenta carminum . . . Durat immenso exemplo Deciorum patris filique quo se devovere carmen, exstat Tucciae Vestalis incesti deprecatio qua usa aquam in cribro tulit anno urbis DCIX. Boario vero in foro Graecum Graecamque defossos aut aliarum gentium cum quibus tum res esset etiam nostra aetas vidit: cuius sacri precationem qua solet praeire quindecemvirum conlegi magister, si quis legat, profecto vim carminum fateatur, omnia ea adprobantibus octingentorum triginta annorum eventibus. . . In augurum certe disciplina constat neque diras neque ulla auspicia pertinere ad eos qui quamque rem ingredientes observasse ea negaverint, quo munere divinae indulgentiae maius nullum est. Quid? non et legum ipsarum in duodecim tabulis verba sunt: "Qui fruges excantasset" et alibi "Qui malum carmen incantassit"? . . . Dixit Homerus profluvium sanguinis vulnerato femine Ulixen inhibuisse carmine, Theophrastus ischiadicos sanari, Cato prodidit luxatis membris carmen auxiliare, M. Varro podagris. Caesarem dictatorem post unum ancipitem vehiculi casum ferunt semper, ut primum consedisset, id quod plerosque nunc facere scimus, carmine ter repetito securitatem itinerum aucupari solitum.' Q. Curtius *Hist. Alexandri Magni* iv 13 § 15 fills in some of the details as to the manner in which a *carmen* would be used in a solemn act of supplication: 'Alexander, non alias magis territus, ad vota et preces Aristandrum vocari iubet. Ille in candida veste, verbenas manu praeferens, capite velato, praeibat preces regi, Iovem Minervamque et Victoriam propitianti. Tunc quidem sacrificio rite perpetrato, reliquum noctis acquieturus in tabernaculum rediit.' A *carmen* was clearly an incantation or religious formula, generally recited by the worshipper after the priest when propitiating the gods, but sometimes said by heart. Tertullian *Apol.* 30 contrasts the method of these heathen prayers with the prayers evidently in some respects similar which were used by Christians: 'Illuc suspicientes

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Christiani manibus expansis quia innocuis, capite nudo, quia non erubescimus, denique sine monitore, quia de pectore, oramus. Precantes sumus omnes semper pro omnibus imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, et quaecumque hominis et Caesaris vota sunt. Haec ab alio orare non possum quam a quo scio me consecuturum, quoniam et ipse est qui solus praestat.' The text of at least one *carmen* used in heathen prayers is identical with the commonest form of prayer in early Christian worship—*Kyrie eleison*. Arrian *Diatribae* ii 7 says: *νῦν δὲ τρέμοντες τὸ ὀρνιθάριον κρατοῦμεν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπικαλούμενοι δεόμεθα αὐτοῦ, Κύριε ἐλέησον, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ἐξελθεῖν.* Is it possible that *Kyrie eleison* was the *carmen* addressed to Christ as to a god to which Pliny alludes? To call on Jesus as Lord was a characteristically Christian practice both with Jewish and Gentile believers. Κύριος was a title used of their gods by the heathen as commonly as it was by the Jews of Jehovah, and it is only by remembering this that we can properly appreciate its use by St Paul in his epistles, and by all it would be understood as a title of divinity. Thus *Kyrie eleison* exactly suits 'quasi deo'. 'Dicere secum invicem' would then be interpreted, not of the antiphonal singing of a hymn, but by a much less dangerous practice in times of persecution, the saying of *Kyrie eleison* alternately with a deacon as the response to biddings, a custom to which at Jerusalem in the fourth century Sylvia bears witness and which was well established at the date of the liturgy of the Eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Themes which suggest the response are found also in the earlier liturgy outlined in the Second Book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and perhaps in the passage of Tertullian already quoted. At any rate the proposed interpretation of Pliny's words is less of an anachronism than the one commonly given.

II. 'Miserable Sinners.'

The phrase 'miserable sinners', eight times repeated, is one of the most remarkable features of the English litany. What is its origin? The old Latin litanies as a rule begin with *Kyrie eleison*, and to the invocations of the Trinity which follow there is no such addition. The same is true of the vernacular litanies of the middle ages and also of those in the reformed primers. The late Bishop of Edinburgh considered the expression to be due to Luther's rendering of 'Peccatores, te rogamus audi nos' in the German version of his litany: 'Wir armen sünder bitten, du wollst uns erhoren.' Luther, however, was only utilizing a phrase very common in German books of devotion of all sorts. It appears frequently in a popular form of the Publican's prayer in the parable, inserted in a number of different forms of general

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confession which the reforming movement brought into prominence; but it was not originated by the Reformers. Leo Juda in 1523 employs it in his rendering of the Publican's words in a confession: 'bis gnädig mir armen sünder'; and Theobald Schwarz in the confession at the beginning of the first vernacular mass said in Germany in the Cathedral of Strasburg on February 16, 1524: 'biss barmhertzig mir armen sünder'. The latter form also begins 'ich armer sunder bekenne', which is akin to the old Catholic form in the Strasburg *Agenda* of 1513, 'Ich armer sündiger mensch'. In Witzel's *Euchologion Christianorum*, which is a Catholic collection of prayers upon the liturgical gospels of the Church year, published in 1538, on the Eleventh Sunday after Trinity we find another version of the Publican's prayer, 'O herre Gott, sey genedig und barmhertzig uns armen sundern und sunderin'. Calvin's Confession (Strasburg and Geneva) has 'nous confessons . . . que nous sommes pouures pecheurs' ('miseros peccatores'). We may trace the phrase back to the end of the fifteenth century, for in the Litany of a German Book of Hours, printed at Kirchheim by Marcus Reinhard in 1491, we have 'Oz du dich wöllest wirdigē zu erbarmē über uns armen sünder des bitten wir dich erhor uns', the exact equivalent of the English petition at the end of the Invocation. A German *Kyrie* for Eastertide, first published at Wittemburg in 1541, has 'O God vater inn ewigkeit, sey uns sundern gnedig', but the adjective is wanting.

Though 'miserable sinners' does not strike one as particularly euphonious, it probably owes its position in the Litany in part to its rhythm. When Cranmer was trying to draw up an English Processional he tells us how he laboured to make the new English words fit the old Latin note. 'Miserable sinners' possesses exactly the same number of syllables as 'miserere nobis' similarly accented; and so, whether suggested by 'armen sünder' or not, it would be welcomed by Cranmer as providing a solution of his difficulty in finding words to fit the old musical inflexion. The expression is not an invention of his; for a Salisbury Primer of 1536 has 'I am a wretched and a miserable sinner', and another published in Latin and English in 1538, 'I pray thee by the same precious blood which for us miserable sinners thou wert content to shed on the altar of the cross'. The Latin has nothing to correspond to 'miserable', but gives 'pro nobis peccatoribus'. The adjective is ignored likewise in all the early translations of the Litany into Latin, in the English and Latin *Primer* of 1545, the *Orarium* of 1546, and Aless's Latin Prayerbook of 1551. In Queen Elizabeth's Latin Prayerbook of 1560 Haddon has translated it, and we find 'miseris peccatoribus'. In the German Prayerbook printed in 1718 for the Princess of Wales we get the old German phrase 'armen sundern' at the end of the invocations as well as in the rendering of 'We sinners', as in Luther's litany.

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When 'miserable sinners' was added to the Litany, it was probably thought to be more of rhythmical than of religious importance. Objection has frequently been made to it in later days as being unreal; but all the same it seems to have had an attraction for each of the sets of revisers who have modified the Book of Common Prayer. It occurs five times in our present Prayerbook, and each example of its use belongs to a different period. The example in the Litany is of course the earliest, dating from 1544; that in the Third Exhortation at Holy Communion is derived from *The Order of the Communion* of 1548; that in the Commination Service first appeared in the Book of Common Prayer of 1549; that in the Prayer in time of Plague was inserted in 1552; and that in Prayers for use at Sea was added in 1662. In some ways it might be considered an improvement if the English Litany were made to begin as did the mediaeval, though not the earliest known, litanies with *Kyrie eleison*, and the expression 'miserable sinners' omitted; but a phrase which has been so closely associated with the religious life of England for practically four hundred years, is not to be lightly discarded, and it certainly has a not uninteresting history behind it.

W. LOCKTON.

NESTORIUS'S VERSION OF THE NICENE CREED.

IN his article on 'Nestorius's version of the Nicene Creed' in the JOURNAL for last April Dom Connolly suggests that in the clauses before κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς it differed from N solely by the addition of ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, and that the clauses τὸν σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα and τὸν κατελθόντα ἐξ οὐρανῶν δι' ἡμᾶς, which Nestorius quotes as from N in his correspondence with Cyril, he added 'by some sort of inadvertence' (p. 402).

On certain points we agree: that none of these clauses was in N, and that the attribution of any of them to 'our Fathers at Nicaea' was inaccurate; that the quotation of the first clause by Nestorius was not inadvertent; and that it was regarded by him as authoritative. The last two points are proved by the fact that Nestorius quotes it in his letter to Celestine and in his correspondence with Cyril, and that he continues to quote it twenty years later in this *Treatise of Heracleides*, in spite of his having been corrected by Cyril and in spite of the canon of Ephesus.

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I do not think it possible to doubt that Nestorius regarded the clause as possessing conciliar authority, and I do not think there is any other council than that of Constantinople to which its insertion can be attributed with the least show of probability.

I must, therefore, assume that the Council of 381 added this clause to N.

On Dr Hort's hypothesis the Council of 381 authorized C. Did that Council then both enlarge N by this clause and authorize C, or did it only authorize C and so constructively add to N?

There seems nothing to be said for the former view; but, if the latter be accepted, it will follow that Nestorius is quoting this clause from C, and C contained many other clauses which he did not quote.

That is, the absence of these other clauses from the quotations in the *Treatise of Heracleides* does not give the negative limits of Nestorius's creed; in other words, Dom Connolly's view does not easily square with Dr Hort's, and the fact that it no more squares with mine is in consequence no argument against my hypothesis.

Secondly, as regards the other two clauses I do not think it possible to dispose of the correspondence with Cyril so lightly. They cannot be torn out of the text. Nestorius was not likely to indulge in such inadvertences in dealing with Cyril, nor would Cyril have failed to make the most of such a slip. I think it clear that for Nestorius and Cyril the three clauses stand on the same footing.

The conclusion then is this: the Council of 381 authorized certain additions to N, these were codified in the form of E, but it was open to any one to quote one or more of them as authoritative without casting reflexion on the remainder.

In this case Nestorius quoted the clause which was regarded as the main bulwark against Apollinarianism in opposition to Cyril and his followers, whom he regarded as Apollinarian, and in vindication of his own position. He could do no less, but to do more would be to prejudice what he regarded as the claims of truth by introducing a controversy on the status of Constantinople and its creed which Egypt, in accordance with its traditional policy, had refused to accept. Damasus had introduced a simple clause into N, and Nestorius might be allowed to do the same; but the danger to his cause would be increased the more alterations he made, and Nestorius did not yet know that he could claim Chalcedon on his side.

F. J. BADCOCK.

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THE HOME OF THE PSEUDO-CYPRIANIC *DE MONTIBUS SINA ET SION.*

IN the JOURNAL for July 1906 (vol. vii pp. 597 ff) Mr C. H. Turner argued, on the basis of a passage in the concluding chapter, that the work must have been written in Rome. The passage reads thus: 'exulans ad centesimum effugit' (Hartel, p. 118 l. 14), and Mr Turner says: 'to the hundredth milestone. Hundredth from where? Why, of course, from Rome. The hundredth milestone was the well-known limit of the jurisdiction of the Praefectus Urbi: and though I believe that at a later period traces may be found of a similar jurisdiction in relation to other Western cities, such as Milan and Carthage, *the reference would have been meaningless, at the date of the* de montibus, *for any other place than the capital*' (the italics are mine).

That this conclusion is unwarranted, is proved by a passage in a well-known work, which has escaped Mommsen (*Strafrecht* p. 970), as well as Mr Turner. The *Apologia* of Apuleius, which is a literary expansion of the defence he made before the proconsul of Africa, Claudius Maximus, at Sabrata in the year A.D. 158, contains the following passage: 'Thallus solus, ut dixi, quod ferme **ad centesimum** lapidem longe **exul** est, is Thallus solus abest, sed misimus qui eum curriculo aduehat' (cap. 44). Sabrata was 300 Roman miles, as the crow flies, from Carthage, and much farther by road. It was possible to use the phrase *ad centesimum* in the middle of the second century, with clear reference to Carthage (or Utica?), and therefore the possibility still remains that the *De duobus montibus* was written in Africa.

A. SOUTER.

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SILOAM.

MR H. W. SHEPPARD'S suggestion that the final 'm' in *Siloam* is a dual deserves careful consideration. If it stood alone, his explanation might be accepted (*Journal of Theological Studies* xvi 415). But there are many cases of a final consonant added to a foreign word without apparent reason which demand consideration. How are we to explain the final 'm' in *Nephthalim*? Final 'n' is found in *Bethsaidan*, *Golgothan*, *Chorazin*, whether they be accusatives or not. Final 'ph' occurs in *Asaph*, final 't' in *Elisabet*, final 'ch' in *Aceldamach* and *Sirach*. All the above except the last are found in the W.H. text of the New Testament. Can it be that there was a certain tendency to finish off a foreign word with a consonant? That suggestion would cover all the above examples as well as *Siloam*.

A. WRIGHT.

[In Mr. Sheppard's article p. 414 l. 21 for 'Tower' read 'Lower'.—Edd.]

EVST. 235.

(Scrivener 228.)

THIS MS of thirteenth or fourteenth century was, like Evan. 559 and Evst. 234, given to Sion College, London, by Mr Edward Payne, but there is no record of the date when this gift was made, nor is anything known of the previous history of the MS. There are 143 leaves of vellum, except three which are of paper in a different writing full of itacisms and other mistakes; Scrivener does not regard this writing as much later than the rest of the MS, though a less experienced palaeographist would feel inclined to differ from him here. There are two narrow columns on each page, 24 lines, very simple illuminations, titles and musical notes in red ink. The writing is simple, but very clear, ϛ is often used for στ, ϵυ found both contracted and uncontracted. Between the ῥήματα + is always used, semicolon (·) and comma are found occasionally, sign of interrogation very rarely, but questions are generally indicated by special musical signs. There are a few corrections p.m. and s.m. and a few marginal notes in black ink. Accentuation and aspiration are fairly correct throughout the MS, iota subscript is not found, but iota ascript occurs seventeen times, most

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frequently with αὐτῶ (αὐτῶι, nine times). Double grave accents are found very frequently. Homoioteleuta occur at Mt. iv 21, xxviii 9; Mk. i 42; Lk. xvii 4; John vii 41, viii 14, xiv 13, xv 2; there are a few instances of haplography and dittography. The most frequent itacisms are: ο pro ω, 59; ει pro η, 51; ω pro ο, 49; αι pro ε, 47; η pro ει, 40; ε pro αι, 38; ι pro η, 27; η pro ι, 21; ι pro ει, 13.

There are leaves missing at the beginning and end, and lacunae in two places; some leaves are mutilated, but generally mended and the missing words inserted s.m. We find the usual introductions to the Gospels, such as τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, εἶπεν ὁ κύριος, &c.; one of these, found in many Evangelistaria, is the curious introduction to Mk. xv 16 ἀπήγαγον τὸν Ἰησοῦν εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τοῦ Καϊάφα, ὅ ἐστι πραιτώριον. We have in this MS the usual phenomenon of different variants in the same passages where these occur in different places; thus e.g. Mt. xxvii 35 ἵνα πληρωθῇ . . . κλῆρον is omitted in the Good Friday Gospel and in the Seventh Passion Gospel, but is found in the Gospel for the First Hour.

The Menology contains a few uncommon feasts, some of which are also found in Evst. 234, described in the April number of *J.T.S.* and in Evst.. 186 (Scrivener 221), mentioned in Scrivener's *Adversaria Critica Sacra*, but the differences in the rest of the Menologies and also in the variants of the respective MSS are too great to warrant any conclusion as to identity of origin of Evst. 234 and 235.[1] This MS is chiefly of interest owing to the fact that it contains neither the last twelve verses of Mark nor the *pericope adulterae*; the εὐαγγέλια ἑωθινά among which the former are found in most Evangelistaria do not occur in Evst. 235, and another Gospel is substituted for the latter which in Evst. 234 is used at the feast of St Pelagia (October 8).

Contents:

1. Daily Gospels from Easter to Pentecost . . foll. 1–27
2. σαββατοκυριακαί for rest of year from St Matthew . „ 28–44a
3. „ „ „ St Luke . „ 44b–61a
4. Gospels for Septuagesima–Easter Eve . . . „ 61b–112
5. Menology . . . . . „ 113–end.

Notable Variants.

(MS collated with Lloyd and Sanday's *N.T.*)

St Matthew.

i 18 om. Χριστοῦ. δὲ pro γὰρ. ἐλθεῖν pro συνελθεῖν. 21 αὐτοῦ pro αὐτῶν. 22 om. ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου.[2] ii 11 εἶδον pro εὗρον. iii 11 om.

[1] The writer has not seen any collation of Evst. 186.

[2] These variants in Mt. I are all s.m.

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καὶ πυρί. 16 ἀναβαῖνον pro καταβαῖνον (s.m.). vi 18 om. ἐν τῷ φανερῷ. vii 14 τί pro ὅτι. 25 προσέκοψαν pro προσέπεσον. viii 8 λόγῳ. x 5 om. τοὺς δώδεκα (semel; habet semel). 8 om. νεκροὺς ἐγείρετε. xii 32 ἐν τῷ νῦν αἰῶνι. 35 om. τῆς καρδίας. xiv 19 om. καὶ ante λαβὼν. xv 25 προσελθοῦσα (semel). προσεκύνησεν (semel). 32 ἡμέραι. xvii 17 +αὐτῶ post ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ. 25 τίνος pro τίνων. 27 ἀναβαίνοντα. xviii 11 +ζητῆσαι καὶ ante σῶσαι. 16 σταθήσεται pro σταθῇ. xx 2 καὶ συμφωνήσας. 3 om. τὴν ante τρίτην. xxi 3 ἀποστέλλει. 39 οἱ γεωργοὶ pro αὐτὸν (semel). xxii 13 χεῖρας καὶ πόδας. 23 om. οἱ ante λέγοντες. 37 om. τῇ ante καρδίᾳ and ψυχῇ (bis). 46 ἀποκριθῆναι αὐτῷ (semel). xxiii 9 ἐπικαλέσητε (semel). 12 om. καὶ ὅστις ταπεινώσει ἑαυτὸν ὑψωθήσεται (semel). 16 om. τοῦ ναοῦ. 21 κατοικήσαντι. 36 πάντα ταῦτα (semel). xxiv 4 om. καὶ (semel). 8 γὰρ pro δὲ (semel). 15 δὲ pro οὖν. ἐστὼς. 24 σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα μεγάλα. 39 εἰσῆλθεν pro ἦλθεν. 43 ἀφῆκεν pro εἴασε (semel; bis = T.R.). 45 οἰκίας pro θεραπείας (semel). om. αὐτοῖς (semel). 46 οὕτως ποιοῦντα (semel). 50 αὐτοῦ pro τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου. xxv 15 om. εὐθέως (semel). 16 om. τάλαντα ante λαβὼν (semel). om. ἐν αὐτοῖς (semel). 29 δοκεῖ ἔχειν pro ἔχει (semel). 35 om. γὰρ (semel). xxvi 11 τοὺς πτωχοὺς γὰρ πάντοτε (bis). 15 μοι θέλετε (semel). 25 κύριε pro ῥαββί. 26 εὐχαριστήσας pro εὐλογήσας. 31 διασκορπισθήσονται. 34 τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ. 40 +ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῆς προσευχῆς ante ἔρχεται. 45 om. τὸ ante λοιπὸν. 47 ξύλων καὶ μαχαιρῶν. 52 ἀποθανοῦνται pro ἀπολοῦνται. 55 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐκαθεζόμην διδάσκων. 57 συνήγοντο pro συνήχθησαν (semel). 58 om. αὐτῷ (semel). 71 αὐτοῖς pro τοῖς (bis). 74 καταθεματίζειν (bis). xxvii 9 om. Ἱερεμίου (semel; habet bis). 12 +καὶ τῶν γραμματέων post πρεσβυτέρων (semel; bis = T.R.). 13 τί οὗτοι pro πόσα (semel; bis = T.R.). 33 ὅ pro ὅς (ter). μεθερμηνευόμενον pro λεγόμενος (semel; bis = T.R.). 35 vide supra. 41 +καὶ φαρισαίων post πρεσβυτέρων (bis). om. καὶ πρεσβυτέρων (semel). 43 om. νῦν (ter). 56 om. ἡ τοῦ (semel). 60 om. τοῦ μνημείου. xxviii 2 τοῦ μνημείου pro τῆς θύρας. 19 om. οὖν.

St Mark.

ii 11 om. σοὶ λέγω. 26 om. τοῦ ante ἀρχιερέως. x 33 παραδίδοται pro παραδοθήσεται. xv 24 διεμερίζοντο (semel). διαμερίζονται (semel). om. ἐπ' αὐτά (semel). 28 om. versum (semel; habet semel). 30 καταβάτω pro κατάβα (bis). 39 ἐνώπιον pro ἐξ ἐναντίας. 41 ἠκολούθησαν. xvi 1 om. ἡ τοῦ. 8 om. ταχύ.

St Luke.

i 27 +καὶ πατρίας (s.m.) post ἐξ οἴκου. 28 post γυναιξίν +καὶ εὐλογημένος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου (s.m.). 31 τέξεις (s.m.). ii 4 om. Ναζαρὲτ usque ad πόλιν (s.m.). 8 πόλει ἐκείνῃ pro χώρᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ (s.m.).

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iii 2 *ἐπὶ ἀρχιέρεως*. iv 29 om. *καὶ ἤγαγον αὐτὸν*. om. *τῆς* ante *ὀφρύος*. v 19 om. *διὰ* ante *ποίας*. 24 *παραλυτικῷ*. 25 + *καὶ εὐλογῶν* post *δοξάζων*. vi om. 6a. 6 *ἡ δεξιὰ αὐτοῦ χεὶρ*. 9 *ἀποκτεῖναι* pro *ἀπολέσαι*. 20 + *τῷ πνεύματι* post *πτωχοὶ* (s.m.). 23 *τοῖς οὐρανοῖς* pro *τῷ οὐρανῷ* (s.m.). vii 6 om. *μὴ σκύλλου*. om. *γὰρ* (*οὐκ εἰμὶ*). *μου ὑπὸ τὴν στέγην*. 8 om. *τασσόμενος*. 38 + *ὀπίσω* post *στᾶσα*. viii 6 *παρὰ* pro *ἐπὶ*. 10 om. *τῆς βασιλείας*. 15 *ἀγαθῇ καὶ καλῇ*. 17 *φανερωθήσεται* pro *φανερὸν γενήσεται*. 19 *παρεγένετο*. 30 *πολλὰ δαιμόνια*. 33 *θάλασσαν* pro *λίμνην*. 39 *θεός* pro *Ἰησοῦς*. ix 3 *ῥάβδον*. 35 + *ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα* post *ἀγαπητὸς*. 39 *ἀναχωρεῖ* pro *ἀποχωρεῖ*. 41 *ἕως πότε* pro *καὶ* ante *ἀνέξομαι*. om. *ὑμῶν*. 62 *τῶν οὐρανῶν* pro *τοῦ θεοῦ*. xii 7 om. *μὴ οὖν φοβεῖσθε* (s.m.). 20 *ἄφρον*. xiii 15 *ὁ Ἰησοῦς* pro *ὁ κύριος*. xiv 5 *υἱὸς* pro *ὄνος*. xvii 4 om. *ἐπὶ σὲ* post *ἐπιστρέψῃ*. 10 *ἀχρεῖοι δοῦλοι*. xix 4 om. *δι'*. 5 om. *γὰρ*. 8 *Ἰησοῦν* pro *κύριον*. xxi 8 *πλανηθῆτε* pro *πορευθῆτε*. 16 *γονέων—συγγενῶν—φίλων—ἀδελφῶν*. 34 om. *ἐφ'*. 36 om. *ταῦτα*. xxii 28 om. *μετ' ἐμοῦ*. 30 om. *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου*. 36 *πωλήσει* pro *πωλησάτω*. *ἀγοράσει* pro *ἀγορασάτω*. xxiii 33 *κρανίου τόπον* pro *κρανίον*. 34 *ἔβαλλον κλήρους*.

St John.

v 52 *ἐπυνθάνετο*. v 41 om. *παρὰ*. vi 15 om. *πάλιν*. 41 om. *οἱ* ante *Ἰουδαῖοι*. vii 3 *θαυμαστὰ* pro *ἔργα*. 44 *ἤμελλον* pro *ἤθελον*. viii 43 *τῶν λόγων τῶν ἐμῶν*. xi 8 *σε οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι λιθάσαι*. 11 *τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ* pro *αὐτοῖς*. xiii 13 *ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ διδάσκαλος*. xiv 3 om. *καὶ* ante *ἑτοιμάσω* (semel). 26 *τῆς ἀληθείας* pro *τὸ ἅγιον*. xv 8 om. versum (semel; habet semel). 9 *ἀπέσταλκε* pro *ἠγάπησε* (semel). xvi 3 om. *ὑμῖν* (bis). 4 om. *αὐτῶν* (semel). 10 *πορεύομαι* pro *ὑπάγω* (semel). om. *καὶ οὐκέτι θεωρεῖτέ με* (semel). 11 *περὶ κρίσεως δὲ* (semel). 15 *λαμβάνει* pro *λήψεται*. xvii 11 *ᾧ* pro *οὓς* (semel). 20 *πιστευόντων*. xix 21 om. *τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (semel). 27 *ἡμέρας* pro *ὥρας* (ter; semel = T.R.). + *ἐκεῖνος* post *μαθητὴς* (bis; bis = T.R.). 28 om. *ἤδη* (semel; bis = T.R.). + *περὶ αὐτοῦ* post *τετέλεσται* (semel; bis = T.R.). om. *ἵνα* usque ad v. 30 *τετέλεσται* (semel; bis = T.R.; cf. Evst. 234). 35 *ἀληθινή ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ* (bis). *ἀληθινή ἐστιν αὐτοῦ ἡ μαρτυρία* (bis). 40 om. *τῶν*.

The variants marked s.m. are those found on the inserted paper leaves. Where different variants occur in the same passages in different places, these are marked accordingly (semel, bis, &c.).

C. STEENBUCH.

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REVIEWS

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL TEACHING OF OUR LORD.

The Eschatology of Jesus. By H. LATIMER JACKSON, D.D. (Macmillan, 1913.)

Jesus and the Future. By E. W. WINSTANLEY, D.D. (T. & T. Clark, 1913.)

So much controversy has been aroused and so much hostile criticism has been meted out to the former of these two volumes, that it seems worth while to make some preliminary observations on the nature of the task set themselves by these two authors before considering the books themselves.

It is necessary that Scholarship should attempt to reach a systematic and scientific view of the eschatological conceptions, explicit and implicit, in the teaching of our Lord; but though the task is one which it is necessary for Scholarship to attempt, it is one in which Scholarship, as such, must necessarily fail to succeed. Eschatology, or, in more familiar language, 'the hope of Israel', had become the focal point in Jewish religion. The Old Testament prophecies were interpreted in the light of later eschatology; and even the Law itself was by many valued chiefly because by its exact observance was conditioned the inheritance of the 'Promises'. To the Jew, the eschatological hope brought together in a comprehensive and vivid summary all that we mean by belief in the goodness of God and in the righteousness of God, belief in God's providential care for the individual or for the race, belief in the ultimate divine sanction of the difference between right and wrong, and the hope of immortality. It is hardly too much to say that in many circles Religion *was* Eschatology. The philosopher may distinguish between the matter and the form of religious conviction; but though the same matter may take on different forms it cannot exist at all without some sort of expression. In the case of the religious genius the form becomes the pliant instrument of the matter; in the case of the majority the form hampers and obscures, only a little less than it expresses, the matter. It would appear that so far as the bulk, at any rate, of the simple folk in Palestine were concerned, the form of religion in the time of our Lord was and could only be one of the many sub-varieties of the later Apocalyptic Eschatology. In the case of our Lord the direct intuitive grasp of the matter of religion reached the *ne plus ultra*, the forms in which He was compelled to

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express it, even to His own mind, were provided in the main by this same mode of thought.

The task of the scholar is to ascertain, if possible, precisely which elements in the contemporary thought-*milieu* came to Him to make use of most naturally, and which, if any, He completely discarded; how far, if at all, He modified the forms He adopted; and whether and how far He meant them as literal or as symbolic presentations of the truth. Buf it is a thankless task, for even if he has succeeded, he finds himself with a collection of mere forms, genealogically affiliated and scientifically arranged, no doubt, but dead, like the specimens in a well-ordered museum of natural history. The passion, the fire, the immediate grasp of the fundamental issues of life and of eternity have just evaporated, and 'we start, for soul is wanting there'. It is inevitable that the ordinary reader taking up any scholarly treatise on the Eschatology of Jesus, should exclaim: 'The Eschatology is here, but where is Jesus?' Yet such an attitude is essentially unjust. The time is perhaps not yet ripe for the author, with the imagination of a poet and the passion of a prophet, who shall recall to us in all the vividness of its contemporary background the Life of Christ; but when such a one does arise his work will only be possible because of the painful and prosaic and, for the time being, disappointing labours of scholars such as the writers of the two volumes under review.

Dr Latimer Jackson's book shews a quite extraordinary power of compression; indeed I cannot but think that it would have been easier reading if he had allowed himself another hundred pages in which to deploy his forces. But the fault of trying to 'grow too much wheat to the acre' is one that can readily be forgiven. The book also shews a quite phenomenal learning. References are given to discussions by the leading authorities of every detail on every page. This fact constitutes the book a very valuable index to the literature of the subject. But if I may allow myself a trifling cavil, I would express the wish that he had introduced fewer verbal quotations from other scholars into his text, and given us at greater length and with greater emphasis his own considered judgements. In fact the main criticism which occurs to me is, that Dr Jackson seems to defer too much to the opinions of other scholars and relies too little on his own judgement, which, though it may seem presumptuous of me to say so, seems to me on most of the debated points to be very sound. In a subject so contentious as the Eschatology of Jesus, and one wherein the real nature of the problem is only just coming to be perceived, it is inevitable that many scholars should have too hurriedly taken up some one general position at once definite and strongly marked, and that their judgement of points of

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detail should be coloured by that general position. Thus, for instance, Wrede holds that our Lord did not, as a matter of fact, claim to be Messiah at all, and that no utterance to that effect attributed to Him in the Gospels is authentic. Now the question whether Wrede is right or wrong in this contention is one that must be quite definitely decided once for all before we enter on the study of the details of our Lord's teaching; and if we once decide that Wrede is wrong on the main issue, it becomes quite unnecessary to discuss afterwards the genuineness of any particular saying, simply because it has been challenged by Wrede; for we have already rejected the theory which is for him the main criterion of genuineness. Wrede, of course, is an extreme case; but the principle holds good in a lesser degree of many other scholars that on certain types of questions their judgement is of value only to those who already definitely accept certain of their fundamental positions; if it be once decided that any of their fundamental positions are unsound their judgement on details organically related to this position may safely be ignored. A hesitation to press this principle, and a native deference to the opinions of famous scholars, does a good deal to give an effect of vagueness and dubiety in the presentation of many of Dr Jackson's conclusions.

I think, too, that Dr Jackson's treatment tends to produce an impression that the tradition of our Lord's sayings is less reliable than is actually the case. One is reminded of the old fallacy of the bundle of sticks; because any one stick can be bent or broken by the weight of criticism is does not follow that the bundle can. In principle this is admitted, and indeed positively maintained, by Dr Jackson, but the effect of the admission is largely discounted in detail by the discussion of the genuineness of so many individual passages in their isolation. Surely it is only worth while to do this, either where a particular saying appears to conflict with the general impression of the rest of the tradition, or where the occurrence of different versions in different documents suggests the operation of revision. Apart from these few special cases, the tradition, as a whole, should be taken as it stands, and the endeavour should be made to grasp the picture which, so taken, it presents. The tradition has doubtless been exposed to certain deteriorating influences, and to some extent we can conjecture the probable lines of that deterioration. But this must be allowed for, not in its application to individual passages taken one by one, but in a general recognition that the picture as a whole is likely, as compared with the original, to be in some directions too faintly, in others too highly, coloured. Allowance for the defects in the tradition must be made in the lump, just as a tradesman in estimating his income allows a definite percentage per annum for bad debts.

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Dr Winstanley has been more fortunate than Dr Jackson in that his book has escaped having the wrong kind of attention called to it. It is a comprehensive and thorough treatment of the subject, somewhat impaired by a rather heavy and obscure style, but characterized in the main by judgement and common sense as well as learning. A clear recognition of the significance of the dependence of Matthew and Luke upon Mark would have shortened many of the discussions. If and where Matthew and Luke draw the material from Mark, minor differences in the three versions are important for the theology of the later Evangelists, but of no importance towards establishing the original form of our Lord's saying, unless in some exceptional case where there is reason to believe the original text of Mark has not survived. This is not the only important work in which the phrase 'triple tradition' has been the parent of confused or fallacious deductions.

B. H. STREETER.

The Meaning of Christianity. By F. A. M. SPENCER, M.A. Second Edition, revised. (T. Fisher Unwin, 1914.)

IN a well-known passage of his Bampton Lectures Dr Sanday contrasts the conditions that prevailed before and after the destruction of Jerusalem, and asks, 'Was there ever an easier problem for the critic to decide whether the sayings and doings that lie before him come from the one side of the chasm or the other?' If we apply a like test to the present volume, it is seen to date in a real sense from a period before the war. It is no question of Mr Spencer's attitude to German theologians. That, indeed, does not particularly appear; and it is a relief to find an author who has read widely, and yet does not encumber his pages with a mass of notes. But his general attitude and philosophy of history are evolutionary in a way that has become less popular and less possible during the tumultuous months of the European Apocalypse.

The chapter entitled 'God' is a careful piece of work on widely-accepted lines. 'The Hebrew conception of God in His creative activity can hardly be maintained' (p. 11). Rather we require a doctrine of Creative Reason, to which, however, personality and unity are to be attributed. A curious exception is made—'The Divine direction of Evolution, we may opine, consists, except for any personal intercourse of God with souls, mainly in continual emergence of reality' (p. 56). Devotion to the Divine Being covers a large province—'Religion will be seen to demand, not only goodness of the will, but also occupation of the soul with truth and beauty, that the spiritual life may grow in its entirety' (p. 42).

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This is for the most part clear and satisfactory enough. But the fifty pages under the heading 'Christ' are less convincing. There is a rather superficial criticism of Trinitarian theology, which is followed by a statement of what would once have been called the ordinary Unitarian position. There is, however, a way out. 'Christ is the ideal of humanity.' What light is thrown on this by the history of Christology and the nature of Christian experience? The author, in his historical enquiry and his analysis of experience, appears to be familiar with the facts, but to assign to them less than their true meaning. Thus, he says acutely (p. 105), 'This impression is received from the history of Christological dogma—that, the questions being formulated as they were, the Church could hardly have answered them otherwise, but that there was some error in the formulation. And this error seems to be connected with the idea of personality'. But his own re-statement, though courageous, is difficult to accept. 'Christ is a great spiritual reality including persons.' 'The spiritual nature and life of souls are Christ.' 'Christ was typically Incarnate in the Jesus of history . . . throughout His career, and especially in His Resurrection, He manifested the power of the Divine Life in man' (p. 109). 'Such is our Christology. It is one that includes both the Athanasian and Unitarian doctrine. . . . Sabellianism also is found to have its element of the truth. . . . Even Arianism . . . was not altogether false' (p. 115).

Not even the most orthodox need maintain that the heresies were destitute of truth. But a theology in which Athanasius and the Unitarians are reconciled is to be viewed with profound suspicion. It is the illusive fruit of the attempt to believe everything, the product of theological cosmopolitanism and reluctance to say No, which is really an enemy of the truth. It is an illusion which has lost some of its glamour since 1914. Writers like Mr Spencer grieve over the immobility of orthodoxy, and seek, bravely and persuasively, to supply a non-contentious substitute. But we are reminded by the morning paper every day that mobilizing and mobility depend, after all, on the existence of certain roads and railway lines. You cannot go by train except in accordance with the observed laws of steam-locomotion. It may be true that what is required is an improved notion of personality. But if the new teaching is going to be described as an improved Christian doctrine, let us be sure that it is really Christian and not a substitute. It seems impossible, it seems even undesirable, that the true Christology should be what any one may readily accept.

Considerations of space forbid the detailed examination of the remaining chapters, which are well written and full of interest. The Atonement is discussed mainly in its effects, as produced on various historical types, but its theology is lightly touched. The best use of

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Christian Institutions is a 'temperate use', the aim being to make 'all, as far as possible, think out and carry out Christianity for themselves' (p. 225). The eschatology of the New Testament is treated with knowledge and ability, but much of it must be rejected because it runs counter to the great truth, 'irresistible and overwhelming', of Evolution. And for this, if we remember 'how narrow and partial have been many physical lifetimes . . . one such lifetime cannot be enough' (p. 299). 'The body of eternal life will develope by a continuous process out of the existing physical nature of man' (p. 310), probably 'out of the present female body' (p. 312).

Enough has been said to shew that the book contains plenty of hard thinking, but is marred by some unwillingness to face facts and by some rather fantastic speculation.

S. C. CARPENTER.

Forgiveness and Suffering. By DOUGLAS WHITE, M.D. (Cambridge University Press, 1913.)

THIS essay, after emphasizing the permanent importance of the conception of forgiveness, traces the growth of religious thought in regard to the atonement and then discusses the whole problem. The general line of thought is well expressed by the following quotation: 'The suffering of Jesus represented, not what man *ought* to suffer in expiation of his sin, but what God *does* suffer as a direct result of it, and having suffered is ready to forgive. . . . In the suffering forgiveness of Jesus we see portrayed the suffering forgiveness of God.'

It seems probable that not enough justice is done in the essay to the truth underlying the doctrine of the impassibility of God: it is clear that the author gives valuable expression to a complementary conception. The problem remains as to how all that is valuable in Dr White's presentation can be synthesized with what is necessary to the doctrine of God.

It is no reply to Dr White to insist that God suffered as man in the person of our Lord. The essence of his argument is that this suffering, and 'suffering forgiveness', must reflect the Divine experience; and the value of his book lies in its insistence on this point of view. On the other hand, the life of God, viewed *sub specie aeternitatis*, represents, or rather conditions, our perfected existence. That life *so regarded* cannot be thought of as involving change: and therefore, unless suffering is to exist in our perfected condition, that life *so regarded* must be free from suffering. It is another matter if the life of God is in time, or may be so regarded. What Dr White brings out is the necessity for so regarding God—if not the Father, at least the Logos.

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Dr White has set, and defined, a very real problem, and one which current theology cannot afford to neglect.

Evolution and the Need of Atonement. By A. S. McDOWALL: with an introductory note by the Dean of Westminster. (Cambridge University Press, Second Edition, 1914.)

MR McDOWALL'S book falls really into two parts: a discussion of evolution which finds that a spiritual order is implied, and supplies a goal; and a discussion of sin and atonement in view of this conception of evolution. In the earlier part of the book it is difficult not to feel that the author has stated rather than established a position. The mathematical analogy for the 'environment sum' would be improved by regarding this from the first as a varying function of all conditions. It should be added that, if $x = f(a) + f(b) +$ &c., x is not necessarily *indeterminate* because the form of some, or all, of these functions is *undeterminable*. The contrast between the triumph of 'katabolism' in the individual and of 'anabolism' in the race somewhat overlooks the end of all terrestrial life in foreseeable conditions. Spiritual developement is held to imply a spiritual environment: but no sufficient attempt is made to relate this conception to the value of such a developement in the struggle for existence; or to make clear why such a value does not supply an independent explanation of the developement. Such examples could be multiplied. On the other hand, the impression is left that fuller discussion and closer argument might strengthen rather than weaken many of the conclusions.

In the later part the argument grips closer. The criticism of Dr Tennant's views is suggestive, and Mr McDowall makes an interesting attempt to restate the conception of a taint in the race. It is to be regretted that he does not discuss this point still more fully and with a somewhat wider sweep. It would be worth while to develop in this connexion the author's conception of the change in environment produced by changes in the organisms themselves, and the possible effect of sin as producing conditions which put a premium on the evolution and survival of types disposed to sin. The whole of the later part of the book suggests, however, that the author should be able to provide real help by developing our conceptions of spiritual progress with the aid of conceptions drawn from biology.

The Spiritual Interpretation of Nature. By JAMES Y. SIMPSON, D.Sc., F.R.S.E., Professor of Natural Science New College, Edinburgh. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1912.)

THE author states in the preface that his book has grown out of various courses of lectures. It deals with knowledge and faith, with

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the influence of science upon religious thought, and with science and miracle. It is, however, mainly concerned with the principles of biology and evolution, and with their bearing on religion and morality. While the reader may not infrequently be disposed to question particular arguments, the book is valuable as a clear exposition, in much of its general argument, and for its suggestiveness.

Authority. By the Rev. GEORGE FREEMAN: with an introductory note by the Dean of Westminster. (Allenson, 1913.)

THIS short book discusses five views of authority (Individualism, the Church, the Scriptures, Tradition, and Pragmatism), and maintains that authority is only certain when all these 'channels of communication' agree. It is a reasonable and temperate introduction to the problem with which it deals.

WILL SPENS.

The Early Church in the light of the monuments: a Study in Christian archaeology (with illustrations). By ARTHUR STAPYLTON BARNES, M.A. (Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1913.)

THIS volume belongs to the Westminster Library of manuals for Roman Catholic priests and students, and gives a compendious account of the early Christian monuments of Rome (and some others) with the interpretation put upon them in the Roman Church. The author, however, provides a bibliography of his subject which includes most of the important literature, whether by Catholic or Protestant scholars, e.g. von Sybel's *Christliche Antike* (see *J. T. S.* vol. xii p. 305). Without entering into controversy at large, it may be suggested that a study of the works which he cites might have led to greater breadth of view without the introduction of anything incompatible with the strictly Roman position. It is difficult, for example, to agree that in the representations of the Good Shepherd 'the primary and most important interpretation of the symbol' is to be sought in a reference to the Sacrament of Penance (p. 144). On p. 86 it was pointed out that the figure of the Good Shepherd is at times accompanied by a vessel containing milk; here the author suggests that whereas the allusion is (generally) to the Eucharist, it may be taken to symbolize the joys of heaven 'in case the application is specially to the souls of the dead'. This brings us to the threshold of the question so fully discussed by von Sybel with regard to the predominantly 'other-worldly' orientation of the art of the Catacombs. We should have been glad to know, for example, whether Mgr Barnes regards the familiar *orante* as engaged in

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prayer or rather as rapt in adoration of the Beatific Vision. The principle exemplified by this difference of interpretation has far-reaching consequences.

There are one or two curious slips, e. g. Mgr Barnes twice makes Pope Zephyrinus contemporary with Constantine (pp. 163, 195), and the misspelling Sta Costanze (*sic*) is found on pp. 102 and 131.

H. S. JONES.

THE GOSPELS AND 'THE HISTORICAL JESUS'.

Jesus in the nineteenth century and after. By HEINRICH WEINEL, D.D., and ALBAN G. WIDGERY, M.A. (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1914.)

THIS book is based on Dr Weinel's *Jesus im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, the third edition of which, revised and enlarged, was published in 1913. Mr Widgery has apparently incorporated the whole of Dr Weinel's work in his own book, while widely extending its scope by including in his survey representatives of English, American, and French thought, Dr Weinel having referred to none of these except Renan for France and for England (*horresco referens*) Oscar Wilde.

It is only occasionally that the German origin of the book is betrayed by sentences of a form which no Englishman could have written (e. g. 'by this the orthodox arrive at the position of the, by them otherwise combated, mediating theology' p. 101), and (as I must suppose) by banalities such as allusions to our Lord's 'bright expressive eyes' in the account of the Last Supper (p. 145), and, as a sign of His humour, to His 'story of the old woman who filled the ears of the unjust judge and *scratched his face*' (p. 330). Mr Widgery says that the English form of his work is often an adaptation; he might surely have removed blemishes of this kind. The book is partly, like Schweitzer's, a sketch of 'liberal' thought about our Lord during the last hundred years, but of a much more popular kind. Far more writers are included, poets and novelists among them, not all of them of the first rank. Some of the appreciations are very meagre, though of the more significant among the figures that crowd the picture the account that is given is usually sufficient for the purpose. The main purpose of the book is, I suppose, to commend the German liberal conception of the Person of Jesus and of the Gospel. Mr Widgery expresses his belief that the personal and the historical are 'fundamental in Reality and vital in Religion', and he hopes that his pages will so 'present Jesus that he

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may inspire men with loyalty to himself'. That seems to me hardly a reasonable hope for any one writing a book of this kind. There are some pages, especially in the section 'Jesus', which depict a personality admirable and attractive, but loyalty must still be mediated by the narratives of the Gospels rather than by the discussions and appreciations which make up the greater part of this book. These must be judged by a different standard: is it really 'the historical Jesus' that Dr Weinel and Mr Widgery depict to us? All through the book there are judgements, both as to historical fact and probability and as to ethical aims and values, which I believe are undoubtedly well based; but there are also many, and some of them fundamental, which are fatal to the truth of the picture as a whole. It is enough to say here that the apocalyptic element in the Gospels is attributed almost entirely to the community: 'Jesus was not an apocalyptic', and we are given to understand that the clause 'Thy kingdom come' was absent from Luke's version of the Lord's Prayer and not original. However useful the book may be as a survey of some recent conceptions of our Lord, before its authors can give us a true portrait of 'the historical Jesus' they must learn, if not from the 'scornfully superior' Albert Schweitzer, yet from the Gospels themselves and the early history of Christianity, that it was possible in the first century to be 'an apocalyptic' without being 'a fanatic', and further that the idea of the Interim Ethic, though it finds distinguished support to-day, is not expressed in the recorded teaching of our Lord, and is not a necessary corollary to His apocalyptic conceptions. The twentieth century has a much better chance than either the fourth or the nineteenth had of working out a Christology based on facts, but it is not likely to be quite what Dr. Weinel and Mr. Widgery foreshadow.

The New Testament in the twentieth century: a survey of recent Christological and historical criticism of the New Testament. By the Rev. MAURICE JONES, B.D. (Macmillan & Co., 1914.)

MR MAURICE JONES'S subject is not 'Jesus', but 'the New Testament' in the twentieth century, and therefore comparison with Mr Widgery's book cannot be exact; yet with that *caveat* I may say that it seems to me that its much greater 'objectivity' makes it a much more valuable aid to the student, or the general reader, who desires to understand the present position of knowledge of the subject. There is no book known to me in which the gist of all the best work of recent years can be got so readily and in so orderly a form. It is excellent for those who are not specialists, while those who are may be glad to

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have so convenient and readable a conspectus of work which they already know, or have known: nothing of real importance seems to have escaped Mr Jones. He gives good lists, not too long, of the chief books bearing on the various questions that have to be considered, and if a book of this kind is necessarily in part a work of 'scissors and paste', it is the best materials that he has collected and the most intelligent use of them that he has made, and the result is a remarkable achievement of wide reading, a clear mind, and a fluent pen.

An excellent introduction on the significance of the twentieth century in the history of religion (Religion itself the centre of interest, the results of modern research, the advance of psychology) is followed by chapters on Liberal Protestant Christology, 'Jesus or Christ', 'Jesus or Paul', 'the Christ-myth', the Christ of Eschatology, St Paul and the Mystery Religions, and the language of the New Testament, which together make up about two-fifths of the book. The rest is of the nature of 'introduction' to the Gospels (the Synoptic *problem*) and such of the remaining books of the New Testament as still have not yet 'emerged out of the region of controversy' in the mind of 'the best criticism of the age'.

In all cases the leading theories and the chief criticisms of them are given, and then there is a judicious summing-up. Mr Jones's own judgement as to 'the balance of probabilities' in many cases does not coincide with mine. For example, he greatly overstates the evidence of the Gospels in favour of the view that the Kingdom is represented as actually in existence at the time and as being in itself an inward gift (like many other champions of this view he cites the saying 'the kingdom of God is within you' without any consideration of its context). Again, while allowing that the Gospels shew a gradual 'revelation' of our Lord's 'Messianic' consciousness, he refuses to admit any growing or increasing consciousness on the part of our Lord Himself. And in other cases some of the arguments are much less cogent than he represents them, as, e.g., against 75–80 as the date of 1 Peter; while on the evidence of the letters of Ignatius as to Johannine teaching he has overlooked Mr H. J. Bardsley's articles in the JOURNAL (vol. xiv pp. 207 ff, 489 ff). And there is one blemish, especially unfortunate in a work of this kind, which I must not pass over. I have not made it my business to test the references, but in the only two cases in which I have done so the references given (pp. 246, 247) to articles in the *Expositor* did not enable me to find the articles, both of which are apparently of value and one of them by Mr Jones himself.

A book like this may affect some readers with the feeling that no solution of the problems with which it deals is likely to be reached; but at all events it is an impressive witness to the diligence and ability

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that are being expended on the study, the open-mindedness of the best students to every bit of fresh evidence and every new suggestion, the minute and anxious care with which every hypothesis, new or old, is being tested; and it offers a sure guarantee of the best results that are possible in view of the complexity and the peculiar character of the evidence.

The Historical Christ: or, an investigation of the views of Mr J. M. Robertson, Dr A. Drews, and Prof. W. B. Smith. By F. C. CONYBEARE, M.A., F.B.A. [issued for the Rationalist Press Association, Limited]. (Watts & Co., London, 1914.)

IT is not often that a reviewer in the JOURNAL is likely to find much to commend in a book 'issued for the Rationalist Press Association', even if he is himself one of those who desire to win a 'historical envisagement' of the problems of early Christianity and regard the view of the facts which has been traditional in the Church as in many respects mistaken. It is not only that writers for the Rationalist Press commonly adopt towards the orthodox, and every traditional belief, a tone of intellectual arrogance which is as intellectually as it is morally indefensible; nor only that they commonly shew themselves lacking in the sense of historical perspective and of the values of beliefs in relation to their *milieu*. It is all this, but it is also that even when they have special knowledge of their own, which must be brought to account by the historian, they often handle their evidence absurdly and draw inferences from it which are grotesque. Mr Conybeare's book is welcome because, though he is just as arrogant as any of them, and as offensive to 'the adherents of the creeds', speaking freely of their 'superstition' and 'absurdity' and 'credulity', he is anxious to correct the vagaries of some of his allies and to teach them the elementary principles of historical study so that they may learn what 'evidence' means. He would save them from some of their 'solecisms—or "howlers", as a schoolboy would call them'. In the present generation 'rationalists' and 'traditionalists' must, I suppose, remain apart. But if the principles of historical research which Mr Conybeare lays down can win acceptance in rationalist as well as in traditionalist circles, seed of good grain will have been sown and the next generation should reap its fruit. His subject is the theories of Messrs Drews, W. B. Smith, and J. M. Robertson, and the most conservative of 'traditionalists' could not desire a more racy and effective treatment of them than Mr Conybeare supplies. No one who feels that 'there is something in their ideas' should miss this book. Mr Conybeare sees so clearly

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that the 'Jesuists' and the 'Christists' could have had no object 'in hoaxing their own and all subsequent generations and in building up a lasting cult and Church on what they knew were fables' (p. 82), that one wishes he would apply an equally unprejudiced acumen to a closer examination of some of the theories which he himself champions. The strength of the traditionalist position is that it supplies its adherents with a theory which really does account for Christian experience: it accounts for it so well that if, as some hold, it is itself a rationalization of that experience, it is an extraordinarily apt rationalization: so apt that it only needs retranslation to fit it to the intellectual environment of the twentieth century. Will not Mr Conybeare put more of the 'rationalist' theories to this test: Do they account for Christian experience?

The New Ideals in the Gospel. By Professor HERMANN SCHELL: authorized translation. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1913.)

PROFESSOR SCHELL'S name is not in *Minerva*. He writes apparently from the point of view of Roman Catholic orthodoxy, and in this book he surveys the Gospel history and the teaching of our Lord contained in the Gospels with his eye on various practices and institutions of the Church for which the authority of the Gospel is commonly claimed—a claim which on the whole he would justify. He is aware of the existence of some modern criticism of the Gospels, but I am not sure whether the mildness of his references to critical views implies that he hardly regards them as matters with which he need concern himself much, or, on the contrary, that he has some leanings towards the less traditional tendencies of the time. Considering his special subject it is remarkable that he entirely ignores the eschatological or apocalyptic conception of the Kingdom: e.g. 'the Kingdom of God is the strong, pure will which raises self above the world of selfishness, of violence, of care and fear—to God' is a typical statement of his idea of the meaning of the Kingdom. A good deal of the book is quite pleasant reading, but it seldom grips or illuminates the questions with which it deals; it scarcely justifies its title; and, so far as I can judge, it is not one which need have been translated into English. The volume is handsomely got-up, with a number of full-page illustrations, chiefly from German and Italian pictures—'illustrations', however, which cannot be said to have any close relation to the text.

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The Rise of Modern Religious Ideas. By A. C. McGIFFERT, D.D., Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary. (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1915.)

Modern Theology and the Preaching of the Gospel. By WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN, D.D., Ph.D., Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology in the Union Theological Seminary. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1914.)

DR McGIFFERT'S purpose in writing his book is to contribute to an understanding of the present situation in the religious world by giving an account 'of the influences which have promoted, and of the circumstances which have attended, the rise of the leading religious ideas of the present day, in so far as they differ from the ideas of other days'. So he first traces the process of the 'disintegration' of the old theology in four chapters on 'Pietism', 'The Enlightenment', 'Natural Science', and 'The Critical Philosophy', shewing how these various movements discredited ideas which had long been accepted by Christians, whether Catholic or Protestant; while he does not fail to note also that some of the 'conclusions' which seemed to have been reached have been modified by later experience and speculation. The larger part of his book is occupied by an account of subsequent 'reconstruction' of theology on the basis of the 'modern' view of the world—a basis ethical rather than dogmatic, social rather than individualistic, evolutionary and 'immanental' rather than static and transcendental. Dr McGiffert's sympathies are entirely on the side of the newer thought, and many readers of the JOURNAL would find that much that they value has disappeared in the 'rehabilitation of faith' which he describes. Yet the book, which is admirably written, is one for which a wide circulation among English churchmen is much to be desired, even though they are not nearly as 'modern' as Dr McGiffert. Whether the 'intellectual and ethical tendencies of the age' represent the lines on which the future will move or not, there can be no doubt that many of the questions which have been matters of controversy in the past need to be posed differently to-day, if ancient Christian doctrines are to mediate to the modern world the religious experience and convictions of Christians of the past. It is much more than a matter of emphasis. And it seems to me that Dr McGiffert nearly always poses the questions properly, and so opens out the way to the restatement and rectification that is needed.

From Dr W. ADAMS BROWN, a colleague of Dr McGiffert, we have in the form of half a dozen lectures to preachers an admirable sketch of the contribution which 'modern theology' offers to the equipment of the preacher of the Gospel. He sums up its services under four heads:

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its perception of religion as one of the ultimate facts of life, 'inwrought into man's nature, a part of the very structure of his being'; its insight 'that, while religion is universal, . . . religions differ in kind, and difference in kind means difference in worth'; its elucidation of the fact that if there is to be a universal religion at all, it must be Christianity; and its renewed emphasis upon Christ as the centre and norm of Christianity. The lectures deal with 'The Bible, what it is and how to use it', 'The God of the Christian', 'From what and to what are we saved?', 'The Deity of Christ in the light of modern thought', 'The Church, its present opportunity and duty'. They give in short compass an admirable statement of a positive religious position which, while not satisfied with the traditional forms of Christian doctrine as final expressions of truth, aims at conserving the religious values of the beliefs they embody and at commending them in forms better adapted to provide answers to religious questions in the form in which they present themselves to men to-day. The spirit of Dr Brown's restatement is well shewn in a passage in which he speaks of the tendency to regard the historic Christian faith in our Lord's deity as a superstition. 'There is something in each one of us that rebels at so negative a conclusion. When we realize how deeply this faith in the divine Christ has rooted itself in the Christian experience; when we recall how early it began and how long it has persisted; when we try to measure the devotion and the loyalty it has called forth in generations of Christian believers, from Paul and John in New Testament times down to critical German theologians like Schleiermacher and Ritschl, we feel that it must stand for some truth of vital practical importance which we can ill afford to let go.'

St Augustine: aspects of his life and thought. By W. MONTGOMERY, M.A., B.D. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1914.)

IN publishing this series of studies of St Augustine Mr Montgomery says that they were intended as a series of 'introductions to particular aspects of his thought', 'to provide the student with a choice of starting-points, from one or other of which, according to his tastes and previous training, he might usefully approach the study of this great and many-sided figure'. Accordingly he gives us eight chapters on St Augustine the Man—character and temperament; his conversion—a study in criticism and religious psychology; his correspondence—relations with men and affairs; outlines of his psychology; his powers of psychological observation and description; his psychology as the key to his philosophy

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and theology; his exegesis and preaching; his philosophy of history, theory of the state, and teaching on social ethics. It would be difficult to be dull in writing with any kind of insight on a personality and life so interesting as Augustine's; but it is no easy task to give an adequate picture of him in short space. Mr Montgomery has the necessary equipment of knowledge and insight and unusual gifts of exposition, and he has achieved an illuminating and quite delightful sketch, most of which the general reader will find as fresh and attractive as the special student will find it valuable as an introduction to its subject and an incentive to further study of it. Mr Montgomery is, I think, particularly happy in his treatment of St Augustine as pioneer in psychological observation and in his judgement on the historical value of the *Confessions* as witness to the actual process of St Augustine's conversion.

Dr Joseph Pohle, who was formerly Professor of Apologetics in the Catholic University of America and is now Professor of Dogma in the University of Breslau, is known as one of the most learned of living Roman Catholic theologians. Mr Arthur Preuss has been for some years engaged on an English translation of his works, with some abridgement, but also with addition of references. Six volumes are already published (B. Herder, 68 Great Russell Street, W.C.), viz. *God: His knowability, essence, and attributes* (1911), *The Divine Trinity* (1912), *God, the Author of Nature and the Supernatural* (1912), *Christology* (1913), *Soteriology* (1914), *Mariology*, with an appendix on 'the worship of the Saints, relics, and images' (1914); and other volumes on Grace, the Sacraments, and Eschatology are to follow, the latter being re-written and enlarged for the English edition. We shall thus be presented with a complete statement of the official teaching of the Church of Rome in systematic form, with abundant references to earlier writers in whose works questions, which are here sometimes rather summarily dealt with, will be found treated at full length; and the series of Pohle-Preuss octavo volumes, admirably printed and convenient to handle, will be of value to all English students of Doctrine.

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(2) American.

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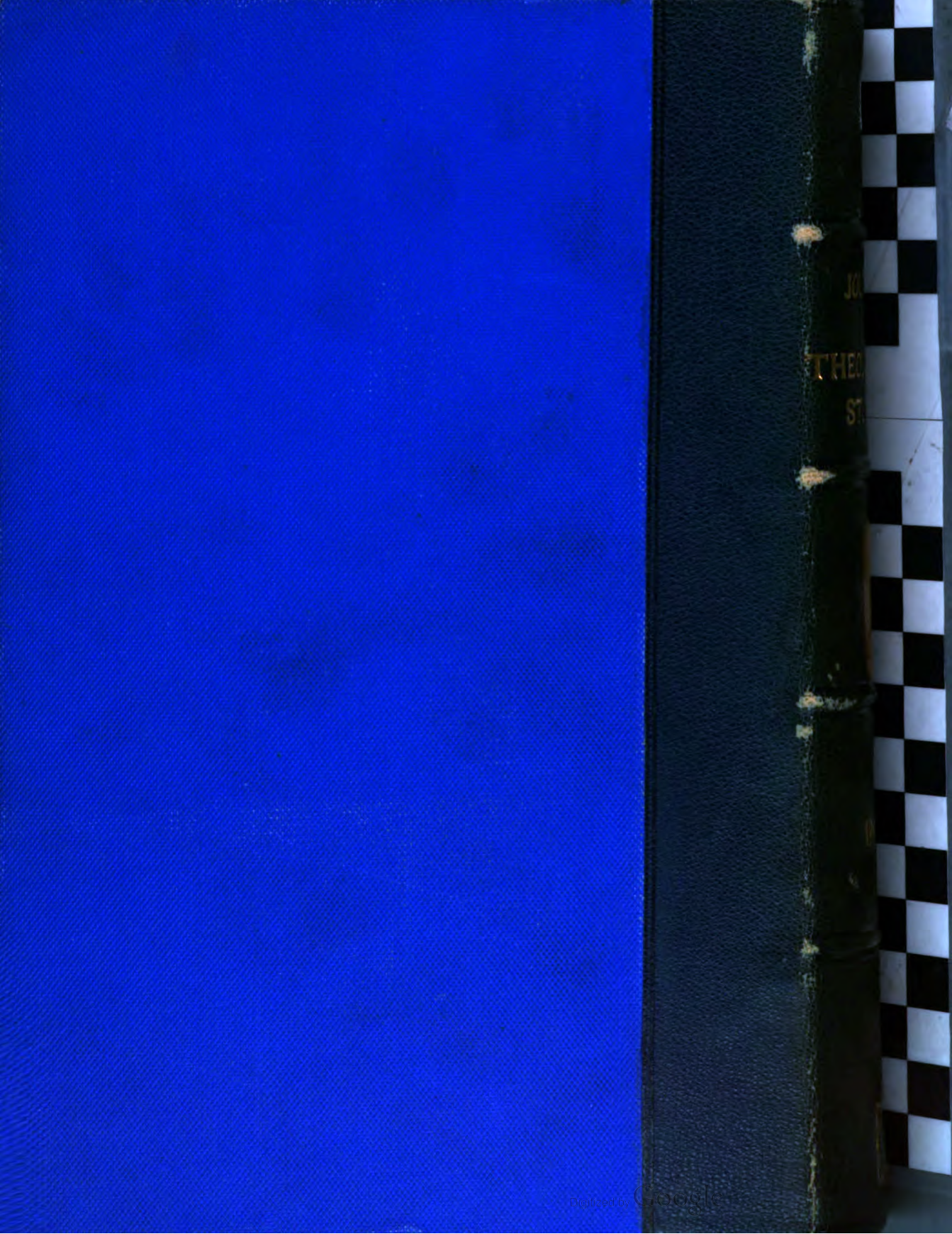
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